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# STATE PAPERS

COLLECTED BY

## EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

OXFORD:
AT THE CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE.
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OXFORD:

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

VOLUME THE SECOND.

EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

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# PREFACE.

IT *is now almoſt ſix Years ſince the firſt Volume of this Work was publiſhed. That the preſent Volume has been delayed ſo long, is to be imputed to a Variety of Circumſtances; but in a great meaſure to the immenſe Maſs of Materials which fill up the preſent and ſucceeding Periods of the Collection; the bare peruſal of which by a ſingle Editor (not to mention the Neceſſity there was of a diligent Search into numerous other Collections and Hiſtories, in order to aſcertain what had before been publiſhed) has been an Employment of no little Time; eſpecially, as many of the Papers are written very cloſely in Hands barely legible, and others much torn and mutilated. The Circumſtance alſo of his having been indulged by the Truſtees* of the late Lord* Hyde *(who have generouſly conſented to every Propoſal in which either the Honour or the Advantage of the Univerſity was concerned), with much fuller Powers of Selection than were given to him in Conjunction with his Colleague in the Publication of the former Volume, has occaſioned a ſlower Progreſs; of which he preſumes to hope that the Publick (for whoſe Conveniency that Indulgence was intended) will have no Cauſe to complain.*

*IN the Preface to the firſt Volume, this entire Collection of Manuſcripts is mentioned as conſiſting of two Parts;* viz. *of ſuch Papers as were given to the Univerſity by the noble Deſcendants of the firſt Earl of* Clarendon, *and of ſuch as were communicated by the late* Richard Powney, *LL. D. in order to be publiſhed jointly with the former, of which they were originally a Part. But ſince that time there has been tranſmitted to the Univerſity a third and very material Portion of the Collection, which was purchaſed by the Truſtees of the late Dr.* Radcliffe, *of the Executors of* Joſeph Radcliffe, *Eſq; of the Inner Temple, and by them generouſly preſented to the Univerſity. This Mr.* Radcliffe *was one of the Executors to* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *who was Grandſon to the firſt Earl, and died in the Year* 1723.

*SOME other material acceſſions have alſo been made to the Collection ſince the Publication of the firſt Volume; for much the greater Part of which the Publick is indebted to the unwearied Zeal and Induſtry of the very worthy and learned Dr.* John Douglas, *Canon of Windſor; who has made it his Buſineſs to collect together all the detached and ſcattered Parts of the Original Collection. It was by means of this Gentleman, who from the Beginning undertook by particular requeſt the Care of the* Powney *Papers, that the Re-union between them and the* Hyde *Part of the Collection was effected. He was afterwards commiſſioned by Dr.* Radcliffe's *Truſtees*

* The Archbiſhop of York, Lord Mansfield, and the Biſhop of Cheſter.

*to purchaſe the Papers juſt mentioned to have been derived to Mr.* Radcliffe *from the third Earl of* Clarendon. *He has ſince himſelf purchaſed, and thrown into the common Stock, a Parcel of Manuſcripts, which belonged to the late Mr.* Guthrie, *Author of the Engliſh Hiſtory. And it is by his Means that the Lady Viſcounteſs Dowager* Middleton *has obligingly communicated* 54 *Original Letters, which paſſed, moſt of them in the four Years immediately preceding the Reſtoration, between Sir* Edward Hyde, *and Mr.* Broderick *(afterwards Sir* Allen*), Anceſtor to her late Lord. By his means alſo have been tranſmitted to the Editor one or two ſmaller Contributions; as, a few Letters between Secretary* Thurloe *and the Ambaſſador* Lockhart, *together with the Original of a curious ſeparate Article of the Treaty between* Cromwell *and the* French *in the Year* 1654. *both communicated by* Thomas Aſtle, *Eſq; of the Paper-Office; and alſo that remarkable Paper mentioned in the Note at P.* 84. *of this Volume, as imparted by the Earl of* Hardwicke, *and publiſhed in the Appendix P.* 34. *To Dr.* Douglas *alſo the Editor begs Leave to return his particular Thanks for many valuable Hints and Informations, given him in a manner equally modeſt, polite, and friendly; which have been of conſiderable Uſe to him in conducting this Part of the Publication.*

*THESE are the Sources from whence the Materials of this moſt important and intereſting Collection are drawn; upon a further Inſight into which, the Editor is convinced of the Impropriety of continuing the ſame Title to the preſent Volume, which was prefixed to the former; and was then adopted upon a very partial View and Compariſon of the Contents of it with the Hiſtory of the Rebellion. For, not to mention that there are many valuable Papers below the Period of that Hiſtory, it will appear, even upon a curſory Reading of this Volume alone, that there are many curious and entertaining Particulars of which Lord* Clarendon *has taken no notice, either in that Hiſtory, or in his Life and the Continuation of his Life, publiſhed a few Years ſince; and ſtill further, that there is at leaſt one very important Point of Hiſtory, on which he has alſo been ſilent, the Uncertainty whereof has afforded Matter of Controverſy to the ableſt Hiſtorians of later Days, but which is by theſe Papers placed beyond all Manner of Doubt. Indeed, there is nothing more evident, than that much of his Hiſtory of the Rebellion was compoſed when he was at a diſtance from thoſe Materials, the moſt important Parts of which are now and will hereafter be preſented to the Publick in the preſent Work.*

*THE Hiſtory of the Rebellion, though begun at Scilly* 18*th March* 164$\frac{5}{6}$, *as appears from the firſt Draught of about eleven Books of it, which is among the Manuſcripts of this Collection, was not finiſhed 'till many Years after the Reſtoration. For, not to refer to various Paſſages of the Hiſtory itſelf which prove as much, in the Dedication of his Survey of the Leviathan to King Charles the ſecond, which is dated at* Moulins, *May* 10*th.* 1673, *Lord* Clarendon *ſays;* "*As ſoon as I had finiſhed* (as "far as I am able without the Supply of thoſe Memorials and Records "which are fit to be enquired into) *a Work, at leaſt recommended, if not "enjoined, to me by your bleſſed Father, and approved and in ſome degree "peruſed by your Majeſty,*" &c. *That Hiſtory therefore was not finiſhed till the End of the Year* 1672, *or the Beginning of the Year* 1673. *But, which is moſt to our Purpoſe, here is a plain Confeſſion from himſelf, that*

*that Lord* Clarendon *had it not in his Power to make uſe of certain Memorials and Records, which he ſays were fit to be enquired into. Now, what can be more probable than that theſe are the very Papers, now and hereafter to be offered to the Publick, which, in the extreme Hurry in which he was driven out of the Kingdom, he did not take with him, and which at that Diſtance, and in thoſe Circumſtances, he could not command?*

*THERE are many very curious Deſpatches of Secretary* Windebank *in this Collection, both in the former and in the preſent Volume, particularly the apoſtiled Letters in the Years* 1639. *and* 1640. *Theſe probably were his moſt confidential Deſpatches, which eſcaped the Vigilance of the Parliament, who got many of his Papers, which* Prynne *has publiſhed in his* Hidden Works of Darkneſs brought to publick Light. *But they could not recover the Trunk which is mentioned in a Letter from the Secretary to his Son, there publiſhed P.* 131. *dated Paris,* 25*th Jan.* 1641. *and beginning thus*;

"Tom,

"I ſhall be glad that the Trunk of ſecret Papers may fall into "ſo good a Hand as that of Lord Cottington."

*That here are Secretary* Windebank's *moſt ſecret Papers, is certain; and it may very reaſonably be preſumed that this Trunk came afterwards into Lord* Clarendon's *Hands from Lord* Cottington; *as they were intimate Friends and Correſpondents before the Death of the King, and were afterwards ſent joint Ambaſſadors to Madrid; ſoon after their Return from whence Lord* Cottington *died.*

*IT is mentioned above that the Truſtees have inveſted the preſent Editor with fuller Powers than they thought fit to allow to his Colleague and him in the Publication of the former Volume. The Reaſon is obvious; the Work would otherwiſe have exceeded all reaſonable Bounds. But there is one particular Liberty, which may perhaps be excepted to, unleſs it be here explained*; viz. *that of omitting ſuch Parts of Letters as he ſhould judge too immaterial to be publiſhed. But let no one be alarmed at this; for he pledges his Honour to the Publick, that this has no where been done, to the beſt of his Knowledge and Judgment, but where the Paſſages were of a private or unimportant nature, or elſe in the Caſe of large Repetitions, ſuch as frequently occur in the Letters of Lord* Clarendon, *written nearly about the ſame time to different Perſons. But the beſt Security to the Publick for his Fidelity in this whole Truſt, is that the Original Letters themſelves, which, as far as he has gone, are already depoſited in the Bodleian Library, may be referred to. — A Line of Aſteriſks is inſerted where any Paſſage has been omitted.*

*SOME of Lord* Clarendon's *familiar Letters are publiſhed; eſpecially thoſe he wrote when at Jerſey in a State of Retirement from all publick Employ; which Circumſtance may, it is hoped, give a Propriety to the Publication of them. But if the Reader look upon them in the ſame Light as the Editor does, he will not complain; ſince, in his opinion, they contain the nobleſt Sentiments, expreſſed in the moſt manly, beautiful, and ſtriking Language: Which being the Effuſions of his honeſt Heart to his Boſom Friends, tend to place his Character in the trueſt as well as the moſt amiable Point of View.*

*THE Papers which are to ſucceed this Volume throw very great Light upon the ſecret Movements in England which produced the Reſtoration; and the Editor is convinced that many Readers will be much more intereſted in the Peruſal of them than in that of any other Part of the Collection. The World therefore, no doubt, as ſoon as they are publiſhed, will ſee great Reaſon to lament that Lord* Clarendon *was without theſe moſt important and authentick Memorials, at the Time of his finiſhing his Hiſtory of the Rebellion; ſince his Poſſeſſion and Application of them would have made that Hiſtory a ſtill more perfect and valuable Work than it now is.*

*THE preſent Volume is brought down to the King's ſafe Arrival on the Continent after the Battle of Worceſter; including a moſt important and intereſting Period of the Engliſh Hiſtory, to which it will doubtleſs be conſidered as a valuable Acquiſition.*

*THE Appendix is compoſed of ſome curious and entertaining Letters of an earlier Date than this Volume opens with, relating to the French Match; and of ſome other Papers, all, excepting three, belonging to the preſent Period; which, for various Reaſons, could not ſo conveniently be inſerted in the Body of the Volume.*

*THE Editor is not aware, (though it becomes no one to be confident in a caſe like this) that any thing is here printed which has been publiſhed before, excepting where he has given notice of it, and aſſigned a Reaſon for the Republication; which is the Caſe of Secretary* Vane's *remarkable Letter, P.* 134. *and in one or two inſtances more. For as to Lord* Conway's *Narrative of the Action of Newburn, P.* 99, *&c. though it has appeared before in a Volume printed by Sir* David Dalrymple, *yet as that Book is found, upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, to be altogether unknown in this Part of the Iſland, the Paper in queſtion may fairly be conſidered as firſt publiſhed in this Collection. And as it throws new Light upon an important Event of Hiſtory, and tends to vindicate the Character and Conduct of the noble General, upon whom all our Hiſtorians, and even Lord* Clarendon *himſelf, ſeem to have reflected with much Severity, it was due to Truth and Juſtice to make this State of the Caſe, which is ſupported by unqueſtionable Authorities, as publick as poſſible. It ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this Narrative was not ſeen, or at leaſt not examined, by Lord* Clarendon, *'till after that early Part of his Hiſtory was finiſhed. Perhaps indeed he never ſaw it at all: For it is not endorſed by him; and it ſeems to have been his Practice to endorſe all the Papers in his Poſſeſſion, which were not before endorſed. There is another Copy of it in the* Harleian *Collection of Manuſcripts, now in the Muſeum; from a Tranſcript of which, taken and communicated to him by Lord* Hardwicke, *Sir* David Dalrymple *printed it in his Volume above ſpoken of.*

*IT may be proper here to mention a few Particulars which have occurred to the Editor ſince theſe Sheets were printed.*

*THE Papers are in general placed chronologically, according to the Rule mentioned in the Preface to the firſt Volume. But at P.* 201, *for a Reaſon aſſigned in the Margin, is given among the Papers of* 1645. *a moſt remarkable Original Letter from the Marquis of* Worceſter *(late Lord* Glamorgan*) to Lord* Clarendon, *written after the Reſtoration. In that Note the Letter is ſaid to be* deciſive of the Diſpute concerning the Authenticity of the

King's

King's Commiſſion to Lord Glamorgan. *This was too inconſiderately expreſſed. For the Letter does not prove the Commiſſion to be authentick, the Proof there reſting ſolely upon the Veracity of the Writer, a very intereſted Perſon. But in two ſeveral Letters from Sir* Edward Hyde *to Secretary* Nicholas, *of Feb. 12th. and Mar. 7th.* $164\frac{6}{7}$. *which occur at Pages* 336 *and* 345, *and in Monſ.* Montreuil's *Letter to the King of* 18 *Jan.* 1645. *P.* 212. *there will be found abundant Confirmation of the Authenticity of that Commiſſion: So that it only remains to be conſidered, how far we may give Lord* Worceſter *Credit for the Circumſtances which he mentions to have attended it.*

*In P.* 155. *is printed an anonymous and dateleſs Letter to Sir* Ralph Hopton, *which, for a Reaſon mentioned in the Note, the Editor has attributed to Sir* William Waller, *and placed among the Papers of* 1643. *But it has been very properly ſuggeſted to him, that the Reaſon there given for ſo attributing and placing it is not concluſive; nothing being more certain than that none of King* Charles *the firſt's Creations of Peers, which paſſed after the Sword was drawn, were admitted by the Parliament. So that the Letter in queſtion was moſt probably written by the Earl of* Eſſex, *to whoſe Temper and Manner it is obſerved to be more ſuitable, than to the Roughneſs of Sir* William Waller: *And if ſo, it ought to have been placed among the Papers of the following Year, when Lord* Eſſex *took the Command in the Weſt.*

*THE Letter which ends at P.* 370. *and is dated June* 9*th. ſhould have been ranged with the Papers of the Year immediately ſucceeding, as appears by a Paſſage at the Bottom of P.* 368.

*THE Manuſcript Letters from Monſ.* Montreuil *to the King and Secretary* Nicholas, *are ſo extremely incorrect, that in many Paſſages it was difficult to recover the true Reading, or indeed any Kind of Senſe. And the ſame Miſtakes are for the moſt Part continued in the* Engliſh *Tranſlations which attend them. One remarkable Inſtance in P.* 215. *l.* 19. *has occurred to the Editor ſince that Sheet was printed;* "Ce Soulagement pour CONFERENCES, *&c.*" *The Paſſage contains an Alluſion made by young Sir* Henry Vane *to an Expreſſion in the King's Meſſage referred to by the Editor in the Margin; which Meſſage whoever turns to, will eaſily admit that the Word* Conferences *ſhould have been* Conſciences. *The ſame Blunder is carried into the* Engliſh *Tranſlation.*

*IN the ſecond Note at Page* 334. *it ſhould have been mentioned that the Tract there ſpoken of is intitled,* "Tranſcendent and multiplied Rebellion "and Treaſon, diſcovered by the Laws of the Land."

MAGDALEN COLLEGE,
*Oxford, June* 16. 1773.

RICHARD SCROPE.

☞ *For an Explanation of the Marks made uſe of, ſee the Preface to the firſt Volume.*

# STATE PAPERS

## COLLECTED BY

## *EDWARD* Earl of *CLARENDON.*

### *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I PRESUMED the laſt week to give your Majeſty an account from London of my Lord of Lincoln's buſineſs; and then ſent your Majeſty copies of the examination taken by the Lords and by Mr. Attorney and Solicitor General. I likewiſe ſent your Majeſty an abſtract of a Letter from Sir William Hamilton, with an humble ſuit that it might be burnt. *A.D. 1637.*

*I have receaved, red, and burnt all that diſpache.*

I NOW take the like boldneſs to preſent unto your Majeſty a letter lately received from the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, which I have tranſlated into Engliſh, and the copy goes herewith. The party that brought it preſſed very earneſtly an anſwer: but I told him, it was very unreaſonable, now that your Majeſty is ſo remote from your Council. Howſoever, I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's order what I ſhall anſwer, if he ſend to me again before your Majeſty's return, as I verily believe he will.

*You may tell him that I am not yet reddie to ſend him an anſwer, but I hope ſhortlie to bee.*

*I have burned the Tranſlation.*

AND becauſe ſome paſſages in theſe letters which I now ſend your Majeſty, lately received from the Lord Aſton, the Lord Fielding, and John Taylor, ſeem to concur with the motion of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador concerning a treaty with your Majeſty, I would not fail to preſent them to your Majeſty, moſt humbly beſeeching they may be returned before Friday next, which is our writing day.

YOUR Majeſty will obſerve in that of my Lord Fielding, that he deſires direction what to do upon the anſwer of that ſtate to the information he gave them of your Majeſty's treaty with France. But that anſwer being mere formality and ceremony, without deſcending to any particulars of coming into the confederacy, or of aſſiſting the Prince Elector, I do not conceive it neceſſary to deliberate much upon any other return than the like fair reſpects; neither have I thought it pertinent to ſend your Majeſty ſuch ſuperficial matter.

*You judge right.*

WITH Mr Taylor's letter there goes a liſt of the names of ſuch Proteſtant Princes as the French King hath demanded paſſ-ports for of the Emperor: among which though the Prince Elector may ſeem to be comprehended, if he may be underſtood to be of the number of the confederation of the four circles made at Helbrun; yet, that confederation being reſtrained after to the particular princes named and immediately following, he is left out; and ſo Taylor and Leſlie take it.

*A.D.* 1637. It ſeems by that of Mr Gerbier, he is much troubled by the order I gave him by your Majeſty's commandment concerning the granting of paſſes to Queen Mother's ſervants, and the excuſing himſelf to her that he formerly refuſed them. And he hath ſome Reaſon, conſidering how poſitive and ſtrict his former orders were, and how perilous the breach of them might be to him. I conceive your Majeſty will hold your reſolution at the laſt foreign committee at Oatlands, That he ſhall uſe his beſt diligences to prevent her coming: and that no way croſſes his granting of paſſes to her ſervants; nor can his making of theſe civil excuſes to her for his former ſtrictneſs, either facilitate her coming, or contribute any thing to it. To which purpoſe I ſhall ſignify your Majeſty's pleaſure to him, unleſs your Majeſty ſhall command the contrary, or otherwiſe.

*In all this you underſtand mee right.*

*Lindehurſt the* 16 *of Augt.*

In all humility I crave your Majeſty's pardon for the trouble and length of theſe, and that you will vouchſafe me the honour of

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*and obedient Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Haines-Hill, Auguſt* 15*th.* 1637.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *The Lord* ASTON *to the Lord* COTTINGTON.

*My very good Lord,*

SINCE my laſt, of the 11th of Auguſt, I have received your Lordſhip's of the 26th of June, by my Secretary; and, though I doubt not of your Lordſhip's conſtant favours and care of me, ſo hearty a confirmation thereof as you are pleaſed to give me by your letters, cannot but be very welcome unto me.

Mr Secretary Windebank's deſpatch hath given me a truer underſtanding of the paſt and preſent eſtate of buſineſs than I before have had, and hath much enabled me how to govern myſelf in whatſoever can happen. Mr. Secretary Coke's deſpatch I am not able clearly to underſtand; and have choſe rather to ſhew my weakneſs and doubts than to run into greater error.

I HAVE made them here to underſtand, that the Conde de Oñate hath not carried himſelf as he ought to have done, as your Lordſhip will find by their anſwer to my paper. What I am able to ſay in the main buſineſs your Lordſhip will find in my letters to Mr. Secretary Windebank; to which I will only add to your Lordſhip two words of truth. I never have clearly underſtood what his Majeſty for the preſent would be contented to accept of for ſatisfaction from Spain, nor what content to return them; and ſo am not able to give any judgment of the buſineſs, nor to make a home diſcovery of the Conde's heart; for generals are anſwered with generals: but it is to be built upon, that they will not diſcontent Bavaria; yet, if his Majeſty can be contented, for the preſent, with having the ban taken off, with reſtoring the Prince Elector to what is in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, and make ſuch retribution as the Spaniards may believe themſelves ſure of his Majeſty's friendſhip, it is to be hoped they will not diſcontent his Majeſty. But, as far as I am able to judge of their intentions here, they will not do any thing at all, without they conceive thereby that they ſecure unto them his Majeſty's friendſhip,

friendſhip, and have ſuch retributions from him as may confirm it. For what is to be hoped for from violent ways, I muſt confeſs he hath a ſharper ſight than I that can look to the end of. I can eaſily diſcover much to be done to their prejudice, but little really for our good; yet they have hitherto uſed us ſo ill, that they may oblige us to a revenge without farther hopes: but, if I know any thing of Spain, they may be bought with advantageous conditions to give us ſome ſatisfaction, but they will be very low before they will be beaten into it. I write with all freedom my thoughts unto your Lordſhip, according to that friendſhip that hath been between us, and ſhall heartily pray for God's bleſſing to his Majeſty's counſels, that they may ſucceed every way to his content and honour. I will not trouble you farther, but recommend you to God's holy protection, and reſt *A.D.*1637.

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, 3d. of September*, 1637.

WA. ASTON.

*An Original.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to the Lord* ASTON.

*My Lord,*

SINCE my ſeveral deſpatches to your Lordſhip of the 12 of October and the 5th of November, the firſt by the way of France under the Lord Scudamore's cover, and the other by one that went expreſsly into thoſe parts, I have received your Lordſhip's of the 17th of October, together with a billet from the Conde Duke concerning the embargo upon our merchants' ſhips. For anſwer whereunto it appears towards the latter end of that deſpatch, that the arreſt of our ſhips was then taken off, and ſo that difficulty is removed.

CONCERNING the negotiation by the Nuncio there for a ſuſpenſion of arms, I wiſh it may not ſucceed (which I ſpeak as a ſervant of the crown of England, and knowing how much it muſt be to his Majeſty's advantage that the rupture between France and the Houſe of Auſtria continue;) though I ſee no great probability that it can take effect ſuddenly, whether the Swedes make their peace, or no. For if they do not, that fire in Germany being fomented by the French, the rancour between the French and thoſe of Auſtria muſt needs increaſe, and the French will not eaſily hearken to any overtures of peace, as long as they can harraſs the empire by the Swedes. And if they ſhall agree, as it is moſt likely they will, finding the French have paid them of late with treaties only, and with little or no money, then will the Houſe of Auſtria be at liberty to fall upon France, and take revenge of thoſe injuries they pretend to have received of late from the French, both in their own territories and thoſe of the Duke of Lorrain. And yet we have it from good hand in Germany, that the Emperor hath granted paſſ-ports for the Hollanders and others, confederates of France, to come to the treaty at Cologn for a general peace.

YOUR Lordſhip hath carried yourſelf very diſcreetly in meddling ſo little of late with the main buſineſs between the two crowns, finding the King our Maſter here, ſince the cold entertainment my Lord Marſhall received in Germany, not overhaſty to hearken to new overtures, or to be longer amuſed with treaties from that ſide, as your Lordſhip will have underſtood more

*A.D.*1637. particularly by mine of the 12th of October, in answer to your Lordship's of the 27th of August.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

For that which follows in the same letter, that the Conde had advice from hence, that the Hollanders had denied to pay their rent to his Majesty for their liberty of fishing, it sounds like an advice from their Ambassador here: For first, there is no such thing as such a rent, neither did his Majesty's fleet the last year offer to interrupt them in their fishing; which if it had, there can be no doubt among men of any understanding, but it was powerful enough to have forced them to it, in case of their refusal. The truth is, the Holland fishers are willing to take his Majesty's licences to fish, if they might be secured from the Dunkirkers in their return; and there are none that hinder or embroil this great business of his Majesty but the subjects of the King of Spain. Whereupon Gerbier hath had order from his Majesty to make instances to the Infant Cardinal at Brussels to suffer those Holland fishers that had taken his Majesty's licences, and were therefore under his protection, to return quietly without interruption; and the Spanish Ambassador here hath lately in an audience made complaint to his Majesty of these diligences of Gerbier, as tending to the breach of the peace, fish being a victual and so not permitted to be transported by his Majesty or his subjects to their enemies. But his Majesty hath fairly and roundly answered the Ambassador, that he avows Gerbier's demands, and will maintain his sovereignty of the seas, being one of the fairest flowers of his crown, and his undoubted right of inheritance; of which sovereignty the fishing is a principal branch; and that he will take into his protection and waft all those of any nation that by taking his licences to fish in his seas will thereby acknowledge that sovereignty; and will endeavour to defend them against any Power or Prince whatsoever. And so I have done with your Lordship's of the 17th of October.

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

There was here the last summer one Daly, an Irish Friar, disguised, and in the habit of a captain; who came from Spain, and never presented himself to the Superiour of his order here, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed. It seems he is a very dangerous person, and did practise much among the Irish, while he lurked here, to make a party for Spain, in case of a rupture between the two Crowns. From hence he went into Ireland, and there he did the like. Which coming to my knowledge, I called his Superiour here (whose name is Dade) to account for it; and he assured me that he knew nothing of his being here till he was gone; and, in detestation of such an incendiary, he brought me of himself this inclosed letter to his Superiour in Spain, which is left open purposely for your Lordship to peruse. You may please to cause the letter to be delivered, and to join in demanding justice and procuring punishment to be inflicted upon the delinquent, according to the letter; and withal to carry a watchful eye over the Irish in those parts, who certainly have some great design in hand, in case of an ill intelligence between us and Spain.

There is one of his Majesty's ships lately sent to the Spanish coast to bring over Madame de Chevreux into these parts.

That which your Lordship advises in your other despatch of the 19th of October, concerning Necolalde's complaint, is true; his Majesty holding it of ill consequence to create a precedent of lending his ships to foreign Ministers,

Miniſters, conſidering how ill the Conde de Oñate here hath deſerved the favour his Majeſty did him in that kind. And yet his Majeſty was willing he ſhould be ſafely conveyed out of his own ſeas, and that no violence ſhould be done him there. It was wonder he did not likewiſe complain of his preſent, which he refuſed becauſe it was not above the value of preſents uſually beſtowed upon agents; he pretending to the quality of a Reſident. *A.D.* 1637.

THE French Ambaſſador, Monſ. de Bellievre, by his prudent and moderate carriage, hath gained a great reputation in court, and is likely to do very good offices between the two crowns, which will much conduce to the final concluſion of our treaty with that ſtate.

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I PRESENT my humble ſervices to your Lordſhip, and wiſhes of much contentment to you, beſeeching you to vouchſafe me ſo much as to honour me with your commandments, and the reputation of

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt humble and obliged Servant,*

*Weſtminſter, 29th December* 1637.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's commandment vouchſafed me concerning the farm of the cuſtoms, I acquainted the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord Goring with your Majeſty's pleaſure, and I underſtand ſince by the Lord Treaſurer he hath given your Majeſty account of it.

YOUR Majeſty was pleaſed at your departure from hence to give me order to refer a propoſition, made by Mr. Barre, concerning the cuſtoms of Ireland to the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl Marſhall, Mr. Comptroller, and myſelf. This I made known to my Lord of Canterbury, who found it ſtrange that it ſhould be yet referred to a committee, your Majeſty (as he alledgeth) having cauſed a paper to be delivered to him concerning the particulars of that charge, with permiſſion to ſend it to the Lord Deputy, who is to make his anſwer; and till that be done, my Lord Archbiſhop is confident your Majeſty will ſuſpend the proceeding. I held it my duty to repreſent this to your Majeſty, moſt humbly ſubmitting it to your Wiſdom.

*Ye may ſuſpend the proceeding till then.*

SIR Arthur Hopton, being ſhortly to enter upon your Majeſty's ſervice in Spain, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me your pleaſure, Whether, beſides the general, I ſhall not think upon ſome ſuch private inſtructions, as were committed to Taylor when he went into Germany, and to the Lord Aſton when he was ſent into Spain. Among other things it may not perhaps be impertinent to give him ſome ſubject of treaty for an accommodation in the buſineſs of the fiſhing in your Majeſty's ſeas, that the King of Spain's ſubjects may at the leaſt

*Prepare Inſtructions according to thoſe, and in particular concerning* ——

*A.D.*1637. forbear to interrupt upon the place, and in your Majeſty's own ſeas, ſuch as ſhall be under your Majeſty's protection by virtue of your licences to fiſh: Which point if it could be gained, that great buſineſs would be the more eaſily maſtered in other circumſtances.

THERE is another buſineſs concerning a ſuit depending in the Starchamber between Sir Richard Strode and Sir John Strode, Sir Richard having often heretofore petitioned your Majeſty for a day of hearing, and your Majeſty recommended it to my Lord Keeper for a certain day; but (whatſoever the myſtery is) the poor Gentleman is ſtill delayed to his utter ruin. His humble ſuit to your Majeſty now is, to be graciouſly pleaſed to ſet down ſome day peremptorily toward the beginning of the next term; for it is ſet down already to be heard the laſt day of the term, and the laſt of the cauſes of that day, and conſequently not likely to be heard; and that your Majeſty will vouchſafe me your Commandments herein; wherein your Majeſty ſhall do an act of ſingular juſtice and mercy both together.

*The Day being ſet down alreddie, it can hardlie be altered, but ye recommend it for a peremptorie heering on that day.*

*C. R. Monday 9. a Cloke Morning.*

I HAVE lately received the incloſed from the Lord Aſton, which your Majeſty will find a pretty piece of Spaniſh romance.

IN all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble Subject and Servant,*

*Weſtminſter, 24 Feb.* 1637.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE the two adjoined from the Earl of Leiceſter to the Lord Aſton came very lately to my hands.

IN the former your Majeſty may pleaſe to obſerve ſome little account rendered of what your Majeſty was pleaſed to give me in charge to write to my Lord of Leiceſter concerning the Queen Mother's ſending to congratulate the French Queen's being with Child; and though I underſtood your Majeſty's order to be clear that my Lord ſhould make that overture to that King by commandment from your Majeſty; (and indeed I do not well conceive how it could be otherwiſe, your Miniſter paſſing ſuch an office with that King in perſon) yet it ſeems my Lord is not ſatisfied in that particular, and deſires farther order, which your Majeſty may pleaſe to vouchſafe, and likewiſe whether my Lord of Leiceſter ſhall uſe the like intervention for Madame.

*You ſhall doe well to lett him know, that he muſt congratulat firſt from me, then demand leave both for Q. Mother and Madame to doe the lyke.*

THE other deſpatch from the Lord Aſton, is only matter of advice, ſaving that particular of the Merchants, which, if your Majeſty ſo pleaſe, may be remitted to Sir Arthur Hopton to accommodate, when he ſhall be there.

*Doe ſo.*

I UNDERSTAND

I UNDERSTAND from Mr. Secretary Coke your Majeſty hath directed the ſhip that is to tranſport Sir Arthur Hopton ſhall go for the Groyne, to which he ſubmits very willingly. But whether that Place, being 200 miles farther by land from Madrid, and extreme ill way over the mountains, will not be very inconvenient to my Lord Aſton, conſidering his dangerous infirmity of the ſtone, which was the conſideration of their ſettling upon St. Andera's is moſt humbly referred to your Majeſty. *A.D.* 1637.

*In this you ar muche deceaved, for the Groyne is not* 300 *Myles from Mad: and upon my Knowledge St. Anderas is above* 250:
*C. R.*
*Mar:* 2: 5: *a cloke after.*

THERE is another letter from Sir John Pennington received even now, which I thought not unfit to preſent to your Majeſty.

AND ſo in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Whitehall,* 1 *March* 1637.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE incloſed from Mr. Gerbier and Taylor I judged fit for your Majeſty's conſideration, and therefore preſumed to tranſmit them, moſt humbly beſeeching your Majeſty to vouchſafe me your commandments concerning the ſecond letter of Gerbier, who will expect to be inſtructed what reply he ſhall make to the Meſſage ſent him by the Princeſs Phalſburg.

*Ye may tell Gerbier, that what conditions ſoever ſhall bee betweene us, thoſe that oppoſe them, muſt be our mutuall Ennemies, but I will upon no termes engage myſelfe to breake with anie of my Frends, before they give mee juſt Cauſe*
*C. R.*
*7:th.* 1 *a klocke af: noone.*

THERE is likewiſe a letter of the Princeſs herſelf written with her own hand, by which her heartineſs in the buſineſs appears.

YOUR Majeſty will have too much trouble in peruſing the deſpatches themſelves; and therefore I will forbear to add to it by theſe, more than in craving leave in all humility to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Weſtminſter,* 5 *March* 1637.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to the Earl of* NEWCASTLE.

*My Lord,*

HIS Majeſty having a purpoſe, according to the precedents of former times, to ſettle the government both of the perſon and family of the Prince in a way anſwerable to his ſtate and years; and having deliberately adviſed upon ſome perſon of honour and truſt, to be near his Highneſs, and

*A.D.* 1637. to be a chief director in so weighty a business; hath been pleased, in his gracious opinion of your Lordship, to make choice of you to be the only Gentleman of his Bedchamber at this time, and hath commanded me to give you knowledge of this his princely resolution. And withal his Majesty's pleasure is, that you prepare yourself to come to the Court in diligence, and to attend his Majesty before the Sunday fortnight after Easter, which will be the eighth day of April.

And lastly his Majesty hath expressly commanded me to let your Lordship know, that you have no particular obligation to any whatsoever in this business, but merely and entirely to the King's and Queen's Majesties alone; who of their own mere and special grace and goodness have made this choice, and vouchsafed you this honour; the continuance and increase whereof, and of much happiness with it, I wish to your Lordship, and so rest

*Your Lordship's humble*

*and faithful Servant,*

*At the Court at Whitehall, 19th of March* 1637.

Fran. Windebank.

*A rough Draught, by himself.*

*The Earl of* Newcastle *to Mr. Secretary* Windebank.

*Noble Sir,*

I BESEECH you to present me in the most humble manner in the world to his Sacred Majesty, and to let his Majesty know I shall as cheerfully as diligently obey his Majesty's commands. Truly, the infinite favour, honour and trust his Majesty is pleased to heap on me in this princely employment, is beyond any thing I can express. It was beyond a hope of the most partial thoughts I had about me: Neither is there any thing in me left, but a thankful heart filled with diligence, and obedience to his Sacred Majesty's will.

It is not the least favour of the King and Queen's Majesties to let me know my obligation: And I pray, Sir, humbly inform their Majesties, it is my greatest blessing that I owe myself to none but their Sacred Majesties. God ever preserve them and their's, and make me worthy of their Majesties' favours!

I have had but seldom the honour to receive letters from you; but such as these you cannot write often. But truly I am very proud I received such happy News by your hand, which shall ever oblige me to be inviolably,

*Sir, Your most faithful*

*and obliged Servant,*

*Welbeck, the 21st of March* 1637.

W. Newcastle.

*An Original.*

CHARLES R.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS *for our trusty and well-beloved* Sir Arthur Hopton, *Knt. Our Ambassador Resident with the King of* Spain.

BESIDES those Instructions which we have given you already for our service, We have thought good hereby to make known to you our farther

farther pleaſure how you are to govern yourſelf in theſe particulars fol- *A.D.* 1638.
lowing:

FIRST, becauſe it is the cuſtom of Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of other Princes and States to give viſits to each other, eſpecially to thoſe that newly arrive in any part, it is very likely the Ambaſſador of the King of Hungary reſiding there will do the like to you; which if he ſhall, you are to accept, and return his viſit with due reſpect; but in diſcourſe you are to avoid (as much as poſſibly you may) the giving, or ſo much as mentioning, the title of Emperor, uſing rather that of Majeſty, which belongs to him as King of Hungary. And if you ſhall be neceſſitated to uſe that title it muſt be as of yourſelf, and as a private man by way of private diſcourſe, and in no reference at all to us. And becauſe in conference between you and the ſaid Ambaſſador, and likewiſe with the Miniſters of Spain, there may perhaps on their part be offered occaſion of diſcourſe concerning our Nephew the Prince, Elector Palatine, and his preſent taking of arms, and putting himſelf into action, in ſuch caſe only, and not otherwiſe (for of yourſelf originally you are not at all to miniſter occaſion of diſcourſe concerning our ſaid Nephew, or the buſineſs of the Palatinate) you ſhall anſwer, that his taking of arms is with our knowledge and conſent, but not by our order or deſign; and withal to the Miniſters of Spain you ſhall ſay, it is a mere German buſineſs, and nothing concerning the Crown of Spain.

FOR your firſt private audience, the ſubject of it muſt be only the good correſpondence between the two Crowns; but you are not to meddle with the buſineſs of Germany except the occaſion come from that King or his Miniſters, and then only to intimate that We will not be averſe from any propoſition that ſhall tend to a general accommodation, and to the peace of Chriſtendom. If any ſpeech ſhall ariſe from them (but not otherwiſe) concerning our treaties with France and the Swedes, you are to ſay, that we having treated many years with the Houſe of Auſtria without effect, we are at laſt neceſſitated to make trial of ſome other way: nevertheleſs, that we have left a latitude to admit any reaſonable propoſition from the Houſe of Auſtria; that our chief care and intention is to procure a good peace in Chriſtendom, which being not to be had without the reſtitution of every Prince to his own, our purpoſe in theſe treaties is no other, than to agree upon ſeveral propoſitions to be made by the ſaid Princes at a general treaty of peace, and not for an union of forces, unleſs the unreaſonableneſs of any ſhall oblige them thereunto; in which caſe we conceive it will appear who are the diſturbers of the peace of Chriſtendom, and the blame will lie where the fault ſhall be.

IF any propoſition be offered you in writing either by the Ambaſſador of the King of Hungary or any the Miniſters of the King of Spain, you may as of yourſelf accept it, eſpecially if you find it for our ſervice, without undertaking to ſend it to us, nevertheleſs you are to ſend it to us: but by no means to make any anſwer to it, either by writing or otherwiſe, without eſpecial order from us, or one of our principal Secretaries.

THERE is another buſineſs of great weight, which concerns us highly in honour and profit, wherein you are to uſe extraordinary care and dexterity; and that is the fiſhing in our ſeas, and upon the coaſts of our dominions, which upon long and mature conſideration we find doth juſtly belong unto us, as a Right and Royalty of Inheritance, incident to our Crowns, and that in purſuance thereof our late dear Father, of bleſſed memory, did

*A.D.*1638. publiſh his Proclamation, thereby declaring his title to the ſaid fiſhings, as alſo his pleaſure, that no ſtranger of what quality ſoever ſhould preſume to fiſh there without his expreſs licence. You are therefore to make known to that King, and his Miniſters, That we are reſolved to preſerve and maintain our juſt right and claim to thoſe Royal fiſhings, ſo devolved to us by our predeceſſors, and to defend it as the inheritance and poſſeſſion of any other our dominions; That this our right hath been oppoſed by the ſubjects of the King of Spain, who cannot pretend the leaſt intereſt in thoſe fiſhings, and yet have interrupted and taken even upon our own coaſts, and in ſight of our harbour, ſuch as have had our licences to fiſh. This you are to repreſent to that King as a buſineſs whereof we are very ſenſible, and which may give occaſion of an ill intelligence between the two Crowns, which we deſire by all means to avoid. And therefore you are to make inſtances to that King in our name, to give order to all and every his ſubjects to forbear from henceforth to interrupt or moleſt any that ſhall by our licence fiſh in any our ſeas, and upon our coaſts, We expecting the like juſtice from him, for preſervation of our inheritance, and of ſo eminent a flower of our Imperial Crown, which we will be always careful and ready (when it ſhall be in our power) to render to him in any thing that may concern his right and ſovereignty in his dominions. This point of procuring order from that King to his ſubjects not to interrupt ſuch as ſhall be licenſed by us to fiſh in our ſeas, you muſt manage dexterouſly, and endeavour to compaſs by treaty. But if that will not prevail, then you muſt let them know that we are reſolved to take into our protection and ſafe conduct all ſuch as ſhall take our licences, and in their Perſons to vindicate, preſerve, and maintain this right and inheritance of our Crowns againſt any whatſoever that ſhall oppoſe it.

*Whitehall, the* 21. *of April* 1638.

*A Copy.*

## *The* PRINCE ELECTOR *to his* MAJESTY.

*Sir,*

I WILL not trouble your Majeſty with ſuch things as this bearer will far better relate: Beſides, the irreſolution the ill ſucceſs of the Prince of Orange's deſign hath cauſed with us, maketh me not acquaint your Majeſty with any particulars concerning my own undertakings, but leave that to this bearer, until I ſee clearer in them. I hope the chaſtiſement both French and theſe States have lately received, will make them concur the ſooner with your Majeſty's intentions at Hamburgh. I am ſure if they are not brought to ſuch effect as your Majeſty wiſheth, the fault will be their's, and not your Ambaſſador's, who ſtudies nothing elſe but your ends, which is a conſtant peace through all Chriſtendom, and the glory you will atchieve by the ſettling of it. I intend to ſend thither on that manner as he hath let me know by your commands; and in any thing elſe I will conform myſelf conſtantly to your pleaſure, as one that hath no greater ambition than to be accounted

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Nephew and Servant,*

CHARLES.

*Rehnen this* $\frac{11}{21}$ *of June* 1638.

*An Original.*

*Mr.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I HAD not now preſumed to adventure theſe to your Majeſty, but that the buſineſs requires haſte, and one of the adjoined deſpatches is not fit to be communicated to any but your Majeſty's ſelf, it being a profound ſecret, as your Majeſty well knoweth. *A.D.* 1638.

THE laſt of theſe two deſpatches of $\frac{15}{5}$ of this preſent is come by an expreſs, who by reaſon of contrary winds hath been ſo long upon the way that I fear he is come too late to prevent that which your Majeſty hath long apprehended. If your Majeſty think fit that Sir William Boſwell ſhall uſe the beſt means he can to ſtay the Queen's coming hither, upon commandment from your Majeſty, this bearer may be deſpatched to him with inſtructions for that purpoſe.

*I think it moſt fitt, therfor diſpach the Order with all Diligence.*

BY the former deſpatch of the $\frac{14}{4}$ which is the ſecret, your Majeſty will obſerve how diſcreetly your agent manageth your Majeſty's anſwers touching this great buſineſs; and I have already given him thanks for it.

CONCERNING his coming hither, I am humbly of opinion it may be to very good purpoſe, both for the advancement of that great buſineſs and Princeſs Phalſburgh's ſatisfaction, and for communicating many things to your Majeſty which are not fit for letters. And therefore, if it pleaſe your Majeſty to give him leave to repair hither, I will ſignify ſo much to him, and cauſe the letters to Mr. Secretary Coke, which he mentions in his firſt deſpatch, to be delivered, and give order for his tranſportation, according to his deſire.

*Doe ſo.*

I PRESUMED the other day to repreſent unto your Majeſty that I had ſomewhat to propoſe for your Majeſty's benefit and ſervice, upon the death of Witherings the late poſtmaſter for foreign parts. And that is, that your Majeſty having been pleaſed to confer the place of poſtmaſters general upon your two Secretaries for the time being, there can none ſerve your Majeſty ſo well in the poſtmaſterſhip for foreign parts as they; it being more properly within their circle than the other. And for the benefit your Majeſty will receive by it, your Majeſty may ſave £ 1400. yearly, which your Majeſty is pleaſed to allow us for intelligences.

*The Man liveth.*

BUT this I moſt humbly remit to your Majeſty's great wiſdom, with like humility craving pardon for this importunity, and the honour to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Weſtminſter*, 12*th. Auguſt* 1638.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

A.D. 1638. THE adjoined to your Majeſty from the Marquis de la Vieuville is comé to my hands by the ordinary of this week; and in all humility I crave your Majeſty's pleaſure, whether ſuch a letter as I make account he deſires from your Majeſty to the Infant Cardinal, and is ſet down in Mr. Gerbier's letter to me, ſhall be prepared, or no. It is very true, that the great ſecret treaty now on foot, by the intervention of Princeſs Phalsburgh, is much managed by his Miniſtry, and is likely to ſuffer much (beſides the diſcouraging of Princeſs Phalsburgh) if he ſhould withdraw himſelf at this time. And beſides Mr. Gerbier's advices, your Majeſty will find in theſe I now preſent to your Majeſty from John Taylor, very good inclinations in the pretended Emperor to give ſatisfaction; and Sir Arthur Hopton (as I doubt not but Mr. Secretary Coke hath acquainted your Majeſty) concurs in the like advices from Spain; aſſuring that they are ſo apprehenſive of the progreſs of the French at Fuenterabia, that they mean ſuddenly to deſpatch an Ambaſſador to your Majeſty to implore your aſſiſtance, which they cannot expect without giving your Majeſty ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of the Palatinate; and that being in ſo fair a way, your Majeſty in your wiſdom will pleaſe to conſider how neceſſary the Marquis de la Vieuville's preſence and concurrence there, will be. All which nevertheleſs in all humility I ſubmit to your Majeſty's great judgment, moſt humbly expecting your princely pleaſure to

*Prepare one as Gerbier hes ſett it downe.*

*Ye ſay well.*

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Weſtminſter*, 24 *Auguſt* 1638.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

MY preſent condition is ſuch, partly by mine own late indiſpoſition, which I have not yet totally ſhaken off, but more eſpecially by that of my Son, as I am rendered utterly unable perſonally to attend your Majeſty; wherein I ſuffer beyond meaſure and expreſſion. I do therefore in all humility beg your Majeſty's princely pardon for theſe and all other my diſabilities, and that you will likewiſe vouchſafe me leave to preſent to your Majeſty ſuch advertiſements as come to my hands from foreign parts; ſome of which are accounts of your Majeſty's commandments conveyed by my hand to your Miniſters.

YOUR Majeſty may pleaſe to take notice that there go herewith two deſpatches from Sir Arthur Hopton, with three ſeveral billets from the Conde Duke to him; which I have forborn to put into Engliſh, the ſubſtance of them being in Sir Arthur's letters, and is no more but a deſire of 6000 or

4000

4000 Iriſh, to be procured by Hopton privately, by his own and his friends' intervention here, to be ſent into Spain for the ſervice of that King. The manner of the demand ſeems extravagant, that ſo great a Stateſman ſhould flatter himſelf with an imagination that any Miniſter or Subject of your Majeſty can, upon his own private, undertake ſuch a ſervice for a foreign Prince, without addreſſing himſelf immediately to your Majeſty, and without that Prince's immediate ſuit to you. But the buſineſs of Fuenterabia being now moſt unfortunately (for your Majeſty's affairs in relation to Spain) at an end, the Conde Duke while that whip was over him beginning to be better natured, and to underſtand your Majeſty and himſelf more clearly, and being in all probability to have been thruſt upon your Majeſty to ſave that State from ruin if the ſiege had either continued, or the place been taken, I humbly ſubmit it to your Majeſty, whether I ſhall not now give Sir Arthur Hopton that anſwer which you have been pleaſed to make to all other Princes, and which indeed is your rule, That your Majeſty will grant no new levies to any, but only recruits to ancient regiments, and thoſe indifferently to both ſides, when your Majeſty ſhall think fit.

*A.D.* 1638.

*Doe ſo.*

For Sir Arthur Hopton's own anſwers, they are very diſcreet, and with your Majeſty's leave I ſhall tell him your Majeſty likes them and his carriage very well.

I shall likewiſe (if your Majeſty pleaſe*) encourage him to go on with the buſineſs of the fiſhing, into which (thanks to the ſiege of Fuenterabia) he hath made a hopeful entrance, though, now that fear is paſt, I doubt the Conde Duke will be too much himſelf again.

* *It does.*

The *Papal ſellado* concerning the fiſhing, which Sir Arthur Hopton mentions, I likewiſe herewith moſt humbly preſent to your Majeſty; but I fear it is imperfect, and ſomething wanting in it at the latter end.

*So much as is, is good, but ye ſay right.*

By the deſpatch from Sir William Boſwell your Majeſty will find what probabilities there are of Queen Mother's ſtay in thoſe parts, and what diligences he hath uſed to divert her from hence, which I wiſh had been more home, according to the inſtructions he had from me. If your Majeſty pleaſe to command any thing elſe to Sir William Boſwell concerning this buſineſs, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me your pleaſure.

I presumed the laſt week to ſend your Majeſty a letter from the Earl of Leiceſter, who will expect ſome direction concerning the buſineſs of Prince Rupert and Madame de Rohan, which I moſt humbly remit to your Majeſty's wiſdom, and ſo crave leave in all humility to reſt

*It is a Buſineſs that requyres no great haſte, yet is very nyce; therfor I will ſtay while I may ſpeake with you.*

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*and obedient Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 17th. Sept.* 1638.

Fran. Windebank.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*A.D.* 1638. MR. Gerbier hath ſignified to me your Majeſty's pleaſure that I ſhould take into conſideration the propoſition ſent by Princeſs Phalsburgh, together with your Majeſty's anſwer; which I have done, and do herewith in all humility preſent them both to your Majeſty, the anſwer being written upon the margin, which I have carefully compared with the original dictated to me by your Majeſty's ſelf, and hope your Majeſty will find it wholly in ſubſtance agreeable to your intentions. If your Majeſty like it, I moſt humbly deſire it may be returned to be tranſcribed with my hand; and then after, your Majeſty may pleaſe to ſign your own hand upon the margin; which as it will give credit to the buſineſs, Princeſs Phalsburgh knowing well your Majeſty's hand, but not mine, ſo it can no way prejudice your Majeſty, if Gerbier be charged (as it is moſt neceſſary he ſhould) that upon peril of his life he deliver not the paper out of his hand to any, no not to Princeſs Phalsburgh, nor ſhew it to any but to Princeſs Phalsburgh, and not to her as an inſtrument any way binding or obliging your Majeſty, but only as a teſtimony of your Majeſty's real proceeding, in caſe they ſhall give aſſurance of the like.

*I doe, and therefore ſend it back marked by me, to be your warrant.*

*Your's may ſerve.*

MR. Gerbier hath farther made known to me that, at his firſt acceſs to your Majeſty, he preſumed to make an overture of a ſuit to be preſented to your Majeſty by my hand, which ſhould be no charge to your Majeſty. The particular is, that your Majeſty, in conſideration of his long ſervices, and in memory of the Lord Duke of Buckingham, his Maſter, will vouchſafe to confer upon him the order of Knighthood, which certainly will add much honour to him, and make him the more conſiderable with Princeſs Phalsburgh and thoſe with whom he is to treat in your Majeſty's great buſineſs, and conſequently conduce to the ſucceſs of it; and beſides, it will be of great advantage to him in his own particular, for the better beſtowing of his children. All the intereſt I have in him is that of your Majeſty's ſervice, having to my remembrance ſcarce ever ſeen his face 'till now. And I confeſs I have found him ſo honeſt, real, and careful in all your Majeſty's affairs, that I am humbly of opinion your Majeſty cannot confer ſuch an honour upon any ſervant in theſe reſpects more deſerving. Which notwithſtanding in all humility I ſubmit to your Majeſty's great wiſdom, craving likewiſe your Majeſty's princely pardon for preſuming thus far, and moſt humbly begging leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 18th. Sept.* 1638.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's late commandment, I have tranſcribed with mine own hand upon the margin of the paper that goes herewith, your Majeſty's anſwer to the propoſition ſent by Princeſs Phalsburgh, yet with ſome variation from the former copy ſigned with your Majeſty's mark; which I have preſumed to do, finding upon better conſideration, that whereas that part of your Majeſty's anſwer which I have interlined, refers to the third article, and intimates the mention of ſureties in that article to be firſt given by the Infant Cardinal for the reſtitution of the Prince Elector Palatin, upon peruſal of that article there is no mention in it at all of any ſureties, which I acknowledge was an overſight in me, and I do moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon for it. As I have now altered it, there is ſtill reference to that article; and though in fewer words, yet, to my underſtanding, more effectually and fully; the condition being ſtill that the Infant Cardinal ſhall firſt give ſureties to your Majeſty, and yet that exception of the mentioning of thoſe ſureties in that article (which might have raiſed a diſpute, ſeeing no ſuch thing is there) taken away. Nevertheleſs, I have tranſcribed likewiſe another copy of the propoſition, and of your Majeſty's anſwer to it, agreeable word for word with the firſt, marked by your Majeſty, which, together with this latter newly altered, I do in all humbleneſs preſent unto your Majeſty, to the end you may pleaſe to take your choice, and ſignify to me which of them your Majeſty will command me ſubſcribe. If your Majeſty approve the new one, I moſt humbly deſire you to vouchſafe to put your mark to it for my warrant, as your Majeſty was pleaſed to do to the former, and then I may make another tranſcript agreeable to it, and deliver it under my hand to Mr. Gerbier. A.D. 1638.

*I have choſen the firſt.**

I DO moſt humbly deſire to underſtand your Majeſty's pleaſure, whether, when I ſubſcribe my name, I ſhall uſe theſe words, *(Par le commandement de ſa Majeſté)* which is the uſual ſtile on ſuch occaſions.

*Doe ſo.*

IF your Majeſty continue your former purpoſe that Mr. Gerbier ſhall not part with this paper at all, nor ſhew it to any but to Princeſs Phalsburgh, nor to her as a thing any way binding or concluding, but only as a teſtimony of your Majeſty's real intentions to them, if they ſhall proceed really with your Majeſty; I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, either to ſignify ſo much yourſelf to Mr. Gerbier under your hand, or elſe command me to do it under my hand.

*I command you to doe it.*

MR. Gerbier likewiſe deſires to know, whether, in caſe Princeſs Phalsburgh ſhall demand a copy of your Majeſty's anſwer to make uſe of when occaſion ſhall require, he ſhall deliver a copy; and if he may, that then he may be authorized to do it under my hand.

*I have directed him in this particular.*

IF your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to write with your own hand to Princeſs Phalsburgh, I do with all humility propoſe to your Majeſty, whether you will not think fit to take notice in general of the good offices ſhe hath done

* *This is the Paper which immediately follows.*

*A.D.* 1638. between the two Crowns, and to commend her diſcreet carriage, and encourage her to continue them.

I HAVE, at Mr. Gerbier's motion, prepared a letter of credit to be ſigned by your Majeſty (if your Majeſty pleaſe) to the Infant Cardinal, to be preſented by Mr. Gerbier now at his return; wherein there is notice taken of the Infant's readineſs to enlarge the Scotch colonels, priſoners, at your Majeſty's inſtance.

THERE are likewiſe four ſafe conducts in Mr. Gerbier's hand, for your Majeſty's ſignature; one for Mr. Gerbier himſelf, another for his Son who is going to travel, and the other two with blanks, which the Princeſs Phalsburgh deſired to make uſe of, if there ſhall be occaſion.

IN all humility I crave your Majeſty's pardon for this trouble, and leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient,*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 22d. Sept.* 1638.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Reſponſe de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne.*

SA Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne ayant veu les propoſitions en ce papier, conſiſtant en ſept articles, y faict la reſponſe ſuivante.

QUE ſi l'Empire & Eſpagne reſtitue reellement ce qui eſt en leur poſſeſſion du Prince Electeur Palatin ſon Nepueu, ſa Majeſté promet librement d'entrer en ligue offenſive et defenſive avec la Maiſon d'Auſtriche, contre la France & Baviere, pour la reſtitution de la Lorraine, & des autres Places en Italie, leſquelles ont eſté oſteés de la dite Maiſon d'Auſtriche, depuis les derniers troubles, en cas que la France refuſe de les rendre a des conditions raiſon-

*Propoſitions De la part de Madame la Princeſſe de Phalsburgh.*

1. ON faict propoſition au Roy de la Grande Bretagne d'entrer en ligue avec ſa Majeſté Catholique contre France pour la reſtitution de ce qu'elle a pris & tient depuis ces derniers troubles, ſoit en Italie ou en Lorraine, pour procurer la paix generale en la Chreſtienté.

2. ESPAGNE ſe faict fort de faire au plus tort entrer en la ligue l'Empereur.

3. QUE le Prince Charles (Nepueu du Roy de la Grande Bretagne) ſera moyenant la dite ligue reſtitué en la Dignité Electorale, & recognu des maintenant en ſes Eſtats, c'eſt aſcavoir de la part de l'Empereur par ſa revocation (en bonne forme & autentique) de tout ce que l'Empereur defunct a prononcé contre le Palatin, Pere dudit Prince Charles, dont c'eſt enſuivée la privation de ſes Eſtats & de la Dignité Electorale; et que, la dite revocation avouée, le dit Prince (comme dit eſt) ſera reintegré en ſa dignité Electorale, & recognu en ſes Eſtats.

4. Qu'au cas qu'il y arrivâſt difficulté de la part du Duc de Baviere pour la reſtitution de ce qu'il tient au haut Palatinat, le dit Roy de la Grande Bretagne entrera pareillement en ligue contre le dit Duc, & generalement contre tout autre qui s'y voudroit oppoſer; comme pareillement y entreront de bonne foy leurs dites Majeſtés Imperiale & Catholique.

5. ET

nables par un Traicté amiable; lequel ſa Majeſté entreprendra de propoſer, l'Infant Cardinal aſſeurant premierement ſa dite Majeſté des ſeuretez mentionnés au 3ieme article, aſcavoir, de revoquer tout ce que l'Empereur defunct a prononcé pour le tranſport du Palatinat, & auſſi de declarer le Prince Charles, Nepueu de ſa dite Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne, Prince Electeur Palatin.

SA Majeſté approuve les autres articles, & y conſent franchement & librement, excepté au 7eme article, lequel ſa dite Majeſte ne desavoue pas entierement, partie du dit 7tieme article pouvant eſtre modifiée & accommodée par traicté.

PAR le commandement de ſa Majeſté.

FRANCOIS WINDEBANK.

*Fait a Londres le 6me d'Octobre 1638. a nôtre Compte.*

5. ET d'autant que pour la ſatisfaction du dit Duc de Baviere, on ne trouve autre meilleur & plus prompt expedient en ce qui regarde la dignité Electorale (qu'il perdera par la dite revocation) ſinon en le creant de nouveau pour 8me Electeur, et en conſequence de ce, attendu la neceſſité du nombre impair es Electeurs, ſa Majeſté Imperiale ſe trouvant obligée d'en creer un autre 9me a ſon Choix, ſa dite Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne ſera obligée d'entrevenir de bonne foy vers les Electeurs Proteſtants ſes Alliez pour leur faire agreer ce que deſſus; et en cas de la grande difference, la dite ligue demeurera en ſa force & vertu pour ſouſtenir les deux nouveaux Electeurs, comme pour le dit Prince Palatin. *A.D.* 1638.

6. ET comme pour haſter d'autant pluſtoſt cette paix generale (& tout ce que deſſus) il eſt de l'utilité particuliere de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne, auſſi bien que de leurs Majeſtés Imperiale & Catholique, de retirer, en tant qu'il pourra, tous ſes Alliez qui le ſont de France, de leur union avec la dite France, pour la mieux porter & neceſſiter a la Paix, ſa dite Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne y fera a bonne foy tous les efforts poſſibles pour les porter a une paix ou treſue particuliere avec iceux.

7. QUE ſi pendant la ligue il arrive dommage a aucun des dits trois Princes aſſociez, ſoit par faction ou force ouverte en leurs Eſtats, nul de deux aſſociéz ne ſe pourra deſpartir de la dite ligue, que le dit tiers intereſſé ne ſoit pleinement ſatisfaict; et cependant & juſques a l'accompliſſement de tout ce que deſſus, nuls des dits trois Princes cy deſſus, pour quelque pretexte ou utilité que ce ſoit, ne pourra traicter avec France ſeparemment, & a l'inſceu de deux autres, a peine d'eſtre convaincu d'avoir manqué a ſa foy.

*Faict a Bruxelles ce 23 Juilet* 1638.

*The propoſitions are in the hand of* Mr. Gerbier; *and the anſwers in that of* S. Windebank.

## *The Archbiſhop of* CANTERBURY *to Mr.* S. WINDEBANK.

*Honoured Sir,*

I THANK your Honour for your large letter; and I have read it all over to the King, who was as well pleaſed with your relation, as he is altogether unſatisfied with the Biſhop's anſwer and carriage. For the High-Commiſſion-buſineſs, I ſhall give your Honour farther account at leiſure; but I think the Court did him juſtice, and ſhewed him favour. 'Tis all of a piece; and I think, if you viewed him well, there appeared little ſhew of melancholy, diſcontent, or great infirmity by the ſtone, in his countenance or carriage. Yet I ſee you are not merciful enough to weep for a man's

*A.D.*1638. ſorrow that cries downright for a mother of fourſcore years old, and wipes his noſe in velvet. †

For your advertiſement concerning the Biſhop of Chalcedon, and his ſending to Rome to ſolicit the making of ſome Engliſh titular Biſhops, I had that information in my paper before; but with this difference: I heard nothing of the Biſhop of Chalcedon's ſending, but I heard one Dr. Holden was ſent, and that he is at or near Rome by this time; and, as I remember, ſent by the Seculars in England; and a jealouſy caſt abroad, as if it had been done with his Majeſty's privity at leaſt. I acquainted his Majeſty both with what you had written and what I had heard: And his Majeſty commanded me to write unto you, that you ſhould out of hand advertiſe Sir William Hamilton of this, and cauſe him to labour a prevention as ſeriouſly as may be.

Mr. Price likewiſe informed me that he knew from his confident in Rome that M. Conn would never be made a Cardinal, unleſs it may be underſtood that his Majeſty will take it for a courteſy done for his ſake. In the mean time I hear that Conn ſtands upon his own merit, and talks ſo. So upon the matter the King's favour ſhall make him, and he not ſtand obliged to his Majeſty. I put this home, and the inconveniences: So his Majeſty hereupon commands you to let Sir William Hamilton underſtand that his Majeſty expects no courteſy thence, and to require him, as opportunity ſhall ſerve, handſomely to let that be known. His Majeſty preſumes you come not at your Son, to receive any prejudice by his diſeaſe, and would have you come to court ſo ſoon as God ſhall make you able, which I hope will not now be long a-doing. To God's bleſſed protection I leave you, and reſt

*Your Honour's to ſerve you,*

*Hampton-Court, Septemb.* 23. 1638.

W. Cant.

*An Original, endorſed thus by Windebank:*
"Lo: Arch. Cant.
"According to his M. pleaſure ſignified in this letter, I have written to Sr. W. Hamilton 28. of "this preſent, in both the buſineſſes mentioned, and commanded him ſecrecy in both."

## *Mr.* Taylor *to Mr. Secretary* Windebank.

*Right Honourable,*

THIS week hath brought me none from your Honour; the laſt week, [*that*] of the 28th of September, which I have already anſwered. The miſerable defeat of the Prince Elector's army is now all over, and will be certainly with you before theſe. It was ſaid he was dead; but now they ſay he is not, and is eſcaped, but ſore wounded. They have ſent for Prince Rupert; but he ſhall not be brought into this town, but be carried to Newſtadt, where they will uſe him with all honour and reſpect. They will give him preſently the liberty of the park to hunt and take the air, and acceſs to ſuch Cavaliers as deſire to wait on him. They tell me, they ſhall ſhortly have the Plenipotency from Spain, to treat for what belongeth to that King: And ſince this accident is befallen, they ſeem the more impatient of it.

† *This firſt Paragragh relates to Godfrey Goodman Bp. of Glouceſter, who was perverted to Popery by one Wm. Hammer, as appears by a Letter from Hammer to Sr. Wm. Hamilton then at Rome; who communicated the whole affair to his Majeſty and Sec. Windebank. The Bp., as appears by ſome Papers concerning this Buſineſs, petitioned his Maj. for Leave to go to the Spaw for his Health, pretending to be troubled with the Stone; but his Deſign being made known to his Maj. as above, he could not obtain it. Within a Year afterwards he conformed again.*

Concerning

Concerning Bavaria, they have ſome time ſince dealt with him, and have brought him to a farther reſolution than yet he hath taken. I do abſolutely believe that they deſire to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction; but whether what they will, or ſhall be able to do, will content him, or no, I cannot ſay. Howſoever, I wiſh that there was once a good beginning; for if once theſe great crowns be perfect friends, it is not poſſible but that the buſineſs of the Palatinate be accommodated to all their contentments. The Bavarians have laboured much to get Prince Rupert; but they are here reſolved not to give him to them upon no conditions; for they ſay he is of too great conſequence, and that they will ſtrive to oblige his Majeſty in intreating him well. I believe you will be much troubled at this accident: Howſoever, I could wiſh his Majeſty did not wholly leave this way; ſince the others are very uncertain, if not more than this, and far more dangerous unto us; ſince we cannot obtain our ends, but by advancing the greatneſs of thoſe, which are become too great and potent already. *A.D.*1638.

The Duke of Lorrain attempted to have relieved Briſac, but was repulſed with loſs. Guetz is blamed for not having at the ſame time ſuccoured him; which if he had done, they ſay, certainly the place had been relieved: And this has cauſed ſundry diſcourſes of Bavaria. But now they ſay that Guetz is ready; and that the Duke of Lorrain, (to whom ſince this laſt attempt Merchi is joined) with Lamboy and Caponi's regiment of 800 horſe, will all jointly ſtrive to break through. If they prevail not, they are reſolved to ſend for Picolomini, ſince that this town may yet hold forth two months. If the place be relieved, the Auſtrians will have a fair game; if it be loſt, the French will have gotten ſuch a footing in Germany, as will make them Maſters of the Rhine and Danube; which you ought well to conſider; for it will highly concern you. I have heard nothing yet of the Duke of Simmerin's coming; but ſince the paſs is ſent him, he cannot be long away.

Count Trautmandorff's Son is now in England. Your Honour knows he is the greateſt Miniſter in this court; and it would much import that his Majeſty did cauſe ſome eſpecial grace and honour to be done him. He hath been extraordinarily favoured in Italy and Spain, which his Father hath much eſteemed. It will be neceſſary you ſhould do the like, if you continue this way. The preſent affordeth no more; ſo, humbly taking leave, I reſt

*Your Honour's moſt humble*

*and faithful Servant,*

*Vienna, Nov.* 10. *Stilo novo,* 1638.

John Taylor.

*An Original.*

*A Deſign to extricate his Majeſty out of theſe preſent Troubles with the* Scots, *and at once to render him free from the Mincers of his Majeſty's royal Prerogative in England.*

TO draw an army of 10,000 men from Flanders, with ſuch cautionary conditions as his Majeſty need not fear, and yet his ill affected Subjects ſhould not dare to budge. Nor would a far greater army of our own men awe the ſubject half ſo much as a few foreign forces. And one main caution to his Majeſty, were to have ſome ſubject of his own in joint

*A.D.*1638. commiſſion with the Head Commander of theſe foreign forces: But he muſt be ſuch as both knew the nature of thoſe men, and had ſkill to command them, and were known alſo well unto them. And by this means, thoſe forces, being jointly commanded by a ſubject of his Majeſty, would advance no farther at any time than his Majeſty pleaſed.

Now for the maintaining this army, queſtionleſs the Catholicks of England would contribute far; but it is moſt probable His Holineſs might be drawn to contribute as much as might maintain them for ſix months at leaſt; in which time they would force the Scots to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

This is the deſign; the way to compaſs it ſeems not hard. Firſt, with the Prince Cardinal Colonel Gage may be a fit inſtrument to deal about auxiliary forces thence, as a man well eſteemed there, and yet his Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubject. Nor would it happily be hard to obtain a well-appointed army thence, upon promiſe of double the number of unarmed men hence. And indeed, without equal conditions of change, ſuch at leaſt as might not weaken Prince Cardinal at this time of the war with France and Holland, there can be no expectation of aid from his Highneſs Royal.

As for the ſecond part of the deſign; it will be neceſſary, to bring the Pope more eaſily thereunto, that ſome hope may be given to his Holineſs of abrogating the ſevere laws againſt Recuſants, if not of an abſolute toleration of Catholick Religion.

Admit this cannot be made probable to his Holineſs without a Parliament, by reaſon the laws againſt Recuſants are eſtabliſhed by that high Court, and cannot be repealed but by the like authority.

Answer; that as Charles the fifth, having an army ready to attend the Diet, upon pretence to ſecure the Electors aſſembled about the choice of an Emperor, did ſo awe that Diet, as thereby himſelf was choſen Emperor, albeit the Electors had no inclination that way of themſelves: Even ſo might the King, having a foreign army on foot, ſubdue the Scots therewith, and at the ſame inſtant keep the Parliament in awe, that his Majeſty might eaſily make them come to what conditions he pleaſed: And by this means confirm his royal Prerogatives, and repeal ſuch laws againſt Recuſants, as were made, not only with intention abſolutely to root out Catholick Religion, but to keep even his Sacred Majeſty from this Crown, by bolſtering up a crooked line againſt his Majeſty's direct right. Witneſs the Death of the Queen of Scots, his Majeſty's Grandmother of happy memory.

And by this means his Holineſs would be drawn doubtleſs to do much.

Nor is it a thing without precedent to have a buſineſs of equal conſequence with this effected in a very private manner. For happily his Majeſty may not in point of State be ſeen to have publick recourſe to that See.

Monsieur D'Oſſet, living as a private Prieſt in *Camera locanda* at Rome, wrought the reconciliation of King Henry the fourth of France to the See Apoſtolick; whereunto that King was not diſtaſteful: And this with a private dexterity; no man ever taking notice that this Prieſt had any manner of employment between his own King and His Holineſs, who was Clement the eighth.

In like manner his Majeſty may now employ in a private way ſome ſtout-ſpirited Prieſt, who durſt lay the cauſe home to His Holineſs, and give him ſuch motives for this deſign, as he ſhould no ways be able to gainſay.

gainſay. And yet withal the Prieſt ſhould be bound to render a ſtrict account to his Majeſty of proceeding ſecretly, and not exceeding his commiſſion. *A.D.*1638.

And for this purpoſe there may be uſe made of Doctor Houlden, a Sorboniſt, this day in Rome upon his own private devotions; a man well verſed in affairs, having been bred in France with men of great eſteem and place, witneſs Mareſchal Manillian, to whom he was *à ſecretis*. And he is dextrous, learned, wiſe, virtuous, and a moſt loyal ſubject of his Majeſty.

Though happily it may be neceſſary to ſend up ſome other privately to Rome to ſettle Mr. Houlden in this way, and to open the ſtate of the buſineſs to him, as alſo to carry him his commiſſion.

If this courſe be approved of, it muſt be ſpeedily reſolved on, that the buſineſs may be effected before the ſpring.

*In Mr. George Gage's hand, endorſed thus by Windebank:*
"Propoſition Ro: Ca."

## *Colonel* Gage *to Mr.* George Gage.

*Brother*,

THREE weeks ſince I ſent you word of my reſolution to taſte the Spaniard about their ſiding with his Majeſty, if the Scotiſh and Engliſh Puritan ſhould attempt at home, and their brother Hollander and French foment their attempts. For, howſoever you ſeem to mince it, and ſuppreſs the report, here the world is full of it, and all men's eyes are upon it. The French and Hollander grow inſolent, and have not ſo much modeſty as to wear their maſk, 'till they ſee the effects of his Majeſty's goodneſs towards his ill affected ſubjects, or hear what hopes my Lord Marquis may have to reclaim them. I ſaw an advice from Paris to a Miniſter of State here, that, howſoever it imports the French to look forward ſtill towards their Italian, Lorrain, and German conqueſts, yet, they ſay, it imports them more to look backward towards Scotland; where they are not out of hope to plant their Flowers *de lis*; ſo vaſt is their ambition and ſo unſatiable their thirſt of Monarchy, upon their late victories. And the zealous brother of Amſterdam, who owes his being a free State to the Crown of England, cannot contain his boaſting in his zeal how ſtrong he is, as well in numerous plantations of his own ſubjects upon ſeveral coaſts of England, as in the hearts of divers Engliſh ſubjects in the more inland parts of the land. Of theſe and the like diſcourſes France and Holland are full, and there are thouſands of advices daily of it here. All which, concurring with that ſtrong ambition of mine to do my Country ſervice, made me curious, *aliud agendo*, to feel a Spaniſh pulſe or two. And to me, who ſerve the Spaniard, queſtionleſs they will lie more open than to a publick Miniſter; to whom, for gravity's ſake, they muſt be locked and reſerved. I find them in good temper, and their affections ſtrong for England; but their abilities are not ſo anſwerable to their deſires. They would part with any ſuccours to do England ſervice; but they are ſo preſſed on all ſides by France and Holland that they loſe ground yearly, even in their defenſive war. In fine, I adventured to deliver my opinion, that, in regard I knew here we ſtood in need of men, and that England was full of men, and peradventure wanted Soldiers, methought it might be a change advantageous to us both, if England furniſhed them with 20,000 men, and they England with 10,000 ſoldiers. But thoſe numbers

*A.D.*1638. ſeemed too exorbitant on both ſides; for 10,000 old ſoldiers make a royal army; and to diſfurniſh themſelves of them, and put their Country into the hands of 20,000 ſtrangers, all of one nation, and another Prince's ſubjects, was not to be thought on: For the Spaniards are not ſuch natural fools but that they can foreſee an apparent danger to come. But I, finding them begin to hearken to a leſs exchange of men, and to repeat often with diſlike that particular of ſo many ſuccours of one nation, and the diſproportion of armed ſoldiers for twice as many naked and untrained men, at a time when they were ſo ſurrounded with enemies, replied, that, ſetting aſide that vaſt number of 20,000 men, which ſeriouſly was too great, his Majeſty was able to furniſh him with ſubjects of his own of ſeveral nations. And having long experienced their deſire of many Iriſh in their ſervice (at leaſt of ſo many as may ſerve to counterpoiſe their Engliſh, who they know love not one another) methought the exchange and proportion would be more competent, if his Majeſty of Great Britany could be brought to ſuffer them yearly to reinforce their three Iriſh regiments, and keep them always up at 2000 men apiece, and their two Engliſh regiments in like manner at the ſame rate of 2000 men apiece; which would make in all 6000 Iriſh and 4000 Engliſh: And that they in exchange ſhould allow his Majeſty 4000 foot, and 400 horſe, old ſoldiers and well armed, whenſoever he ſhould demand them. And this notion I perceive will go near to take, if they were aſſured his Majeſty there would condeſcend to it; provided they may have their 10,000 Engliſh and Iriſh in their country, before his Majeſty call upon them for their 4400 horſe and foot. This I took the boldneſs yeſterday to propoſe to Prince Thomas as a ſpeculation of my own; who ſeemed to reliſh it, telling me he would communicate it to the council of war. If you therefore can learn by any friend how his Majeſty ſtands affected to ſuch an exchange, let me know it ſpeedily, and then I may ſpeak more boldly in the buſineſs. Prince Thomas is departing towards Italy, having his licence for two or three months; and I ſhould be glad this buſineſs were concluded by him, becauſe I know he is a Prince of infinite deſpatch, and makes a fair and ſpeedy end of many great affairs. And this is all I am able to ſay for the preſent of this buſineſs.

Sir Francis Windebank hath lately written to his Majeſty's Reſident here, that Sir William Treſham had made a complaint of me and Captain Pavier for proſecuting him here; and commanded us to ceaſe our ſuits. I vow to God, for my part, I never commenced any ſuit againſt him; and what Captain Pavier had begun, I ſuppreſſed immediately; ſo that Sir William Treſham had not been preſſed by him at leaſt two months before he made this impertinent complaint. And yet now again, after almoſt three months ſurceaſe of the buſineſs, and after the Secretary of State hath forbidden Captain Pavier to meddle further in the buſineſs, Sir William Treſham preſſeth him to go forward in the ſuit, upon pain of being fined, if he refuſe it, for commencing a frivolous ſuit. So that, if he anſwer, he diſobliges the Secretary of State; and if he anſwer not, he is in danger of being fined. I ſend you Captain Pavier's letter to me about it, with the order of the Auditor General, preſſing him to anſwer, in Sir William Treſham's name; which I pray you, by ſome Friend, communicate to Sir Francis Windebank, that he may ſee the impertinency of the man.

And thus, in haſte, I remain

*Your aſſured loving Brother,*

*Bruſſels, this 5th Day of Feb.* 1639.
*An Original, endorſed by Windebank.*

Henry Gage.

## INSTRUCTIONS *for our truſty and well beloved Colonel* HENRY GAGE, *now in the ſervice of the* INFANT CARDINAL *in* Flanders.

YOU ſhall immediately upon the receipt of our letters of credit, which go herewith, procure acceſs to the Infant Cardinal in private; and you ſhall deliver our ſaid letters with ſuch profeſſions in our name of our deſire to continue a friendly intelligence with the King of Spain and him, as you in diſcretion ſhall think fit. *A.D.*1638.

YOU ſhall then acquaint him with a propoſition lately made to us, wherein both our affairs and his are highly concerned; which is, for ſome number of ſoldiers ready armed to be ſent from thence for our ſervice, in exchange for a greater number unarmed, to be levied here for the compleating of their Engliſh and Iriſh regiments there.

YOU ſhall repreſent to him that the number which we deſire for the preſent ſervice, is 6000 foot and 400 horſe; which, conſidering the number they are to have in exchange from hence yearly, being likely to continue, is not great; it being probable that the number of their recruits every year, which they are to have from hence, will amount to as many; whereas we are not likely, after this preſent action, to have occaſion to demand any from thence again.

OF theſe 6000 foot we expect 4500 ſhall be Harquebuſſiers, and the reſt Pikes: And if the whole number ſhall be leſs than 6000, then the diviſion of Harquebuſſiers and Pikes to be according to that proportion.

THESE forces of horſe and foot you are to procure to be embarked at Dunkirk in veſſels of the King of Spain, and to be tranſported at our charge to the rendezvous; and they are to be there by the firſt day of April next enſuing according to the foreign computation; and you muſt acquaint them, that, if they ſhall fail to be there at that time, they will be of no uſe, and the ſervice will be utterly loſt. And you ſhall further make known to the Infant Cardinal, that they ſhall be ſafe conducted to the rendezvous by our ſhips. And you are to procure that victuals be ſhipped there for theſe forces for one month at the leaſt, at his Majeſty's charge; aſſuring the Infant Cardinal that our ſhips which ſhall be ſent to ſafe conduct them, ſhall bring ready money with them to pay for thoſe victuals and for their freight, and for the defraying of all other incident and neceſſary charges.

AS ſoon as they ſhall be embarked they are to enter into our pay, according to the pay of Flanders, and to continue for ſix months, or as long as there ſhall be cauſe to uſe them; only deduction is to be made for their victuals.

YOU are to take ſpecial care that the men be able, and their arms compleat and ſerviceable; and the like for the horſe.

YOU are to acquaint the Infant Cardinal that they ſhall be commanded in chief by ſome perſon of the Nobility, being our ſubject: But that we expect your perſonal ſervice herein, as one in whom we ſhall much confide, and therefore do deſire him to authoriſe you by commiſſion accordingly.

IN conſideration of theſe forces thus armed, we do hereby engage ourſelf, that, as ſoon as you ſhall have concerted and agreed this buſineſs, and given notice of it hither, we will inſtantly give warrant for the levying of ſuch numbers of our Engliſh and Iriſh ſubjects as ſhall be ſufficient to recruit and compleat all ſuch Engliſh and Iriſh regiments and companies in the King of

*A.D.* 1638. Spain's ſervice in Flanders, as at any time have heretofore been recruited or compleated; and we will ſuffer or permit them to be ſent from hence into Flanders for the ſervice of the King of Spain, without any let or hindrance. And this you are to aſſure the Infant Cardinal we do promiſe and bind ourſelf, in the word of a King, punctually to ſee performed.

You muſt uſe great ſecrecy, dexterity, and expedition in this buſineſs; and take care that it be not divulged; ſeeing, if the party in Scotland ſhould come to the knowledge of it, it would be utterly overthrown. And therefore, the better to diſguiſe it, when the forces ſhall fall down to Dunkirk to be ſhipped, you muſt adviſe upon ſome rumour to be caſt out to amuſe the world, that they are deſigned for Biſcay, Italy, or ſome other parts; and give it out, that they are victualled accordingly.

You muſt be very cautious, eſpecially if you ſhall find this propoſition not like to ſucceed, that you deliver no paper thereof, nor engage his Majeſty by any writing, leſt there be uſe made of it hereafter to our prejudice and diſſervice. But if you ſhall find a willingneſs in the Infant Cardinal to aſſiſt us upon theſe conditions, then you are neceſſarily to treat by writing, but ſtill under profound ſecrecy, and promiſe on their part not to diſcloſe it.

Now you ſee the great truſt we repoſe in you, we doubt not but your diligences ſhall be anſwerable and according to the weight of this important ſervice.

You are to preſs a ſpeedy reſolution herein, and to give advertiſement thereof hither within fifteen days at the furtheſt; letting the Infant Cardinal know, that, unleſs expedition be uſed, the ſervice will be loſt.

*5th. Feb.* 1638.

*A rough Draught, by Windebank.*

## *Colonel* GAGE *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

BY my Brother I have received his Majeſty's letter of credit to the Infant Cardinal, with his royal inſtructions for the treaty he hath graciouſly been pleaſed to intruſt to me, together with your Honour's letter * of the $\frac{6}{16}$ of February. They came late to my hands the $\frac{12}{22}$ of the ſame month; and the next day I procured audience of the Infant Cardinal, to whom I have delivered his Majeſty's letter, with ſuch proteſtations and profeſſions in his Majeſty's name, as he is pleaſed to command in the firſt article of his royal inſtructions. The Cardinal received his Majeſty's letter with much expreſſion of joy, and ſuch a return of proteſtations as ſeemed cordial and unfeigned; but for the treaty he remitted me to the Marquis de Ceralvo, and his ghoſtly Father, whom he hath authoriſed to treat with me in his name, and enjoined them ſeriouſly expedition and ſecrecy. I am confident they will uſe both; though the preſent indiſpoſition of the ghoſtly Father, and his long and tedious fits of a tertian ague, be ſome impeachment of the free acceſs of the Marquis to him, and of his repair to the Infant Cardinal; ſo that by this ordinary I can give no particular account of the buſineſs, but am promiſed within a day or two to have their reſolution.

WHAT I am able to diſcover by the conference I have hitherto had, is an extreme willingneſs to furniſh his Majeſty with the troops he deſires, but a fear withal of diſfurniſhing themſelves of ſo many old troops, at a time when they have two ſuch puiſſant enemies upon their hands; which I fear

* *This Letter does not occur.*

is

is somewhat increaſed by the late defeat they have had at Dunkirk; a blow which will go near to endanger their deſign; and the loſs of the Caſtle of Bouzy in Hanault, which of itſelf were not ſo great, if not accompanied with that other of Dunkirk. *A.D.1638.*

As for the defeat of Dunkirk, I believe it would rather further than hinder our demand, if they were aſſured his Majeſty, in exchange of the troops they ſend him, would accompany their fleet going and returning from Spain with ſome men of war of his, and ſafe conduct the troops they expect out of England and Ireland.

They have objected to me, that it will be hard to raiſe ſo many men in England and Ireland as will recruit their Engliſh and Iriſh regiments, at a time when his Majeſty raiſeth men for himſelf, all men being bound by the law of nature to defend their own rather than another man's right. But to that I made anſwer, that, if they will aſſure his Majeſty of theſe old troops he demands, they ſhall neither now nor at any time hereafter, whilſt peace continues between the two Crowns, want men ſufficient to recruit thoſe regiments; and that now in particular, his Majeſty will take ſome ſpeedy courſe to have them furniſhed out of hand. And, in effect, if his Majeſty make it not his buſineſs to raiſe theſe men for them, it will be impoſſible they ſhould be ſupplied in time. For I know by dear experience how tedious, chargeable, and uncertain a thing it is to raiſe men in London by the way of ſpirits: And Sir William Treſham the laſt year having had licence for 1000 men, with much difficulty brought over but 400 to this ſervice. In the country, his Majeſty, under the pretence of his own ſervice, (and in fact it is his own ſervice, when he doth but replace the men here which they lend from hence) may have the men raiſed at the country's charge, and ſhipped away all at one time. So that they ſhall no ſooner be quit of their old troops, but they ſhall receive in one ſupply men ready to fill their rooms. Of this I have given hopes, and ſhall expect your Honour's anſwer whether I may give them aſſurance. And it were pity his Majeſty's deſign, which is ſo well laid, as I am confident it will cruſh the rebels' practices in the bud, ſhould run any hazard for want of this aſſurance.

In the ſixth article of my inſtructions is a clauſe which I fear will not paſs when we deſcend to that particular; which is, that his Majeſty will pay the ſoldiers according to the Flanders pay, only deductions to be made for their victuals. Which deduction, if it be made, the ſoldiers upon the point will come to have no pay, nor money to buy their cloaths to their backs. And in this ſervice, whenſoever the ſoldier is embarked, the prince victuals the ſhips at his own charge.

It will likewiſe be worth his Majeſty's conſideration, whether it be more beneficial for his royal ſervice to pay the ſoldier according to the Engliſh or Spaniſh pay; for here every Muſketeer hath 15 *s.* monthly, and munition bread daily, which bread never fails, howſoever his pay many times is long a coming. And for his Majeſty to engage himſelf to give the ſoldier munition bread, will be a greater trouble and charge than is at firſt conceived: For he muſt keep a train of waggons purpoſely for that ſervice, and buy a world of portable ovens; which, if the war be not like to continue, will be an extreme and unneceſſary charge to his Majeſty. For horſes and waggons muſt be bought at exceſſive rates, and happily be put off again for nothing within a month or two. And this, under correction, I thought good to repreſent to your Honour, humbly begging his Majeſty's reſolution in this point.

*A.D.* 1638. For the reſt of his Majeſty's inſtructions, I ſhall by the help of God with all care and punctuality ſee them obſerved, when we are agreed upon the main point; labouring with all my endeavours to make it appear, that his Majeſty hath no ſubject more ambitious of doing his royal ſervice than myſelf, nor readier to lay down his life in that ſervice. To which though I am bound by my allegiance, yet this late truſt his Majeſty hath graciouſly been pleaſed to repoſe in me, hath added ſo ſtrong a tie to that of my allegiance, that my heart takes no repoſe 'till it have expreſſed in effect how true a ſenſe it hath of the duties it oweth. God preſerve your Honour for his Majeſty's and Kindom's ſervice!

*Your Honour's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Bruſſels, this* $\frac{15}{25}$ *of February* $163\frac{8}{9}$.

HENRY GAGE.

*An Original.*

## *Mr.* GEORGE GAGE *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

DID I not know that I am employed in the commands of a Sovereign as wiſe as he is clement, and were I not able to make it appear that there hath been no want of diligence nor ſolicitude in myſelf; I ſhould dread to tell your Honour I can effect nothing in the affair I am ſent about: Which grieves me the more, becauſe at my firſt arrival here, I was received like an angel from heaven, who had brought the moſt gladſome tidings that could be unto this Court, and this by the Prince's ghoſtly Father. The like welcome had my Brother to the Prince himſelf, and to thoſe of the Council of State and War, who were deputed to deliberate how to give the King a deſired anſwer. And I muſt confeſs, if I were to blame in any thing, it was to conceive myſelf too good hopes of a good end by ſo fair a beginning. But this is pardonable in a man ſo ignorant in State affairs as I am, and ſo deſirous to think every man is as he appears to be. Yet I was not only deluded by looks, but had ſuch faithful promiſes, that nothing ſhould ſtand between his Majeſty's deſires and home but the apparent danger of loſing theſe countries, (which then I did not conceive to be in hazard) that I was confident it would ſucceed according to my wiſh. And I did in particular aſk the ghoſtly Father, ſince I could not have an abſolute anſwer laſt Saturday, what I ſhould write at leaſt; who told me, ſmiling, that he did as yet know nothing certainly; but that, if it were poſſible to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction, it ſhould be done; and bid me write as much that poſt, aſſuring me, within few days after I ſhould know what could be done. And though it hath been longer than their promiſe ere I could get a final anſwer, yet I cannot impute it to any other cauſe, than that they would more deliberately conſult and adviſe how to give content to his Majeſty.

BUT withal I do conceive that they had written into Spain four weeks ago, when firſt my Brother as from himſelf did propoſe an exchange of men from England for ſoldiers hence, and had Prince Thomas's judgment thereupon: which was, that for 4000 foot and 400 horſe he thought it very feaſible, and wiſhed him to write immediately into England to get ſome ſpecial perſon deputed to break that affair here; and queſtionleſs at the ſame time writ into Spain to get leave from thence to make this exchange; which

I ſee

I ſee would be moſt grateful, if they had ſoldiers here to ſpare. So that I believe they expected this week an anſwer from Spain, which, it ſeems, is not come. And I have a ſtrong opinion that, without leave from Spain, the Prince here cannot do it, though they will not confeſs ſo much. And indeed this opinion is more ſtrong in me, becauſe three days ago a chief man here, one of the Council in this private affair, aſked my Brother, whether the Deputy of Ireland could ſend out of that Country into any foreign parts a conſiderable number of ſoldiers, without expreſs leave firſt obtained of the King of England; which had a ſhrewd reference to our preſent Caſe. *A.D.* 1638.

Now, albeit I having this opinion even before I came out of England (and your articles of inſtruction to my Brother charging him in that caſe to break off the treaty which depended thereupon) was extreme ſorry that an immediate anſwer was not given unto me upon the firſt motion, and thought once, ſince I came to ſee a likelyhood of delay, to tell the ghoſtly Father it was not real nor fair dealing to make me expect for an anſwer, which might have been made at my firſt arrival, conſidering the haſte my buſineſs required: Yet, now that I ſee the pretences for not granting his Majeſty's deſire are not feigned, but real, I do verily believe the Prince Cardinal took the more time to deliberate upon this buſineſs, becauſe, if he could have found how poſſibly he might have ſpared ſo many men as the King deſired, he would have [*for*] once preſumed to do a thing of notable conſequence without ſpecial order from Spain; in regard he ſees, and his Council confeſſes to my Brother and me, that this motion from the King of England is moſt welcome to theſe countries, and moſt availing to the King of Spain, that could be poſſible. But the truth is, however to blind the French and Hollander they make here the leaſt of all their loſſes, yet, even ſince I came into theſe parts, I am ſure they have loſt not ſo few as 4000 ſoldiers; beſides the prevention of a deſign to bring 7 or 8000 Spaniards from Spain by the fleet, which is now ſo battered at Dunkirk and ſo diminiſhed, as it is not likely to bring them a man hither in due time, if at all it be able to ſet out this year.

It may be you have not heard of the loſs they had here the other day of Bouzy, a place of ſmall conſequence; where yet they loſt many a ſtout ſoldier. They have received alſo very lately from Cambray a repulſe; where with a brave army they fell on, and were, by an accident of foul weather, ſeverely beaten, having loſt about 2000 able men. And at Dunkirk 1500 men was the leaſt that were ſlain, beſides the hurt, which ſince were brought dead aſhore to the number of 300 men. And really I believe the main reaſon why the ghoſtly Father deſired to gain time, was in hope to hear their army had taken in Cambray. For he was ever cheerful when I came to him, untill the news came of their repulſe there with ſo great a loſs. Theſe things conſidered, and that it is true which they tell my Brother and me, that the loſs of theſe countries is the endangering England too, make me verily believe they are ſincerely ſorry they cannot ſatisfy the King's deſires for the preſent. Which I give credit to the ſooner, becauſe they profeſs, if ever they recover to a better ſtate, than they are now in, or if once they can get their men from Spain, then they will do whatſoever his Majeſty of England ſhall require at their hands. And doubtleſs they ſay this in confidence that they ſhall have leave from Spain to do any thing for England, before there can come any new demands from thence hither. And indeed the ghoſtly Father told me, that they muſt be worſe than natural fools, if

*A.D.* 1638. they did not conceive it to be a thing moſt important to them to give England all poſſible ſatisfaction, having now no hope from any place but England for men, becauſe Banier was now fallen on afreſh in Germany with new forces, and intended to make his way through all obſtacles, 'till he met with Saxe Weymar; by which means even the expected forces from the Emperor this year would be leſs than required, if at all any.

So that amidſt my afflictions to come ſhort of my deſires to ſerve his Majeſty with men hence for his preſent deſign, I have this comfort, that I am ſure morally for all his future occaſions he ſhall find the Spaniard ready to aſſiſt him. And for this preſent ſervice, my Brother conceives the deſign ſo well laid, that he is not only content but deſirous to venture his life in the ſervice, and is confident, even with the ſame number of his Majeſty's freſh forces to effect the buſineſs, if it pleaſe his Majeſty to employ him therein. And albeit I were not to ſpeak my own Brother's praiſes, yet this I dare pawn my life upon, that, if his Majeſty pleaſe to command him home, he will give him ſuch directions and counſel in theſe his warlike affairs, as happily his Majeſty will not have the like without him. And this may partly appear by Prince Thomas's relying more upon my Brother laſt ſummer ſervice than upon any other commander. Yet I ſhould not ſay this, did not my duty to my Prince diſpenſe with my modeſty to conceal the praiſes of my own Brother. There is alſo another of his Majeſty's ſubjects here, the ableſt in his way of any man in theſe parts: And this is Lieutenant General Dowridge, the moſt experienced for the artillery and making paſſages for the army over waters, that theſe parts ever had. Now for his Majeſty to ſend a letter to the Prince to deſire him to ſend him theſe two men for his preſent ſervice, being his own ſubjects, albeit they are in pay under his *Alteſſa*, ſurely cannot be denied, and would much advance his Majeſty's preſent and future ſervice. And I am the bolder to mention my Brother's coming home, becauſe it muſt needs appear I reſpect more his Majeſty's ſervice than my Brother's profit herein. For his abſence at this time from his regiment will much diſadvantage him here. But if his Majeſty reſolve upon this for the preſent occaſion, he muſt loſe no time. And withal it may be conſiderable whether his Majeſty will pleaſe to ſend any new commiſſion to treat further, in caſe, upon anſwer from Spain, theſe who are now acquainted with the buſineſs ſhould propoſe any new buſineſs. But this commiſſion muſt not be to my Brother, if he be called away. Pleaſe therefore to adviſe me whom elſe to employ. As to myſelf, I preſume I ſhall have order next poſt to return home, when I have been at Sichem, which will not be theſe ten days at ſooneſt, becauſe the chalice is not done.

YOUR Honour will ſee, according to order this preſent treaty is broken, becauſe there cannot be any forces ſent hence for the preſent deſign.

I WAS fain to ſend my man away three days ago to Dunkirk without any letter, becauſe I had not then got any anſwer. He is there to expect the packet which this day goes hence; and therewith I ſend theſe in a particular packet to be delivered to him at Dunkirk, having given him order to ride night and day from Dover with the packet as ſoon as it is landed, and to bring to your Honour my letters before the common packet be opened and diſperſed; wherein I hope he will not fail. As for not ſending him ſooner than I do, I was drilled off from day to day for an anſwer here; and yet was fain to ſend him away at laſt before I had any anſwer, to ſhew them I could expect no longer. Secondly, had I ſent him ſooner, it had been to

no

no purpoſe; for he could not have got away from Dunkirk before this packet came thither. A.D. 1639.

I CONCEIVE it were not hard to borrow, or at leaſt to buy, arms here, which may be ſent time enough to ſerve for the preſent deſign. Shall I move it? Sir Balthazar Gerbier is hearkening after arms too; but, I preſume, not for this preſent deſign.

*Bruſſels, March* 5. 1639. *Stil. nov.*

*An Original, endorſed by Windebank.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

SINCE my laſt to your Lordſhip an occaſion hath been preſented, which, if it had ſucceeded, might, in all probability, have laid the grounds of a ſtrait intelligence and firm friendſhip between theſe two crowns. There was an offer made by Colonel Gage in Flanders of his ſervice to his Majeſty now in this action of Scotland; and withal an overture, that, if his Majeſty would recruit and compleat the Engliſh and Iriſh companies in Flanders yearly with freſh ſoldiers from hence, he ſhould at any time, and now preſently, be furniſhed by way of exchange from Flanders with 6000 foot and 400 horſe, all ancient ſoldiers and ready armed, to be tranſported from Dunkirk at his Majeſty's charge to any rendezvous his Majeſty ſhould appoint, and to be employed as his Majeſty ſhould order. This propoſition, coming thus freely in this conjuncture, his Majeſty took into conſideration; and finding it might be of great uſe to his preſent affairs, deſpatched one inſtantly in private with a letter of credit to Colonel Gage, to be preſented by him to the Infant Cardinal, together with inſtructions to treat and conclude this buſineſs. It happened that Prince Thomas, to whom this overture was firſt made, and who had encouraged Gage to propoſe it to his Majeſty here, was departed from Flanders before his Majeſty's reſolution came thither; ſo that Gage was left deſtitute of his furtherance, and had no introduction but his own into the treaty. Beſides, that very day that the expreſs arrived there from hence, the King of Spain's fleet, deſigned with forces for Spain, was encountered and beaten by the Hollanders; which gave a ſecond blow to our buſineſs. The Infant Cardinal remitted the buſineſs to his Confeſſor and another of his council, promiſing ſecrecy, and a ſpeedy anſwer; and kept his word in them both; though in the latter he would fain have given back, and ſpun out the buſineſs into the uſual Spaniſh length. But being extremely preſſed to an anſwer, his Majeſty commanding Gage to put it to a quick iſſue, and his affairs admitting no loſs of time, it was anſwered in writing to this purpoſe; beſides a very affectionate letter from the Infant Cardinal himſelf to his Majeſty: "That he was ſorry the preſent condition of their "affairs was ſuch, by reaſon of the loſs of Briſac, the late blow given their "fleet by the Hollanders, and their threatening an early campaign this year, "as they could not, without the knowledge and order of the King of Spain, "unfurniſh themſelves of their veteran ſoldiers, to ſupply his Majeſty's pre-"ſent occaſions, without running great hazard of the loſs of ſome place of "importance, which would endanger the reſt of thoſe countries. That they "had written into Spain about this buſineſs; and if the ſupplies expected "from thence and Germany ſhould come time enough, they would not fail

*A.D.*1639. "to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction to the uttermoſt of their abilities, knowing "well how much their own ſafety is concerned in that of his Majeſty, and "his Majeſty's in their's; and that they will moſt readily lay hold on this "or any other occaſion to give his Majeſty aſſurance of their deſire to ſettle "a ſtrait friendſhip with him." His Majeſty takes this anſwer very well, and believes they are much ſtraitened at this time. And though the propoſition had not that effect for which it was intended, yet having given occaſion of fair profeſſions on both ſides, I hope it may open a way to a nearer intelligence for the time to come. In the mean time, it was ſuch an occaſion ſlipt of putting an immenſe obligation upon his Majeſty, as a like in all probability will not be preſented again in a whole age: For the buſineſs was ſo laid, as thoſe forces ſhould have been tranſported into Scotland, and have ſurpriſed the caſtle of Edinburgh; which would have given the covenant a deadly blow, and his Majeſty had maſtered that rebellion by that time he ſhould have arrived at York, to his immortal glory, beſides the ſecuring and ſettling of his affairs. But this failing, his Majeſty is caſt upon other counſels; and purpoſes to be in perſon at York with his Nobility and ſome 6000 foot and 1000 horſe, beſides great numbers of volunteers, by the firſt of April next, from thence to enter in action as occaſion ſhall be preſented. In the mean time Sir Jacob Aſtley hath armed and ſecured the borders and towns adjacent; and his Majeſty's party in Scotland having been likewiſe armed from hence, increaſeth daily; and the covenanters want money, and repine much at the charge; ſo as we hope that ſtorm is not ſo dangerous as divers have apprehended, and as ſome of our neighbours would have it.

SINCE my laſt I have received from your Lordſhip theſe deſpatches following: The firſt of $\frac{20}{30}$ of December, with a duplicate of the ſame date to Mr. Secretary Coke, and a note of the Aſſiento of Ordinaries for the year 1639. Your next was a duplicate of your's of the 7th of January, the original whereof is not yet come to my hands. In this I find a trick put upon the Venetian Ambaſſador by the Conde Duke, in telling him they have ſent a Coreo of purpoſe hither to deſire his Majeſty to enter into a league for the defence of that commonwealth; than which there was never a greater impoſture faſtened upon any man, there being no colour of truth in it. For the Iriſh mentioned in this deſpatch, which they ſo much deſire to be ſupplied with, they might have been gallantly furniſhed, if they had aſſiſted his Majeſty in this action of Scotland, according to the propoſition of Gage. But how his Majeſty can ſpare any at this time, having ſo much uſe of them for Scotland, I do not well underſtand. Howſoever, they muſt not imagine to procure them by ſtealth, or without his Majeſty's leave, to whom only they ſhall be beholding for them, whenſoever his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to grant them. Neither ſhould they by my conſent ſerve under Tyrone or Tyrconnel, but under ſome Engliſh commander, to be appointed by his Majeſty; we having lately had advice that the covenanters in Scotland hold an intelligence with Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and have invited them to kindle a fire in Ireland, while they do the like in Scotland; which I beſeech your Lordſhip to hearken after.

THIS duplicate of the 7th of January came in another of your Lordſhip's of the 14th of the ſame, with a duplicate of your's then to Mr. Secretary Coke. I thank your Lordſhip for your advice concerning the Iriſh Friar Mortagh Ogrādi, and the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, upon whoſe embarkation at Briſtol I ſhall have an eye. The buſineſs is of conſequence, and fit

to

to be taken into consideration. For the Earl of Buchan, I am confident he hath no order nor powers to treat in the business of the Palatinate, and I am most sure not from me. And therefore his Lordship did very prudently and nobly by imitating my hand to furnish himself with such as might procure him credit, as appears by another of your late despatches, seeing he had not the original; which peradventure would have been of less advantage to him, as he finds his own religion to have been, and therefore he hath likewise changed it. I have received a letter from his Lordship, wherein he gives me no notice of the favour he did me in that particular: Only he tells me he is not out of hope to do the King some good service when things are more ripe; and that the Conde Duke hath urged him many times to inform him what kind of man I am. *A.D.* 1639.

Your Lordship's next despatch is of 22d of January, of which I have two duplicates. Myself not being well, I sent it to his Majesty, who disliked not the proposition, but ordered no answer, because I conceive he expected the success of the proposition by Princess Phalsburgh, sent by Palmer.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Your Lordship's of the 29th of January, begins with the fishing business; wherein I am confident you have left no stone unturned. But I never had other opinion of the success of that treaty than that of your Lordship; which is, that there will be little hope of it, except other things be first adjusted. And besides, the benefit that will thereby arise to the Hollanders, and the opposition it hath and will receive in Flanders, will be always powerful enough to hinder other effects than merely to entertain and amuse us. To the rest of this letter concerning the conference offered by the Conde Duke, and mentioned in your Lordship's of the 22d of January, to be intrusted to yourself and him, and likewise concerning Cardenas, I can yet say nothing.

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It is more than time to free your Lordship from this importunity, and to present my faithful services and most affectionate acknowledgements to you of all your true love to me and mine, which shall ever oblige me to be

15 *March* 1638. *Your Lordship's*, &c.

*A rough Draught, by himself.*

## *Sir* Arthur Hopton *to Mr. Secretary* Windebank.

*Right Honourable,*

YESTERDAY the 29th I wrote to your Honour by a servant of the Dutchess of Chevreux; since when I have spoken with the Conde, who told me that they have received this day letters from the Cardinal Infant; wherein he signifieth, that his Majesty hath desired from him 5000 old soldiers, and that he was much troubled what to answer. But that here it had been considered of; and their resolution being never to fail his Majesty in any office of friendship, there remained nothing to be considered of, but how this might be done with the least danger to their own estates. "For it "is well known," said he, "that we have drawn men from thence, and as "yet their recruits from Germany nor Spain are not yet arrived. Wherefore, "as concerning the 5000 men required, our answer will be, that his Majesty "shall willingly have them; but because we must leave the Province of "Flanders and the *Pais de bas* unprovided, we shall desire from his Majesty, "that he would declare formally, that he will take that coast into his pro-

*A.D.* 1639. "tection, which we conceive will ſecure it: And it is no more than his "Majeſty did ſome few years ſince. And we ſhall deſire further of his Ma- "jeſty, that he would lodge his fleet in ſome ſuch place of the channel, as "may ſecure the paſſage of ſuch men of war as we ſhall ſend from hence. "Theſe two things, ſaid he, his Majeſty may do without breach with any "body, being done in regard of the men he hath from thence; which "makes it a ſervice of his own." To this purpoſe I perceive they will deſpatch to the Infant by a Propio within few days. And I thought it my duty to give your Honour notice thereof as ſoon as I could; and I think he told me of it to the end I ſhould do ſo.

I SPAKE to him about the fiſhing buſineſs; and he aſked me, whether I had any other inſtruction concerning the reaſon of our pretenſion. I told him, "No more than is in my memorial. It is true that I have heard that "there had been ſome mention made thereof in ſome of our treaties with "the Houſe of Burgundy; and that Philip II. had taken a licence for 20 "years for the Flemings and Biſcayners to fiſh there. But becauſe I neither "have it in my inſtructions, nor any certain knowledge thereof otherwiſe, I "cannot ſet it down in paper." I perceive they do expect ſome ſuch matter. If that be, or any thing elſe to that purpoſe, I ſhall be glad to receive it, and in as authentical a manner as it may be. For, as this buſineſs is oppoſed in Flanders, the Conde will be ſparing in doing any thing, which they may perchance pretend will be prejudicial to them, without having ſome more reaſon for it than a bare allegation. And it would do well, that we were provided of our reaſons; for, for want of them from us, they ſend for them to Flanders; from whence they come nothing in our favour. I can be certain of nothing that depends on the will of another; but I am of opinion that the Conde would be perſuaded by reaſon in this matter.

THE Coreo that came yeſterday came by the way of England, and brought me ſome letters, which the Governor of the Groyne ſent together with the King's packet: Which coming to the Conde's hands, he preſently ſent them unto me, and appointed me to meet him the ſame evening in the *Buen-Retiro*; where preſently he fell to aſk me, whether I had any thing concerning the powers; and I think this was the true cauſe of our meeting. He ſeems to be deſirous to do ſomething therein; but what, I cannot tell. And the time ſeems not to be improper, before the Prince Elector be in the field again, and before the good inclinations which ſeem to be here and in Germany be diverted by any new accident; to which this buſineſs is much ſubject. The extraordinary Ambaſſador of Germany hath been with me; and I like him better than at firſt. Yet all is but words, and thoſe general; which may invite us to deſire to know the truth thereof; but until then are nothing. And ſo I humbly reſt

*Your Honour's moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, 30 March 1639. St. nov.*

ART. HOPTON.

*An Original.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE three deſpatches that go herewith, are from the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Antrim, and the Infant Cardinal in Flanders to the Princeſs Phalsburgh.

THE

THE two former I am desired by both parties to transmit to your Majesty; and though that of the Deputy be long, and your Majesty well understands already what is to be expected from the Earl of Antrim, yet if in the midst of your Majesty's sad business, you will please to give yourself a little recreation, your Majesty will find the Lord Deputy makes very good sport with the vast undertaking of the Earl, and, besides the pleasantness of the dialogue, many things of weight and consideration. *A.D.* 1639.

FOR answer to them both, because they will both expect it, I humbly conceive your Majesty's late direction to the Lord Deputy by my hand will serve; which was, that if the Earl of Antrim can contribute any thing to that design of alarming the Scots on that side where the Earl of Argyle's country lies, the Lord Deputy shall make use of him. Otherwise, that, according to the Lord Deputy's advice, the design may rest 'till the next spring, and in the mean time so carried as neither the Earl be discouraged, nor set at liberty from his undertaking; but that such use be made of him as may be for the advantage of your Majesty's service. I forbear to trouble your Majesty with the paper of the Earl of Antrim's proposition to the Lord Deputy, because your Majesty will find the most material parts of it in the Lord Deputy's despatch.

*It will, with the Intimation of hartning Antrim as much as may bee.*

To the other letter of the Infant Cardinal, my most humble opinion is, that an answer to this purpose is to be returned to Princess Phalsburgh:

*Returne it.*

"That your Majesty is now absent; and in "affairs that concern your own estate very "highly: but as soon as they shall be settled, "your Majesty will take this proposition into consideration, and then they "shall understand more particularly your Majesty's intentions." Your Majesty will please to remember, you cannot send any to Brussels to treat with the King of Hungary's Ambassador, or with any other in publick, but the title of Emperor must be given: Which though the French themselves have done in the treaty for the passports to Cologn, yet they will make ill use of it, and object it to your Majesty. And besides, your Majesty hath put this business into another way in Spain; and until, by the result of that private conference, there may be a surer foundation for some solid treaty, and some better appearance of the clearness and reality of their intentions to the Prince Elector, it can be no way counsellable that your Majesty should run hazard again of being amused with more treaties.

FOR your Majesty's affairs here since your departure, the Earl of Berks, according to your Majesty's commandment, was sworn a Counsellor at the first meeting of the Lords, which was upon Friday last; and then likewise the establishment for the pay and ordering of the army, was signed by their Lordships. Only, because some doubt was made whether your Majesty had given way to the 50 Halberdiers in the list, which are to attend the Lord General, the Lords commanded me in all humbleness to represent it to your Majesty, and to crave your pleasure in it. I remember very well your Majesty made this a difficulty to the Lord General himself, when the list was first taken into consideration, and that his Lordship answered, all

*He may take a competent Number out of his owen Regiment to be his Guards.*

*A.D.* 1639. Generals ever had ſuch a guard; but if your Majeſty ſhould think fit to retrench it now, he would not diſpute it.

UPON Saturday their Lordſhips met all again to conſider of ſuch patents as are pretended to be grievances, and have judged 31 or 32 of them to be revoked and annulled by proclamation. Thoſe which your Majeſty commanded to be excepted, are not queſtioned. Among the former, there was ſome diſpute concerning the grant of tranſportation of butter, and great abuſes were alledged to have been committed in the execution of it; which if the Patentees might have notice of, perhaps there would appear either ſome miſinformation, or elſe ſome way might be found for reformation of thoſe abuſes, and then the grant continue; which I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom. We had likewiſe a warm debate about the buſineſs of cards and dice, becauſe this likewiſe was left by your Majeſty among thoſe that were to be revoked. But this is reſpited; and, under your Majeſty's favour, I do moſt humbly conceive, that this being no private ſuit, nor to bring the leaſt benefit to any but your Majeſty, and the buſineſs being now upon ſettling, and all the difficulties overcome, and a reſerve of £ 6000. *per ann.* beginning now to come into your Majeſty's treaſury, this ought not to be ſtirred nor ſo much as diſputed any further. And therefore, I do in all humbleneſs ſubmit it to your Majeſty's wiſdom, whether you will not command that it be queſtioned no more, but that it continue.

*It is fit they ſhould before it be taken away.*

*Since the profitt is ſo conſiderable, and that upon Ryot and unthriftineſs, I will have it to ſtand, without anie more queſtioning of it.*

THE Lords of the committee for the affairs of the North have often met, and by their directions I have prepared inſtructions for the Earl of Lindſay for his ſervice, and for the undertaking of the government of Berwick; and likewiſe for Tilly, who is to take charge of the ordnance, and for Payler, who is to be paymaſter there: All which are to be ſent to the Earl of Lindſay to morrow. His inſtructions are put under one of the blanks, which your Majeſty was pleaſed to leave with me. I ſhall likewiſe give the Earl of Lindſay notice, that the ſhips deſigned for the North ſervice are all in a readineſs, and ſome of them falling down the river: Only, ſome gunners' ſtores are ſtill wanting, which the Earl of Newport promiſes to haſten.

THE counties where the 5100 men were to be levied out of the trained bands, have all, except Kent, returned very fair anſwers, and that the forces ſhall be ready at the ports at the days appointed. For Kent, it is likewiſe hoped they will conform; but if they ſhall not, the Lord Chamberlain, their Lieutenant, muſt go down in perſon, and reduce them to better order.

*It is fitt he ſhould.*

THE Lords of the committee, upon a motion of my Lord Marquis Hamilton, have cauſed the Lord Admiral to arreſt all Scotch ſhips here in the port of London, (which amounted to 13.) together with their goods; and have given him like order to ſtay all Scotch ſhips whatſoever and their goods throughout England, Ireland, and Wales; which they humbly beſeeeh your Majeſty to confirm, and give warrant for it. Your Majeſty may pleaſe to ſign the warrant to this effect, which goeth herewith.

*I have.*

THEIR

THEIR Lordſhips are likewiſe of opinion that all paſſengers that come from Scotland, and all letters, ſhall be intercepted, except ſuch as are deſpatched under the hands of the Lord Marquis, the Lord Treaſurer, and Secretaries of Scotland, and the Secretaries here; and to that end ſome diſcreet perſon to be employed, to watch the borders, and all the avenues. *A.D.* 1639.

WR. Wood, who was deſigned to be Paymaſter of the forces to ſerve under the Lord Marquis, declines the ſervice; and thereupon, the Lords do humbly deſire your Majeſty to give me power to raſe his name out of the Privy Seal which your Majeſty ſigned for him, and to inſert another.

*I doe, and command you to do it.*

SOME of the Roman Catholick party have been with me lately, and do aſſure me, that your Majeſty is like to have a conſiderable ſupply from them, and that the buſineſs goes on very happily.

IT is more than time to put an end to your Majeſty's trouble, and in all humility to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*Deliver this incloſed to my Wife.*

*For yourſelfe, apoſtiled the 2 of Aprill* 1639.

*moſt humble Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

31 *Mar.* 1639.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE laſt night the adjoined from the Lord Marquis Hamilton came to my hands; and, according to his Lordſhip's direction, I do now moſt humbly preſent it to your Majeſty, having firſt acquainted my Lord Admiral with it, who, by his letters to the Lord Marquis which I have already ſent, hath given him account and (I hope) ſatisfaction for that which concerns his charge. In the mean time my Lord Marquis hath had a beginning full of difficulty; and I moſt humbly ſubmit it to your Majeſty, whether it be not fit that the Lord Chamberlain ſhould take notice to his Deputy Lieutenants in Kent of this great diſſervice to your Majeſty, and be ſenſible of it. It ſeems likewiſe, there is no little neglect in the officers of the Ordnance; and if the Maſter of that office be not quicker with them, your Majeſty's ſervice will dangerouſly ſuffer.

*I have commanded him to doe ſo.*

*Hee ſhall bee.*

YESTERDAY I directed letters to your Majeſty, in which the Proclamation for Scotland was returned; and I gave your Majeſty account of the Lord Treaſurer's and Lord Cottington's anſwer concerning the £ 20,000. commanded by your Majeſty to be ready by the 20th of this preſent. In the afternoon yeſterday, after the ſermon, the Lord Treaſurer told me that the £ 10,000. for which himſelf had undertaken, and which was to come from the Maſter of the Rolls and the Exchequer, is ready; but he doubted that the other £ 10,000. which my

*In the meane tyme, lett that* 10:$^{mll.}$ *be ſent away with all Speede.*

*A.D.* 1639. Lord Cottington had undertaken to receive from the farmers of the ſea-coal, would not be ſo eaſily had: For the Lord Treaſurer himſelf had treated with the farmers, and they had little leſs than abſolutely refuſed. But I aſſured my Lord that upon his Lordſhip's and the Lord Cottington's promiſe that between them both your Majeſty ſhould be ſupplied, I had written to that purpoſe to your Majeſty, and that money muſt be provided, and your Majeſty not diſappointed, whatſoever ſhift ſhould be made. Whereupon the Lord Treaſurer told me he would adviſe again with the Lord Cottington, and uſe all means for your Majeſty's ſatisfaction: but if the Moneys were now preſently ready, they could not be tranſmitted to your Majeſty by the day which your Majeſty hath aſſigned. I replied that his Lordſhip muſt look to that, conſidering the ſtrictneſs of your Majeſty's commandment, and the importance of the ſervice.

*You muſt put this directlie upon Cott: and that I muſt have this other* 10$^{mll.}$ *at furtheſt by the* 8. *of May.*

YESTERDAY, after the ſermon, the Lords upon my ſummons met; and I acquainted them with the alterations your Majeſty hath made in the Proclamation concerning the pretended grievances; and they have appointed Wedneſday next to hear the Lord Goring concerning the Engliſh Butter, and the corporation of Brickmakers concerning bricks.

UPON Monday next their Lordſhips purpoſe to meet to conſider of the letters that are to be directed to the Gentry in the country for their contribution; and whether that buſineſs ſhall be proceeded in, or no.

IT was likewiſe moved yeſterday at the Board, that, conſidering the great Rebellion raiſed by the Covenanters in Scotland, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to cauſe your letters to be directed to the States of the United Provinces, for the ſuſpending of the privileges which the Scotiſh merchants trading into thoſe countries do enjoy by virtue of your Majeſty's treaties with thoſe States, and in regard of the amity between the Crown of Scotland and them; the ſaid ſociety of merchants being now all Covenanters, and having their peculiar church and chaplains, ſtaple, court, and reſidence at Campveer or Treveer in Zealand, and a Laird conſervator, and greater juriſdictions and immunities there, than the Engliſh merchants adventurers could ever obtain. It was likewiſe avowed to the Board by Sir Dudley Carleton, that, during his agency there, thoſe merchants had ſometimes carried themſelves ſo inſolently, that the magiſtrates of that town and ſtate have had it often in conſideration how to rid themſelves of them. If your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to have letters directed to the States to the effect aforeſaid, I will prepare them accordingly. In the mean time my Lords have commanded me to repreſent this, and recommend it earneſtly to your Majeſty's ſerious conſideration.

*Doe ſo.*

THE Earl of St. Alban's hath lately written a very paſſionate letter to me of the miſerableneſs of his condition, and that he is in danger to be ruined in his fortune by the delays of the Lord Deputy in confirming ſuch lands to him as your Majeſty was pleaſed to give order by your expreſs letters. His Lordſhip likewiſe gives me notice that having repreſented this lately to your Majeſty, you were pleaſed to tell him that your Majeſty was informed that my Lord Deputy had made ſome ſtop in the paſſing of his patents; but until your Majeſty had received the Lord Deputy's reply, you

you could not find fault therewith, nor ſend any new direction; and that your Majeſty did much wonder, I did not ſend it to your Majeſty, being long ſince directed to me. It is very true that my Lord Deputy in his deſpatch to me of 2d of March *, which I read all entirely to your Majeſty here at Whitehall (and your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember how paſſionate he was at the recommending the Earl of Deſmond to the horſe troop vacant by the death of the Earl of Kirkudbright) began with the buſineſs of the Earl of St. Alban's, which he ſaid "was very prejudicial to your Majeſty "in conſequence, and required to be thoroughly conſidered; and that it "did import him" (the Lord Deputy) "to underſtand, before that grant "paſs, whether your Majeſty intends to that Earl a bounty in lands in value "at leaſt thirty thouſand pounds; which otherwiſe in all juſtice and honour "your Majeſty will be intitled unto." Theſe are my Lord Deputy's own words, and this is all I know of the buſineſs; and your Majeſty, upon the reading them having given me no other direction, I conceive I had no ground to proceed further, until your Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe me further order. Howſoever, I had no reaſon to acquaint my Lord of St. Alban's with it, unleſs I had been authoriſed by your Majeſty, ſeeing I foreſaw it would draw a great importunity upon your Majeſty. What your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to command herein, I ſhall moſt willingly and readily obey; but it is moſt evident that my Lord Deputy, being of opinion that the paſſing of this grant will be ſo great prejudice to your Majeſty, will everlaſtingly hold it in ſuſpenſe, unleſs your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe in commiſeration and princely compaſſion to the noble man, and to ſave him from utter ruin, to command him to paſs it. All which ſubmitting with all humility to your Majeſty's wiſdom, I moſt humbly crave the Honour to reſt

A.D. 1639.

*It is trew: & for anſwer tell him, that ſince I came hither [that] the Deputie promiſed me a trew & cleere ſtate of the cauſe, with his and the Councelles opinions of it, which as ſoone as I have ſeene, he ſhall have my fynall anſwer.*

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Tell my Lo: of Cant: that I bothe lyke of his intended anſwer to thoſe of Berne and Baſill and that he ſhould doe it. C. R.*
*Give this incloſed to my Wyfe. Yorke, 16.*

*Drury-Lane, 13 April 1639.*

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

I SEND you heerewith another Proclamation to be printed with all ſpeede and ſecreſie (my Lo: of Cant: onlie excepted and thoſe who of neceſſitie muſt know it.) It is to be uſed inſted of that I laſt ſent you for

* *The original of this deſpatch occurs among the MSS. of this Collection, but is not printed here, an exact copy of it having been publiſhed in Strafford's letters,* V. 2. *Pag.* 292. *It is a very curious one.*

*A.D.*1639. Scotland; wherfor the former is to bee ſuppreſt as much as may; and a good number of theaſe muſt bee ſent to mee to Newcaſtell, by the laſt of this Monthe, if it bee poſſible. As for the Alterations, I ſhall onlie deſyer you to obſerve, that albeit I ſpeake not of * all, yet I promis no more than I did. Advertis my Lo: Treſorer, that Arondell hes gotten mee to ſyne a grant concerning ſome of his Anceſtors Landes, which he makes me belive, is of no prejudice to mee, but advantage to him; if it be ſo, it is well, if otherwais, let him ſtop it. So I reſt

*Your frend*

*Yorke*, 20 *Aprill* 1639.

CHARLES R.

*An Original.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK. †

*Windebanke*,

I DOUT not but your fellow Se: will, by this diſpache, give you the notice of the Commitment of two Lo^s: and the cauſe of it: Wherfor this is onlie to deſyre you to aſke privatlie at the Aturnei and Soliciter, if a Lord be not ſenſorable that refuſes to ſerve mee in my Warres (though it bee out of the Kindome) I ofring him ſufficient pay. Deliver this incloſed to my Wyfe, and you may aſke of her a Copie of my Militarie Oathe, if you want one. So fare well

*Your frend*

*Yorke the* 21 *of Aprill at* 10 *at Night* 1639.

CHARLES R.

*An Original.*

## PETITION *to the Queen from the Recuſants in* Berkſhire.

THERE is at this time by the under Sheriff of the County of Berks. a Jury ſummoned to appear, for the finding of Recuſants' lands and goods, at Abingdon on Monday the 22d of April 1639. Mr. Anthony Engleſield, one of the Collectors for the ſaid County, hath been advertiſed by the under Sheriff, that he hath now an Execution againſt him at the King's ſuit, proſecuted by one Edward Poole of Reading, an Informer againſt Recuſants. Which proceedings hinder our ſervice in his Majeſty's behalf, almoſt brought to a happy ſucceſs.

THE humble Suit of the Recuſants in the ſaid County, is, that her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, ſome ſpeedy courſe may be directed to the Sheriff of Berks. for a preſent ſtopping of the foreſaid Impediments to his Majeſty's Service.

*Endorſed by Windebank:*

" Recuſants in Berks.
" delivered by the Qu. Ma^ty.
" the 21. Apr. 1639."

* *This particle ſeems to be redundant. See the King's letter to the Marquis of Hamilton in Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, P.* 122.

† *This Letter was communicated to the Editor by the late Reverend Mr. Viney of Bath.*

*Mr.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's commandment in your letters of the 20th of this preſent, I have cauſed the laſt Proclamation for Scotland to be printed, and there are 100 copies now ſent in two packets, directed as I did the laſt to your Majeſty's ſelf, to be delivered by the hand of Mr. Porter. For the ſuppreſſing of the former, that is now only in your Majeſty's power, all the copies, ſaving one with my Lord of Canterbury and another with me, having been ſent to your Majeſty, and the original under your Majeſty's hand being in my cuſtody; for both which I will be anſwerable. *A.D.* 1639.

*I thanke you for your Diligence.*

THE laſt evening about 7 I received your Majeſty's letters vouchſafed me of the 21ſt; with an incloſed to the Queen's Majeſty; and immediately I repaired to Whitehall, and had the honour to deliver it myſelf. Until her Majeſty was pleaſed to let me know the names of the Lords which were committed, I underſtood no more of the particular than what your Majeſty's letters vouchſafed me; my Brother Secretary (to whom your Majeſty was pleaſed to refer me) having not written to me at all by this packet, but only directed it to me with his hand, and a pair of gallows on the outſide. Whereupon, I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon, if I take occaſion to acquaint you, that we are not at all advertiſed here of what paſſeth there; and my Lords are many times troubled at ſundry vulgar reports, and ſend to me to be informed of the truth, preſuming that Mr. Secretary gives advice hither of what paſſeth there; but I am not able to give them the leaſt ſatisfaction. Which whether your Majeſty will judge to be for your ſervice, eſpecially for thoſe occurrents that are fit to be known, I do in all humility ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom: moſt humbly beſeeching your Majeſty however not to interpret this as a complaint, nor to take notice of it as from me.

*This ſhall be mended.*

THIS afternoon the Lords being in Council have ſigned 150 of the letters which are to go down to the Gentlemen in the country; for the furtherance of which ſervice, I having adviſed with the Lord of Canterbury in the morning, my Lord fell upon a conceit, that, if my Lord Keeper, whoſe authority is great among the Juſtices of Peace and Gentry in the Country, could be brought to direct his letters to go with thoſe of the Lords to ſome of the prime Gentry, it might much advance the buſineſs. Whereupon, it was thought fit that I ſhould ſignify to his Lordſhip, by order from your Majeſty, that you did expect his particular aſſiſtance in this way, and that your Majeſty doubted not of his readineſs to give an effectual recommendation to ſuch Gentlemen as he had a particular intereſt in, to give a good example to the reſt. Wherefore, a little before the ſitting of the Council, I took aſide my Lord of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Cottington, (my Lord Treaſurer having taken phyſick, and not coming abroad this day) and acquainted them that I had received back again from his Majeſty the letter ſigned, which is to go into the country, and that your Majeſty was very well pleaſed with their Lordſhips' care and diligences in that buſineſs, and with the way they intended

*A.D.* 1639. to hold in beginning with the beſt affected counties, and with the Gentlemen of beſt eſtates and inclination to your Majeſty's ſervice. Then I addreſſed myſelf more particularly to the Lord Keeper, that your Majeſty being aſſured of his entire affections to your ſervice, had commanded me more eſpecially to let him know, that your Majeſty expected he ſhould uſe his power with the prime and leading Gentlemen, to quicken them in this buſineſs, and to this purpoſe, that he ſhould direct his particular letters to them, to be ſent at the ſame time with thoſe of the Lords. His Lordſhip was much ſurpriſed and ſtrucken with this intimation, and it was very good ſport to obſerve how he wriggled at the firſt. But when my Lord Cottington told him merrily that he ſhould do well to begin with his own Son, a very rich and popular leading man in the county where he lives, he recollected himſelf, and ſaid, though he had not much acquaintance much leſs intereſt in the Gentlemen in the country, yet he would moſt willingly obey your Majeſty. And ſo he went to Council, where his Lordſhip ſat in great perplexity, and ſaid little. But before the Council did riſe, his Lordſhip bethought himſelf; and ſetting pen to paper drew a very handſome and effectual letter, which, after the Council were diſſolved, he ſhewed to the Lord of Canterbury, Lord Privy Seal, and myſelf; and promiſed to prepare 5 or 6 for every County, to be ready to go with thoſe of the Lords. But withal, his Lordſhip deſired that, for his warrant, I would give him an abſtract of ſo much of your Majeſty's order to me, as concerned your pleaſure to him in this buſineſs; which I ſhall do, moſt humbly craving your Majeſty's pardon if I have erred, and that your Majeſty will pleaſe to avow me, or that my Lord of Canterbury may have his ſhare in the blame, if any thing be amiſs.

*You have done well, and I ſhall*

*C. R.*

I SHALL give your Majeſty no further importunity for the preſent; but with humility crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Deliver theaſe, as thoſe Yeſterday, one more to the Treſorer.*

*Tell the Treſorer that he give* 50lb. *to Cap. Reade, Hen. Bruce his Nepueu, when he comes to him.*

*Yorke,* 27.

*Drury-Lane,* 24 *Apr.* 1639. *at* 9 *at night.*

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

YESTERDAY the 29th brought me the return of two of mine from your Majeſty, one of the 22d, and the other of the 24th, and in them both letters to the Queen's Majeſty; which gave me the honour to attend her Majeſty twice that day, and, according to your Majeſty's commandment, to acquaint her with the buſineſs of the Lords Say and Brook, whereof I had received no authentick notice 'till then, though ſundry

ſundry papers of their examinations and of the proceſs of that buſineſs were in the hands of many particular perſons both in court and city, which the Lords here were not a little troubled at. *A.D.* 1639.

In my laſt to your Majeſty of the 26th by the Lord Duke of Lenox, I gave your Majeſty account of the opinion of your learned Council, how far cenſurable ſuch Lords are, who ſhall refuſe to ſerve your Majeſty (upon offer of pay) out of the kingdom.

*And ſo doe I—wherfor doe accordinglie.*

If your Majeſty pleaſe, I humbly conceive it fit, that your learned Council ſhould now conſider of the anſwers of thoſe Lords, whether they do amount to ſuch a refuſal; for that muſt be the groundwork, if your Majeſty purpoſe to proceed in the way of juſtice againſt them. Their anſwers are very cunning and jeſuitical; and yet the malignity and averſion from your Majeſty's ſervice lurks not ſo warily but that it is clear enough. Whether the time be now proper for ſuch a proſecution, your Majeſty in your great wiſdom can beſt judge. But that ſuch an affront as this, carried with ſo high and inſolent a hand in the face of your army, to the hazard of the debauching of the reſt of the Nobility, and of that army, ſhould be paſſed by for ever, and the occaſion of making ſuch dangerous heads of the faction (who have ever oppoſed all your Majeſty's affairs) an example, be utterly laid aſide, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take this into ſerious conſideration, before you reſolve to acquit them.

*You will have found ere this that they are not ſo acquit but that they may be queſtioned againe, if you there can fynde law.*

The French Ambaſſador hath been very earneſt with me to repreſent unto your Majeſty how much his Maſter's ſervice muſt ſuffer, if thoſe levies of Scotchmen which your Majeſty granted him, ſhould be arreſted, by the ſtay of the Scotch ſhips; and therefore deſires that your Majeſty will give order to the Lord Admiral, that ſuch Scotch veſſels as ſhall tranſport the ſaid forces, and bring certificate they carry nothing elſe, nor go to any other place but into France, the ſaid certificate to be under the hand of Colonel Erſkin, may have free paſſage without interruption. I hear the Ambaſſador is preparing himſelf to wait upon your Majeſty in the North, though I believe it will not be to ſtay there any long time, according to his former intention.

*It is not unreaſonable, ſo that they bee well examined, that they may carrie noe other Marchandiſe.*

I have, according to your Majeſty's commandment, ſpoken with the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington concerning the £ 90,000, which your Majeſty expects for the Months of May, June, and July; eſpecially with the Lord Cottington concerning £ 30,000 out of the Court of Wards; £ 10,000 whereof by Mid-May. They both promiſe your Majeſty ſhall have all that can poſſibly be gotten; and my Lord Cottington doubts not but your Majeſty ſhall have full ſatisfaction by thoſe times concerning the £ 90,000. And for the Court of Wards, whatſoever can be procured there your Majeſty ſhall be ſure of. They make account your Majeſty ſhall have a preſent ſupply of £ 17,000, which they are to receive from Worſenham and Ricaut: Which when it ſhall be paid, my Lords of the Committee will then treat with others. So that I hope

*Auguſt would not bee forgotten.*

*A.D.* 1639. your Majeſty ſhall not want for this ſummer. My Lord Cottington is very induſtrious in this buſineſs, and hath the beſt way of worming a Citizen that ever I obſerved in any.

THE letters that go herewith to your Majeſty, are, one of them from the Duke of Lorrain, the other two from my Lord of Canterbury; whom your Majeſty will perceive, by the other papers in French and Latin, to have been moſt notoriouſly abuſed, whether the letters be forged, or not. The letter in French I cauſed to be tranſlated out of High Dutch, in which it was originally written, but directed on the outſide in Italian thus: *Al molto illuſtre & excellente Signr. Napero fratello & Ingegnero della Signoria di Venetia in Londra.* And it is ſubſcribed, *Napeir.* But it was put in a looſe paper, upon the outſide whereof was written: *To the right worſhipfull Sir John Innys*; and ſo brought to the Gatehouſe in Weſtminſter, where Innys is priſoner, and delivered by a woman, not known, to a Dutchman a priſoner likewiſe there, who thereupon ſent it to my Lord of Canterbury's Secretary. This Napier certainly is that Captain Napier in the Tower, who was examined the laſt week by the Lord Chief Juſtice Bramſtone, Mr. Attorney, and myſelf; but denied flatly all the charge; and ſo no doubt but he will do this. The Latin letter, directed to one Farloe was likewiſe delivered by the ſame woman to the ſame hand. This Farloe is likewiſe a priſoner in the Gatehouſe, but denieth to have any correſpondence with Ramſay, the ſuppoſed writer of the letter; only, he ſaith that he knew one Ramſay many years ſince, Rector of the College at Edinburgh. I am labouring to find out this myſtery of iniquity; but I verily believe it is ſome invention to affright my Lord of Canterbury; there are ſo many improbabilities already diſcovered upon examination of the Dutchman and of Farloe. And beſides, the French letter is a very wild and looſe diſcourſe, patched up of many pieces which have little coherence one with the other, though all together it be malicious and ſeditious.

*It wer well worth the labor.*

I MOST humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon for the importunity of theſe, and that I may nevertheleſs have the honour to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane, 30th. Apr.* 1639.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to accept my moſt humble thanks for avowing me in the buſineſs of my Lord Keeper.

*This incloſed is for my Wyfe C. R.*
*Durham, 4 May.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

THIS is not onlie to bee a cover to my Wyfe's letter, but alſo that ye might advertice the Treſorer and Cottington that I have thought fit to renforce my Army with $4^{m}$. foote and $3^{h}$. horſe; which will amount to $6^{mll}$. a month increace of charge: but I hope they ſhall fynde in the end, that it will not prove ill huſbandrie: Therefor they muſt take care to haſten,

You muſt give out that it is $12^{m}$. foote, and $2^{m}$. horſe.

haſten, and (as much as may bee) to increaſe the Supplyes of Monnie. And so I reſt

*Your Frend,*

*Newcaſtell*, 17 *May* 1639. CHARLES R.

*An Original.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty*,

I RECEIVED lately your Majeſty's commandment by Mr. Secretary Coke to acquaint the French Ambaſſador with ſuch complaints of the Engliſh merchants trading in France, as had been lately tranſmitted hither by Mr. Augier, concerning the heavy and inſupportable impoſitions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties between the two Crowns. In obedience whereunto I have been with the Ambaſſador, whoſe anſwer is very fair and clear; "that, if the merchants can make it appear they are taxed beyond "what they ought to be by the articles of the peace, he will undertake they "ſhall have redreſs." And for the Scotchmen, though by their ancient treaties with that Crown they may claim greater privileges and exemptions than the Engliſh, yet he did aſſure me they are not free'd from the preſent taxes, but do pay as deeply as the Engliſh.

IN this diſcourſe he took occaſion to mention the treaty at Bruſſels, and lamented much the ill offices which your Majeſty's miniſters had done in drawing your Majeſty to ſuch a treaty, in prejudice of that at Hamburgh. I anſwered him, "Upon the faith of a Chriſtian there is no ſuch treaty on "foot; much leſs had your Majeſty conſented to any ſuch thing; though "they had given your Majeſty occaſion enough, by delaying to conſummate "the ſecret articles of the treaty, which they ſhould by promiſe have ſub-"ſcribed two years ſince, to hearken to other overtures which have made "by the Houſe of Auſtria: But your Majeſty hath been ſo conſtant to your "treaty with the French, that hitherto you are moſt free from any other." He told me, "he might believe that I knew no other, but he was very "confident your Majeſty is upon another treaty." I replied, "there is "greater cauſe that your Majeſty ſhould be jealous of their fomenting the "Rebellion in Scotland, than that they ſhould apprehend another treaty." Whereupon he proteſted with all the execrations that could be "that upon "his knowledge there is not the leaſt colour for ſuch a ſuſpicion." I told him, "when he would believe my proteſtations, I would give credit to his, "though I had better ground for mine than he could have for his."

THE letter that goeth herewith from Colonel Gage to his Brother here, being, to my poor underſtanding, of ſome conſideration, I thought fit to preſent to your Majeſty; and the rather becauſe I hope your Majeſty is already upon the opinion which he ſets down, for the ordering of your arms in Scotland, if the covenanters with their forces ſhall approach, as we underſtand they have begun to do already. I beſeech God bleſs and proſper your Majeſty in this great action, wherein certainly you have now a fair advantage, if it be dexterouſly and prudently followed,

*I have not yet had tyme to reade it, and having nothing elſe to anſwer I remit you this onlie to direct the reſt.*

*C. R.*

*Newcaſtell* 21.

*A.D.* 1639. whereof I make no doubt. In all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 18 *May* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty, I moſt humbly beſeech you to remember the letters I ſent your Majeſty from Sir Arthur Hopton and Sir Balthazar Gerbier, and to vouchſafe them me again in your own beſt time.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## INSTRUCTIONS *from the* POPE *to his* NUNCIO *in* England.

YOU are to command the Catholics of England in general, that they ſuddenly deſiſt from making ſuch offers of men towards this Northern expedition, as we hear they have done little to the advantage of their diſcretion. And likewiſe it is requiſite, conſidering the penalty already impoſed, that they be not too forward with money more than what law and duty injoins them to pay, without any innovation at all, or view of making themſelves rather weaker pillars of the kingdom, than they were before.

INFORM the Provincials of every order, that it is expreſsly prohibited, no more aſſemblies (of what nature ſoever) ſhall admit of the laity to have either voice or ſeſſion in it, being what will be urged for a precedent is but only an uſurpation.

DECLARE unto the beſt of the peers and gentlemen by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to expreſs any averſeneſs, in caſe the high court of parliament be called, nor ſhew any diſcontent at the acts, which do not point-blank aim at religion, being in general the moſt fundamental law of that kingdom.

ADVISE the Clergy to deſiſt from that fooliſh, nay rather illiterate and childiſh, cuſtom of diſtinction in the Proteſtant and Puritan doctrine; and eſpecially this error is ſo much the greater, when they undertake to prove, that Proteſtantiſm is a degree nearer to the Catholic faith, than the other. For ſince both of them be without the verge of the church, it is needleſs hypocriſy to ſpeak of it, yea, it begets more malice than it is worth.

THAT the Provincials are herein required to give a general warning through all orders that no religious perſon ought to be ſeduced by any noblemen either officers of the crown or the like, who pretend to be ſchiſmatic, into a praemunire; for he, that dares not follow the truth as his conſcience directs him, is not worthy to be ſought or followed by any of our faith. But on the other ſide, we give the like command, that whoſoever is thought inclining to God in his heart, let no man be ſo raſh to boaſt and ſpeak it abroad.

ALL buſy inquiries are forbidden, but eſpecially into arcanas of the State: That none of the church, whether lay brother or eccleſiaſtical, contribute ſo largely, as they have done, to the ſociety; but diſpoſe their charity, that every order may partake alike.

*Endorſed by Windebank.*

*Mr.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

YESTERDAY the 20th of this preſent brought me the honour of two of your Majeſty's to the Queen, with which I immediately attended her Majeſty; and I believe her Majeſty will render an account of them by this bearer. With them I likewiſe received your Majeſty's vouchſafed me of the 17th, together with mine of the 13th, apoſtiled the 16th, and alſo all thoſe deſpatches from Sir Arthur Hopton and Gerbier, which I had formerly ſent to your Majeſty: For all which (eſpecially for that of your Majeſty under your own princely hand) I crave leave in all humility to preſent to your Majeſty my moſt humble thanks. *A.D.* 1639.

I SHALL not fail to acquaint the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord Cottington with the reinforcing of your Majeſty's army, and the increaſe of charge that muſt neceſſarily follow; and withal ſhall make the number ſwell in the report; in which her Majeſty hath likewiſe promiſed to do your Majeſty the ſervice of an Ambaſſador or a Secretary.

FOR your Majeſty's apoſtile in my letter, it is very true that the Lord Treaſurer hoped to be furniſhed with money for the King of Denmark from the cuſtomers; but then he was in great pain where to find money for thoſe other occaſions to which he had deſigned that. But your Majeſty may pleaſe to be confident there ſhall be no care nor diligence wanting in any of us to procure all the money that can poſſibly be raiſed for the ſervice, it being our chief ſtudy and endeavour.

*I am ſure that my laſt diſpach will quiken both him and Cottington, of which I long to have an Anſwer.*

THIS day we have ſummoned ſome more of the city to meet at Whitehall and to treat for Monies; though ſome of the Aldermen formerly called have yet given no ſatisfaction.

I HAVE ſpoken with her Majeſty concerning Captain Ferrar, who is pleaſed to aſſure me your Majeſty did grant his pardon at her ſuit before your departure, and that ſhe will avow it in her own letters to your Majeſty. Whereupon ſhe hath commanded me to give order for a bill to be ſigned by your Majeſty accordingly.

*I will; yelding to my Wyfe's memorie.*

I HAVE adviſed with Mr. Attorney and Solicitor concerning the Lord Say and Brook's anſwer; who do aſſure me there can be no hold taken of them as they are ſet down. But if they may be acquainted with the whole matter, and their carriage from the beginning, it is very likely they may be found tripping, upon ſome emergent circumſtance. As, if, when they were ſummoned by your Majeſty's letters, they came not in that equipage both for arms and retinue as was required, and is agreeable to their dignity and rank; which your Council think they did not, but came naked, without arms and followers. For this the Attorney and Solicitor are both confident they may be deeply fined; and they moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's further order in it.

*I belive they did not, therefore you doe well to enquyre.*

*C. R.*

*Anwike*, 24.

*A.D.*1639. In all humility I crave your Majeſty's leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 21 *May* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ACCORDING to my laſt of the 21ſt of this preſent, my Lords of the Committee for raiſing monies treated that day with ſome of the city, whom they had ſummoned for that purpoſe. The perſons were Alderman Pratt, Delaune an Apothecary, Cropley a Silkman, and Mr. Henley of the King's Bench. The Alderman did not refuſe, but gave no hope, conſidering the ſcarcity of monies, and the great damp of trade, the merchants ſtrangers having all called in their monies, and ſhut up their banks; ſo that it is impoſſible to take up any. Cropley likewiſe concurred in this; but Delaune abſolutely refuſed. So that, if it had not been for Henley, we had not been able to have done your Majeſty any ſervice that day. This poor man, after he had lamented his condition of being under proſecution ever ſince he bought the office in the King's Bench, having never been quiet 20 days together without ſome information, and nothing ever proved againſt him, wherein he appealed to the Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Cottington, who all affirmed it to be very true, ſhewed nevertheleſs great readineſs to ſupply your Majeſty; and hath promiſed to furniſh whatſoever he ſhall be able, which we hope will be £ 5000. Upon this coldneſs of the citizens, and ſmall appearance of procuring ſupplies from them, their Lordſhips having been made acquainted by me with the reinforcing of your Majeſty's army, and the monthly increaſe of charge which muſt follow thereupon, and continue till the end of October next, fell into a ſerious debate and conſultation how this great charge might be ſupported. With your Majeſty's own revenue the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord Cottington aſſured it is impoſſible; and ſuppoſe the merchants whom we call were either better able or better inclined, the monies now borrowed muſt be paid again, and the intereſt in the mean time anſwered. So that this is ſtill an anticipation of your revenue, and ſo much will be wanting hereafter to ſupply your future occaſions, howſoever it ſerve a little for the preſent. Beſides, calculating this loan to the uttermoſt, we cannot judge it will ariſe to above £ 40,000, of which your Majeſty hath had already £ 10,000. For other means of raiſing monies, the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington aſſured, that your Majeſty had ſearched every corner from whence any probability of money could be procured, before your departure, and do know it as well as they, and ſo can judge how far it will ſtretch toward that which you have in deſign. The extraordinaries are the Recuſants, and the letters gone into the country to the Gentry. For the former, though I have uſed all poſſible diligence to quicken

*This is the cauſe of his lending at this tyme.*

*What, is Deane Foreſt deſperate?*

quicken it, the jealouſies of that party are ſuch by the late vexatious infor- *A.D.1639.*
mations raiſed againſt them by the Puritan party, and by the over-officiouſneſs of ſome of their own ſide, who have thruſt themſelves into it, and (to ſpeak truth) have foiled it, that I fear that contribution will fall ſhort of our expectation. Nevertheleſs, Sir Baſil Brooke hath been with me very lately, and tells me ſomewhat is coming in ſlowly, and that in Midſummer term next they ſhall have £ 10,000 in a readineſs to pay into the Exchequer, and £ 10,000 more in Michaelmas term. I uſed all the perſuaſions I could to make him ſenſible of the great diſſervice, if it ſucceeded not, beſides the danger to his party; and I am confident there ſhall be no failing in him. For the other extraordinary of the letters to the Gentry, hitherto we have very cold anſwers; which, though they be not direct refuſals, are almoſt as ill; for they bring us no relief, nor no hope of it. Some petty ſums, and thoſe very few, have been offered. So that my Lords begin to apprehend this will be of little conſideration. And to uſe compulſory means in theſe diſtempered times, my Lords are very tender, and apprehend it may be of dangerous conſequence. Upon the whole matter, my Lords have commanded me to repreſent with all humility to your Majeſty, that they ſee no poſſibility of procuring ſuch ſupplies to your Majeſty as are expected 'till the end of October; which they preſume to do in all ſincerity and clearneſs in diſcharge of their moſt humble duties in this moſt weighty affair; to the end your Majeſty may not be led on with hopes which will fail in the end, but that you may pleaſe to order the preſent action accordingly. And they do further in all humility beſeech your Majeſty to adviſe with your Lords there, what other way they can think upon for raiſing of monies; wherein they will be ready to receive direction, and to join in acting and executing of whatſoever your Majeſty and the Lords there ſhall command. In the mean time, there ſhall be no diligence wanting in the Lords here to procure your Majeſty ſatisfaction; and whatſoever monies can by any means be gathered, ſhall be tranſmitted with all ſpeed. The ſupply of £ 18,000 demanded for the Lord Marquis Hamilton, and the redemption of the jewel in Denmark are great diverſions of the treaſure; upon which the Lord Treaſurer did rely.

*If they could ſtrech but to the end of Aug: I would hope to have a happie end; for I aſſeure you that now the game is ſo fare, what by the diſtractions of the Rebelles amongſt themſelfes, and the Peoples weariſomeneſs of there Burdens, that it wer an unexpreſable pitie to looſe it now for falte of Monie.*

Sir Francis Seymour, upon complaint of the ſheriff of Wilts. that he refuſed to pay the ſhipping-money, and that his example diſcouraged others, which is the cauſe of the great arrears in that county, was called to the Board upon Wedneſday laſt: Where he told the Lords, he had againſt his conſcience, and upon the importunity of his friends, paid that money twice, but now his conſcience would ſuffer him no more to do a thing (as he thought) ſo contrary to law and to the liberty of a ſubject. He further acquainted the Lords, he had lately received a letter from the Board, giving him notice of your Majeſty's expedition in the North, and was ready to give an anſwer. My Lords apprehending by his boldneſs in the ſhipping buſineſs, that he came prepared with a worſe on this, told him they expected his anſwer in writing, and would not hearken to any verbal diſcourſe: Only wiſhed him to be well adviſed how he ſpake againſt the legality of the former,

*A.D.* 1639. seeing it is settled by a Judgment, and so confirmed by the Judges. He would have replied; but my Lords commanded him to withdraw; and after, gave Sir Edward Baynton, the sheriff of the county for the precedent year, commandment to distrain his goods; which he hath hitherto forborn in regard of his birth, and power in the country; and he verily believes, he will make resistance.

*Ye must needes make him an example, not only by distress, but, if it be possible, an information in some Courte, as Mr. Aturnie shall advyse.*

*C. R.*

THIS is too much unpleasing matter for your Majesty, for which I most humbly crave your princely pardon, and that I may nevertheless have the honour to rest

*Barwike 29 May 1639.*

*Your Majesty's*

*most humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 24th. May 1639.*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may please your Majesty, I have written nothing of this business of monies to any, but only to your Majesty's self.

*An Original, apostiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may please your Majesty,*

THE Spanish resident hath lately given me notice that now he had powers to conclude that great business with me, which formerly he was commanded to propose to your Majesty only; and thereupon left the adjoined paper in Spanish to be transmitted to your Majesty; which I have translated into English, and it goeth herewith. He presseth very earnestly for an answer, but I tell him he comes very unseasonably now that your Majesty is in remote parts, and in the height of the greatest business that can concern your own state and government.

*I have burnt the Spanish and keep the translation.*

UPON consideration of the paper, I find it a very cunning piece, to bring the Venetian Ambassador upon the stage, to discover your Majesty's intentions concerning the treaty of the Palatinate. And I told the resident, I understood not what he meant by the novelty in the paper, unless it were the treaty at Brussels, which is news to your Majesty to understand it to be remitted thither, seeing your Majesty never gave consent to it, but that it was a proposition first set on foot by the Conde d' Onate, late Ambassador here, and since industriously published by the Ministers of the Austrian party, to bring your Majesty into jealousy with your other friends, and so to elude your treaties with them: That perhaps it is remitted thither by the House of Austria, but by your Majesty there is no ground nor colour for it at all. What answer your Majesty will have given, requires some deliberation; unless your Majesty will avow such commission given by you to the French to make use of the Venetian Ambassador's interposition to the pretended Emperor; which whether your Majesty have done, or no, is unknown

to

to me. If your Majeſty ſhall abſolutely refuſe the treaty at Bruſſels, your Majeſty will be wholly caſt upon the French; and what ſure foundation you can have there, conſidering how you have been uſed in a treaty now above two years, I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom. Beſides, the Houſe of Auſtria will ſhift off the blame of the diſorders of Chriſtendom from themſelves, and ſay it is not their fault, ſeeing they have offered your Majeſty a particular treaty for the Palatinate, and conſequently for the peace of all Chriſtendom, wherein you may be confident to obtain what you deſire, (for ſo poſitively concludes the paper) and you have not hearkened to it. Your Majeſty may pleaſe further to adviſe, whether it will not be more for your advantage to have a treaty apart, wherein your own intereſts only may be taken into conſideration, than to treat jointly with others in whoſe intereſts you muſt be involved, and muſt run the like hazard of good or ill ſucceſs with their's. Nevertheleſs, I am humbly of opinion, that it is equally dangerous, in this conjuncture, to accept the treaty at Bruſſels, which muſt put an end to that at Hamburgh: Whereof though there be little good to be expected, yet if it be once known your Majeſty hath deſerted it, beſides your being on the other ſide caſt wholly upon the Spaniard, (and what ſure foundation can be expected there ſo many years experience of their amuſing treaties ſufficiently ſhews) your Majeſty will bring yourſelf into jealouſy with the French and Hollanders and moſt of the Proteſtant party: Whereof, as your buſineſs now ſtands in Scotland, you have little need. Your Majeſty may pleaſe therefore to think upon ſome handſome put-off for the Reſident, neither accepting nor refuſing the treaty at Bruſſels, as you have done hitherto, but keeping it in ſtore, expect the ſucceſs of Sir Arthur Hopton's conference; reſerving in the mean time this paper, which is more plain and poſitive than any I have yet ſeen, and little leſs than an abſolute promiſe that you ſhall obtain what you deſire. *A.D.* 1639.

THE anſwer may be, if your Majeſty ſo pleaſe, "that you will ſend to "your Miniſters in France, to inform themſelves what directions the French "King or his Miniſters have given to the Vene- "tian Ambaſſador concerning the general treaty, "and the Prince Elector Palatin, and when "your Majeſty ſhall underſtand what hath been done there, you will then "give a further anſwer." If it can be avoided, I ſhould not willingly give this or any other paper in writing. But if it ſhall be preſſed, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to let me know your pleaſure.

*I lyke this anſwer well.*

*If ye bee urged, ye may.*

THERE goeth herewith an abſtract of a letter from Colonel Gage; and I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to inſtruct me what anſwer I ſhall make, if any forces ſhall offered from Flanders, which, it ſeems, is intended; and that your Majeſty will pleaſe to return Gage's firſt letter.

*Ye may thanke them, but that now it comes too late.*

*I burned it, at Anwike, having forgotten to incloſe it in your Packett.*

THE other two letters are from Sir Arthur Hopton; the one of which, in cipher, points at this propoſition of the Reſident.

Sir William Boſwell writes that there are orders ſent from the States to their Ambaſſador here to uſe diligences with your Majeſty to take the treaty concerning the Eaſt India Company out of Sir William's hand, and to remit it to the deciſion of the two companies of merchants here and there.

*A.D.*1639. But this will bring back that buſineſs to the former diſtractions; and he is an humble ſuitor to your Majeſty not to hearken to ſuch overtures, not doubting but that, if your Majeſty pleaſe to continue it in his negotiation, he will bring it to a good end.

*His ſute is eaſielie granted.*

I HAVE now ſent John Taylor's account of his negotiation at Vienna to Mr. Secretary Coke, and find he hath been too buſy in the treaty at Bruſſels, taking it upon truſt from the Spaniſh Miniſters, from whom originally, and not from him, it had beginning. Certainly, his end was to keep alive your Majeſty's intereſts and intelligence with the Houſe of Auſtria, and not to ſuffer them ſo to fall but that you might ſtill have power to take them up again, when you ſhould find it for your advantage. And the amuſing them with a treaty at Bruſſels who had ſo long amuſed your Majeſty, and, by that means, the keeping them from making a peace with France, was no ill ſervice, though moſt unfit to be avowed by your Majeſty, conſidering your treaty at Hamburgh. But he was the fitter for it, having no powers, and ſo to be juſtly diſavowed at pleaſure. One ſervice I am ſure he did your Majeſty; which was to diſcover by the Imperialiſts (upon whom the Spaniards had caſt the fault of not reſtoring the Palatinate) that the Infant Cardinal had no powers to treat, when the Conde d' Oñate avowed to your Majeſty that he had, and thereupon invited you to the treaty; which raiſed ſuch an indignation between the Spaniards and the Imperialiſts, that they charged each other with hindering the reſtitution; and ſo diſcovered, by their own acknowledgments, that neither of them had any inclination to it.

*When I have ſeene it, I ſhall ſend you my pleaſur concerning him.*

I MOST humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon for this importunity, and the honour nevertheleſs to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*
*moſt humble and obedient*
*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 31ſt May* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty, upon Tueſday the 28th I made a deſpatch to your Majeſty, and, by commandment of ſome of my Lords, ſent a letter to be written by your Majeſty to the city; the return whereof I do humbly expect.

*I refer you to Hen. Vane concerning the ſtate of my Army, and what ſupplyes ar neceſſarie therefor*

*C. R.*

*Camp neere Barwike, 4 June.*

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel* GAGE *to his Brother.*

SINCE I wrote laſt to you, Don Miguel de Salamanca, Secretary of State and War here (who was ſick when we made our propoſition, and therefore knew nothing of it) upon ſome anſwer of the King's out of Spain, ſent to ſpeak with me, and told me in general terms, that his Majeſty had written

to his Brother, that he was ſorry he did not or could not aſſiſt his Majeſty of Great Britany when he demanded it: But now that it was his pleaſure that whatſoever his Majeſty of Great Britany ſhould demand, ſo it were not with apparent endangering the country, his Highneſs here ſhould grant it: Which, upon the arrival of the Spaniſh troops out of Spain, his Highneſs is ready to offer to the King of England. But firſt, the Secretary demanded of me, whether I thought his Majeſty of Great Britany ſtood now in need of their forces, and would take them in good part if they were offered, and not conceive the offer to be merely complimental. I replied, that I knew not how things ſtood now in England; but that, if his Highneſs pleaſed to give me commiſſion to write, I would endeavour to inform myſelf, provided that his Highneſs would be pleaſed to give me commiſſion in writing; in regard that what I wrote at firſt in this buſineſs, by a verbal order of Prince Thomas, was not obſerved here, and I ſtood blamed for it in England; and if I had not fallen into the hands of a gracious and indulgent Prince, I might have been utterly ruined for tampering ſo indiſcreetly in State affairs. He anſwered, that what the Prince gave me order to do ſhould be in writing, and that he would ſpeak to the Prince about it. But ſince this diſcourſe of the Secretary to me, news is brought that one army of the French hath beſieged Hedin in Artois; another, under the command of Châtillon is at Compiegne, ready to fall into Hanault; another, under the command of Monſr. de Fequieres, marching towards Luxembourg; and the Holland army threatening to beſiege ſome place. We, on the other ſide, have but a poor army here, living in a languiſhing expectation of 12,000 men out of Spain. If thoſe forces come not in time, we are loſt; if they come not at all, you are loſt; ſo neceſſary is it for you and us to join. And if neither of our councils fall upon this neceſſity, I ſhall conclude, *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat*. You are there angry with the Spaniard upon jealouſies and ſurmiſes (as they conceive here) not grounded in reaſon but in paſſion, fomented by ſome Miniſters of the French and Holland faction. And this I have heard from ſome Miniſters of State, who wiſh you and us both well, and yet are ſorry to ſee things carried ill on both ſides; who confeſs they find too much phlegm here, but too much paſſion and animoſity there. This I write freely to you as a true patriot and faithful ſubject of my own Prince, and as a good ſervant of the Prince I ſerve. You inſiſt much upon the publiſhing or revealing your ſecret here. They laugh at it here, and ſay it is mere jealouſy, and that never any ſuch thing hath paſſed their imagination. But of this I wrote more at large the laſt week. Now I am in haſte; and I pray you ſhew not my letters that I write to you in confidence, to any publick Miniſters: Only, if you can dexterouſly inform yourſelf, whether an offer made now from hence would be well taken, as things ſtand there now, let me know it from you, that I may be provided of an anſwer if I ſhould be demanded again; and that their offer here may not be in vain. For I perceive they have order to offer and to perform; but they have that little vanity, as they deſire not to have their offer loſt; though I confeſs, thoſe punctilios that beget delays, ſpoil all our buſineſs. *A.D.*1639.

Don Miguel de Salamanca told me this morning, when I went to take my leave, that the Prince was ſo buſy about his journey towards Artois, and his other affairs with Piolomini, that he could not ſpeak with him about this buſineſs of our's; but that he would write to me about it. I cannot gueſs what they would be at. What, if they ſhould offer 5 or 6000 of the

*A.D.* 1639. men, expected out of Spain, to our King, and land them in Scotland, provided his Majesty would guard them out of Spain with some of his ships, would this be accepted? I demand this but as a guess of my own, not that I have the least inkling of it from any of these Ministers. But if this proposition should be made, what think you of the accepting of it? I pray you sound it afar off, that I may be provided, if it be proposed.

*Brussels*, 28 *May* 1639. *In Windebank's hand.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may please your Majesty*,

SINCE my last of 31st of May, I have received back again from your Majesty my two despatches of 24th and 28th of the same, with letters in each of them to the Queen's Majesty, which I had the honour to deliver to herself. To that which came with the former, I think that which goeth herewith from her Majesty is an answer. The other coming to my hands but this morning, after I had received that of her Majesty, she was pleased to tell me she will answer in her next.

WITH these last from your Majesty I have likewise received your Majesty's letter to the city, together with the draught altered; and shall acquaint the three Lords first with it, and then, upon advice with them, the Lord Keeper and the Lord Privy Seal shall be conferred with; and so we will proceed to do your Majesty the best service we can, and with loss of as little time as may be.

HER Majesty, when she delivered me this letter, was pleased to let me know, and commanded me to give your Majesty notice of it, that she finds by one lately arrived here from France, there is extreme strict order at the ports there, not to suffer any French to pass hither into England, lest they should come to serve your Majesty in this nation, forbidding all military persons whatsoever upon great and heavy penalties to repair hither, and to put themselves into your Majesty's service. This her Majesty is so much displeased at, as she hath commanded me to represent it to the French Ambassador, and to let him know how much she resents it, and can interpret it no other than an argument of strange disaffection in that State to your Majesty's affairs, from whom your Majesty hath deserved, and have reason to expect, assistance, rather than hinderance, in this exigent.

HER Majesty took physick yesterday, and is very well this morning.

IN all humility I crave leave to rest

*Your Majesty's*

*most humble and most obedient*

*Subject and Servant*,

*Drury-Lane*, 4 *June* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may please your Majesty, The letter here inclosed from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was despatched before these last letters from your Majesty came to my hands; and he humbly beseecheth your Majesty, seeing you have not returned his letter, mentioned in mine not to be apostiled, that you would please to destroy it.

*That is done alreddie.*

*This*

*This I return rather for a Cover than any thing else. I refer you for Newes to my Wife.* A.D.1639.

*C. R.*

*Camp near Barwike*, 9.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

AS ſoon as I had received your Majeſty's letters to the city, I made it known to the three Lords of the Committee that firſt ſet the buſineſs on foot; who, underſtanding my Lord Privy Seal was out of town, willed me to ſend immediately for him to be here upon Friday morning, and that withal the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with the Recorder ſhould be ſummoned to be at Whitehall at that time. I likewiſe acquainted the Lord Keeper with it, and with your Majeſty's reſolution not to endure a denial, and therefore he muſt prepare himſelf for the ſervice accordingly. Upon Friday Morning, the Lords being come together, and underſtanding that the Lord Mayor was come accompanied but with two Aldermen, the Recorder, and the two Sheriffs, entered into a debate, whether they ſhould deliver your Majeſty's letters and pleaſure to ſo ſmall a number; and at laſt reſolved to put it off, fearing it might hazard the buſineſs; and ſo thought upon another occaſion of entertaining the Citizens, leſt they ſhould have perceived it. The Lord Mayor of himſelf excuſed the ſlender attendance of his Brethren, alleging that ſome of them were not well, but moſt of them at their country-houſes now this Whitſuntide. My Lords ſaid little to that, but told them, they had now ſent for them to give them thanks for their late care in the diſcovery of a miſchievous practice ſet on foot by one Lilburne, a priſoner, and not long ſince ſentenced in the Starchamber; who had cauſed ſundry ſeditious papers to be lately ſcattered in the City, and directed to the apprentices, animating them to an inſurrection, and to aſſault my Lord of Canterbury's houſe, and to be revenged of the Lord Keeper, who had ſhewed himſelf an unjuſt Judge in that ſentence againſt Lilburne in the Starchamber. In this diſcovery the Lord Mayor having taken great pains and done a very conſiderable ſervice in preventing ſuch a miſchief, my Lords thought fit to take notice of it to himſelf and to his Brethren; and, commending them highly for it, adviſed them now in his Majeſty's abſence to continue their care for prevention of like diſorders, and to look ſtrictly to the government of the City, promiſing them to acquaint your Majeſty with their diligences. Some other buſineſs my Lords took occaſion to ſpeak with them in concerning the City, and ſo diſmiſſed them. But after dinner the Lords of the Committee thought fit to give them a ſummons for another meeting; which they did by their letter to them, and have appointed Monday next at two in the afternoon for their attendance, requiring them to bring with them as many Aldermen as can be had, with their Recorder; and then your Majeſty's ſhall be delivered, and an entrance made into the buſineſs; which I beſeech God may ſucceed according to your Majeſty's deſire.

I HAVE acquainted the Lord Treaſurer with your Majeſty's commandment, ſignified by Mr. Treaſurer, for the £10,000. to be immediately ſent to York; who hath £20,000. in a readineſs, which was deſigned for your

A.D.1639.

*Theaſe ſupplyes will com verrie ſeaſonablie, and if they bee ſeconded with others ſpeedilie may doe good, otherwais wee ar lyke to bee all ſhamed and undone, and ſo tell the Comittie for Monie from me.*

*C. R.*

*Camp* 12. *June* 1639.

army, and ſhould have been ſent to the camp this next week. My Lord purpoſes now to ſend it all to York upon Monday next, which will be the 17th; but to whom to conſign it there, he is yet to ſeek. If your Majeſty pleaſe to command ſome perſon of truſt to take charge of it, he may in all probability arrive there before the money; and ſo your Majeſty may diſpoſe of it according to your occaſions.

I HAVE been with the French Ambaſſador according to the Queen's commandment, and made complaint to him of the reſtraint laid upon the French from coming hither to ſerve your Majeſty, as I advertiſed in my laſt of the 4th of this preſent. His anſwer was, that he knew nothing of any ſuch reſtraint; that he is confident, if there be any, it is general from ſerving any foreign Prince, and not particular to England; that yet, if it ſhould be particular to England, he is of opinion it is to avoid the jealouſy of this nation, that the French do foment the Rebellion in Scotland; and laſtly, that your Majeſty having refuſed ſuch aſſiſtance as he hath offered in his Maſter's name, perhaps the State there may have thought fit thereupon to forbid thoſe of the nation to come hither.

THE Lord Fielding arrived the laſt night, and delivered the packet vouchſafed me by your Majeſty, for which I render moſt humble thanks, and have ſent the incloſed to the Lord Archbiſhop.

I BESEECH God proſper your Majeſty in all your counſels and undertakings, and make you victorious over all your enemies. We your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſervants here ſhall not fail to contribute our uttermoſt to this moſt important ſervice, and more particularly (though of leaſt conſideration)

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and moſt obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 8 *June* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

YESTERDAY the 10th, being Monday, my Lords of the Committee met at Whitehall, according to my laſt of the 8th; where they were attended by the Lord Mayor and 24 Aldermen: My Lord of Canterbury acquainted them with your Majeſty's letter, written all with your own hand, which I then delivered: And after the Recorder had read it aloud, my Lord of Canterbury repreſented at large the ſtate of your Majeſty's affairs, the danger of the whole Kingdom, if your Majeſty were not ſupplied according to your letter; that ready monies were not to be had any where in the Kingdom but in the City; which, in times of leſs peril and neceſſity, had been heretofore ready to ſerve the Crown; that your Majeſty demanded nothing of them by way of gift or contribution, (though the

the Nobility and many of the Gentry had been very liberal and free in that way, and the City had hitherto given back,) but a loan upon good ſecurity of repayment both of principal and intereſt, by which they would be no loſers but gainers, and wherein they ſeldom refuſed any; much leſs could it be expected they would make the leaſt difficulty to your Majeſty upon ſo urgent an occaſion, and wherein their own ſafeties and preſervations are ſo highly concerned. The Lord Keeper and Lord Cottington ſeconded my Lord Archbiſhop very ſtrongly; and my Lord Privy Seal related to them what the City had done when he was Recorder, upon an exigent in the time of the late King, your Majeſty's Father; when at 3 days warning they lent £ 100,000. for a year, and had it repaid them again punctually at their own day. The propoſition being of great weight, the Lord Mayor deſired time to conſider of it, and then he and his Brethren would return an anſwer. But my Lords replied that, though the buſineſs were very weighty, yet it needed no ſuch deliberation, ſeeing the greateſt difficulty is in the manner of doing it. For they muſt know it muſt be done, and that, being yielded to, they ſhould have time to adviſe upon the reſt. Wherefore they required them to go together preſently, and to give their reſolution before their departure. So my Lords withdrew into the Galleries, and left them in the Council-Chamber. After an hour's conſultation they ſent to my Lords; and the Lord Mayor, in the name of the reſt, made anſwer, that, conſidering the preſent ſcarcity of monies and damp of trade, they held it impoſſible to give your Majeſty ſatisfaction. My Lords were extremely troubled at the anſwer, and told them they durſt take no excuſes nor refuſals, adviſing them to be careful how they gave your Majeſty ſo juſt cauſe of indignation; which muſt be of dangerous conſequence to the City in general, and to every one of them. My Lord Cottington told them, "that before they had given ſuch an anſwer, "they ſhould have ſold their Chains and Gowns." But all this moving nothing, my Lords left them to a ſecond conſultation, letting them ſtill know the buſineſs muſt be done. This ſecond producing no other nor better effects than the firſt, my Lords told them, if by reaſon of the preſent deadneſs and money and trade, they could not raiſe ſo great a ſum ſuddenly, they ſhould have time to provide it by £ 30,000. the month; and though your Majeſty had left no latitude by your letter, but expected the loan from the Mayor and Aldermen only, yet, if they found the burden too heavy for themſelves alone, they might adjoin to each of them ſome well affected commoners, their friends; always provided they did not call their Common-Council, nor put it to the Commons, which his Majeſty would by no means endure. This they aſſented to coldly; for my Lords would take no denial; and ſo they are to give their anſwer upon Wedneſday next; which what it is likely to be, upon theſe premiſes, your Majeſty may too eaſily judge. The Lord Mayor being alone with my Lords in the gallery, was deſired to begin to make an offer for his proportion, calling 3 or 4 commoners to him to be ſharers with him, in hope that his example might draw on the reſt. But he excuſing himſelf, my Lords thought it not fit to preſs any of the reſt ſingle and apart, finding a general combination amongſt them all to ſtand off. Upon this I moved my Lords, knowing your Majeſty would expect ſome opinion and advice from them, to inſtruct me what to repreſent to your Majeſty. The Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal are very cloſe at their fence, and are by no means willing to expreſs themſelves. But the reſt are of opinion, that either your Majeſty ſhould command the City to furniſh 6000

A.D. 1639.

*A.D.* 1639. men at their own charge, for the reinforcing of your army, or elſe ſend for 6 or 8 of the Aldermen to attend you in perſon at the camp: which the other two Lords do not like, but hold dangerous in theſe times; and in caſe the City ſhould refuſe the former, they know not how they can be compelled to it. I am humbly of opinion that both ſhould be done; and if the former be refuſed, the chief officers of the City are anſwerable for ſo high a contempt: if the latter, the Aldermen, whom you ſhall ſummon to attend you, are fineable. But this is the reſult of yeſterday's proceedings from two 'till ſeven at night, wherein my Lords took extraordinary [*pains*,] and left nothing unſaid that might advance the ſervice.

THE Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington made account that they had conſiderable advantage againſt Alderman Campbell, by ſome bonds of his which remained lately in the Exchequer. But they find theſe bonds, by your Majeſty's commandment, and without their knowledge, nay, contrary to their advice to your Majeſty, diſcharged and re-delivered a little before your departure from hence: Which they wonder at, and wiſh your Majeſty would pleaſe to inquire of Mr. Secretary Coke, how that buſineſs paſſed.

IF there may be certificate made in what Equipage the Lords Say and Brooke came to attend your Majeſty, which cannot be done but from the Lord General, or ſome other chief officer of the army, there may be a foundation for an information againſt them in the Starchamber.

*A rough Draught by himſelf, without a Date, but written, as appears by the opening, the 11th of June* 1639.

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE arrival of Mr. Percy hath filled theſe parts with the news of a peace; and her Majeſty hath vouchſafed me the honour to let me ſee conditions conducing to it; which, ſeeing they can be no better, I am very glad are ſo good, eſpecially in the diſcountenancing that mutinous and unlawful aſſembly at Glaſcow, wherein your Majeſty hath vindicated your honour and government. But withal, I cannot without horror think upon your Majeſty's going into Scotland in perſon, and expoſing yourſelf (upon whoſe ſafety that of the Queen, of your Royal Iſſue, and of the whole State depends) to the Mercy of a people enraged, weary of Monarchial Government, of whoſe inſincerity your Majeſty hath had ſo much experience in the whole progreſs of this buſineſs, and who know your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon is the only impediment to the republick, liberty, and confuſion which they have framed and deſigned to themſelves. For my part, I never apprehended ſo much the hazard of a battle, as I do this purpoſe of your Majeſty; which in all humility I beſeech you to take into further conſideration, and to adviſe whether the aſſembly may not be held by your Commiſſioner. Their diſbanding cannot ſo ſecure your Majeſty, but that, upon any difference in the aſſembly (and in theſe diſtempered times what other can be expected but tumult and diſtraction) they will always have arms and forces at hand, to extort their own conditions from your Majeſty, or to put ſome affront upon you. But I forget myſelf and the diſtance I ſtand at, and ſhould hold with your Majeſty; not doubting but your Majeſty, being upon the ſpot and neareſt to your own affairs, hath in your wiſdom foreſeen and provided for all this, and much more, moſt humbly craving your Majeſty's pardon that my

my zeal to your perſon and ſervice hath tranſported me beyond the duty of a ſervant. *A.D.* 1639.

*A rough Draught by himſelf, without a Date.* *

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's commandment by the Earl of Salisbury, my Lords have required the coſty Mayor of London to make anſwer to your Majeſty's letters. But hitherto they make difficulty, deſiring the paper I ſent your Majeſty ſubſcribed by the Mayor, and containing his and every one of his brethren's anſwers, may be accepted. The truth is, they are aſhamed to make any direct anſwer, they have carried themſelves ſo meanly toward your Majeſty; and the apprehenſion of it (I believe) is ready to put ſome of them out of their coſtineſs, not in the figurative but in the plain literal ſenſe. And this ſome of them diſcovered upon the very firſt overture of the buſineſs: And though great ſecrecy were commanded them, yet the keepers of the Council Chamber, having good noſes, quickly found for what the City were commanded thither, three or four of them, when the Lords were gone into the lodgings, if they had not made great haſte out, having been in danger to be more free of their purſes than would have been accepted; which thoſe door-keepers ſay is the uſual fee of the City, and hath been of very great antiquity among them upon like occaſions. Upon this the Lords reflected, when (according to your Majeſty's commandment,) I delivered your Majeſty's thanks for their pains to thoſe *coſty*, as your Majeſty termed them; and it is not without ſome of their Lordſhips' inſtructions that venture to be thus homely; for which I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon.

*Which, with that whole diſpache, I have receaved but even now.*

*Lett them not now have tyme to recollect there Courages, and ye have won the Cauſe.*

BY my Lord Archbiſhop's direction I preſume to ſend the letter back again to your Majeſty for the Biſhoprick of Elphin; concerning which my Lord tells me he has written ſo fully to your Majeſty, that it will be unneceſſary for me to add any thing to it.

*He ſhall have the anſwer.*

IN all humility I wiſh your Majeſty a happy end of all your great affairs, and a ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage to theſe ſouthern parts, where none ſhall be more glad to caſt himſelf at your Majeſty's feet than

*Barwike, 2 July before Noone.*

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and moſt obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Whitehall, 27 June* 1639.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

* *The Pacification with the Scots was made 17th June* 1639.

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

A.D. 1639. MR. Scrope arrived here upon Sunday night the 30th of June, which was a very extraordinary diligence; and the next day I repaired to Oatlands to wait upon her Majeſty and receive her commandments, who was pleaſed to honour me with the charge of the incloſed.

WE were here full of hope and joy, until Mr. Scrope's coming, to have had the honour of your Majeſty's bleſſed preſence here very ſhortly. But ſeeing the neceſſity of that great work which your Majeſty hath in hand, and cannot ſo well be managed by any other, denies us that happineſs for a time, we do in all humbleneſs ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom, hoping your return being crowned with the ſucceſs of your affairs will be the greater honour and contentment to yourſelf, and comfort to us all.

MY Lords, in the opinion of your Majeſty's being here ſhortly, have not of late preſſed the Mayor and Aldermen of London for their anſwer to your Majeſty's letters. But now I ſhall be their remembrancer, and revive the buſineſs, though their averſeneſs hitherto, eſpecially that of the Mayor, gives little hopes of any conſiderable ſucceſs.

*You ſhall doe well not only to revive that, but alſo the letters to the Gentry*, mutatis mutandis.

IN mine of the 22d of the laſt, I acquainted your Majeſty that ſome counties had repreſented to the Board the great charge of their weekly muſters, with deſire to be eaſed now that (as they conceive) the occaſion is taken away by the accommodation: Which though my Lords held reaſonable, yet, without your Majeſty's pleaſure firſt known, they would not venture to give way to it.

*Eaſe them now.*
*Barwike*, 7.

I BESEECH God bleſs your Majeſty in that which remaineth of your buſineſs in Scotland; and ſo with all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 2 *July* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty, Sir William Boſwell according to the licence your Majeſty was pleaſed, before your departure, to ſign for his repair hither, when ſhe ſhould think fit, is lately arrived here, taking occaſion to come away upon their trifling with him in the Eaſt India buſineſs; whereat both the States there and their Ambaſſador here are not a little troubled; and I am concerned not to diſabuſe them, finding it will be of great conſideration to your Majeſty's ſervice.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

HER Majeſty was pleaſed the laſt night to ſend me the incloſed from Oatlands, directed by herſelf to your Majeſty, with commandment to give it addreſs to your Majeſty, wherein I was moſt ready to give obedience. *A.D.1639.*

THE other letters that go herewith I received this week from Sir Balthazar Gerbier, ſaving thoſe to your Majeſty from the Lord Archbiſhop and the Lord Treaſurer, and that from the Marquis Vieuville.

THOSE from Gerbier to me, together with the tranſlation of Ceralvo's letter, the original whereof in Spaniſh I have reſerved here, your Majeſty may pleaſe to vouchſafe me back again, with ſuch directions as your Majeſty ſhall in your wiſdom judge fit for your ſervice.

AND becauſe Gerbier, in his letter to me, makes mention of Bonnefont,* Queen Mother's Servant, and of that buſineſs whereof I gave your Majeſty the diſcourſe not long ſince, by which it appears the report is grown vulgar, and certainly not without ſome moving from this ſide, either by Queen Mother, or her ſervants, or the Dutcheſs of Chevreux, or from them all; and becauſe Gerbier hath given your Majeſty in theſe letters a more large account of that particular, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me likewiſe that letter of Gerbier to yourſelf, for my better information herein, ſeeing he ſeems to remit me to it.

*I have ſent you back all his letters, requyring you to tranſcrybe ſo much of his letter to mee as I have marked in the ſyde, and to ſhow it to my Wyfe to make her ſee what biſſi boddies her Mother hes about her.*

CONCERNING the Marquis of Ceralvo's letter to me, it ſeems the principal ſcope of it is, to draw your Majeſty into a formal treaty at Bruſſels, by his preſſing to ſee what powers Princeſs Phalſburgh has from your Majeſty; which your Majeſty hath hitherto moſt prudently avoided, and I yet ſee no cauſe why you ſhould change your ſtyle. Your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember, that the anſwer you made to her propoſition was but under my hand; which Gerbier was commanded upon his allegiance to ſhew to her only, and not to deliver any copy of it to her or any other; which is all the powers that have been granted. But whenſoever your Majeſty ſhall think fit to enter into treaty, I am humbly of opinion, it cannot be for your ſervice to have it at Bruſſels, but in Spain, upon whoſe motions and orders all others either at Bruſſels or Vienna muſt depend, that being the ſource; and therefore all other are but by-ways, and of little conſideration in this great negotiation. Beſides, Sir Arthur Hopton is feeling their pulſe there by a conference, whereof he hath lately given ſome account, and I ſhall tranſmit it to your Majeſty by my next. In the mean time, Princeſs Phalsburgh may be entertained with thanks from your Majeſty, and encouragements to continue her good offices, that it may appear how far ſhe of herſelf can drive it, and whether ſhe can procure any reſolution from

*No more I will.*

*Ye ſay right.*

*It is moſt fitt.*

* *See Windebank's Deſpatch to Sir A. Hopton 15th July 1639.*

*A.D.* 1639. *As lykwais this.*

them to that anſwer to her propoſition, which Gerbier hath under my hand, and which he may ſhew her once more, and deſire her as of herſelf to preſs them to declare themſelves what they mean to do thereupon. This is my humble conception, and ſomewhat may be anſwered to this purpoſe, if your Majeſty pleaſe, or whatſoever elſe your Majeſty in your great wiſdom ſhall direct; which with all humility I expect and ſhall obey.

*If P. Phalſburgh's information will not ſerve to make them ſhew there powers, they ſhall be unſeene by mee: Wherefore I give you power to uſe this way.*

If Gerbier could draw them to ſhew their powers, or could uſe any art to diſcover, whether they have thoſe powers from Spain, of which they ſo much brag, it were a very good ſervice. But I fear they will hardly ſhew their's, unleſs they may be ſure to ſee what powers your Majeſty hath granted; and to ſhew them your Majeſty's anſwer, unleſs there were aſſurance they would accept it, will not be for your Majeſty's advantage; and yet how they can accept it without ſeeing it, or at leaſt without being informed by ſome perſon of credit, ſuch as Princeſs Phalſburgh, of the ſubject and ſubſtance of it, I do not underſtand. But this I do in all humility ſubmit to your Majeſty's conſideration.

*You will receave full directions in this, by Hen. Vane. C. R.*

There have been complaints brought to me of late by ſome merchants of London, of quality and reputation, of the great interruption of trade given by the Hollanders' fleet lying in your Majeſty's ſeas, profeſſing they ſhould be moſt willing to pay the ſhipping-money, if they might have your ſeas free, and not to be ſubject to the inſolencies which the Dutch do daily put upon them. They are of opinion that this would be remedied, if your Majeſty will give order to ſome of your ſhips that are appointed for the guard of your ſeas, to go up weſtward and to prevent diſorders; and their countenance and preſence would ſecure trade without giving offence to any. This, beſides matter of benefit, concerns your Majeſty very highly in point of honour; and if this or ſome other way be not taken to free the trade, I fear your ſhipping buſineſs will find great difficulties the next year. The Lord Admiral, before his going to the Bath, was very ſenſible of theſe complaints, and that ſuch indignities ſhould be put upon your Majeſty's ſubjects in his time: And therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take it into ſerious conſideration; and that Sir John Pennington, now he is returned, may be ordered to ſcour the ſeas, and to keep better order.

I shall not give your Majeſty further trouble for the preſent, but with all humility craving pardon for this, moſt humbly reſt

*Command Gerbier in my Name to give a Complement to the Ducheſſe of Orleans, and P. Phalsbourgh for there congratulations at tyme.*

*Barwike* 10.

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

Fran. Windebank.

*Drury-Lane, 6 July* 1639.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE my laſt of the 6th, I have received your Majeſty's of the 5th, *A.D.*1639. vouchſafed me by your Page Mr. Proger, and have delivered the incloſed to the Lord Archbiſhop, whoſe anſwer goeth herewith.

CONCERNING mine of the 22d of June, which came ſo late to your Majeſty's hands, I ſhall make ſtrict inquiry where the failing hath been, and cauſe it to be puniſhed with ſeverity.

THE letter herein to your Majeſty from the Lord Keeper, giving your Majeſty notice of the death of the Lord Chaworth, ſheriff of Nottinghamſhire, requires a ſpeedy anſwer, the aſſizes being ſo near; which cannot be kept, unleſs your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to appoint a ſucceſſor for that place.

*I heerin ſend bake the Bill ſent me by him diſpached, wherin I have uſed his Advyçe.*

THERE is one letter to your Majeſty from the Queen, and another from the Lord Treaſurer.

THE other three are from Sir Arthur Hopton to the Lord Cottington and myſelf; in which the buſineſs of moſt conſideration is that of Queen Mother's Miniſter; for whoſe reſtitution your Majeſty was pleaſed to interpoſe by my hand: Secondly, that concerning Don Alonſo de Cardenas: And thirdly, the conference between Sir Arthur Hopton and the Conde Duke, for which your Majeſty authoriſed him by ſpecial inſtructions.

FOR the firſt, your Majeſty will find it in a very good way of accommodation, merely for your Majeſty's and the Queen our Miſtreſs's ſake; for otherwiſe, it is clear their alienation from Queen Mother was ſo great, that the buſineſs had been deſperate. And therefore, all that I conceive can be further done, is, that Sir Arthur Hopton, whoſe diligences and care have been to very good purpoſe herein, may have notice taken to him from your Majeſty, that you like well his ſervices, and encouragement to go on perfecting the work; and when the reeſtabliſhment ſhall be abſolutely ſettled, that he give thanks to that King, in your Majeſty's and the Queen's name, for his reſpect to Queen Mother, at your Majeſties' interceſſion.

*Of this I requyre you to give my Wyfe an account, that ſhe may ſee, bothe what reall Offices ar done for her Mother by my Miniſters, and that there is ſome reſpect held of my Mediation in that Court.*

CONCERNING Don Alonſo de Cardenas, your Majeſty may pleaſe to take into conſideration the ſenſe that King and his Miniſters have of the buſineſs, and likewiſe the opinion which your own Miniſter hath of the conſequences of it, if ſhould grow higher; whereof he hath made more particular expreſſion in his letter to the Lord Cottington. And withal, your Majeſty may pleaſe to take notice that, at your interceſſion, they have reſtored Queen Mother's Miniſter; that both that King and the Conde make it their ſuit to your Majeſty, as appears in Sir Arthur Hopton's letter to me, in theſe words ("The "time hath been ſo long that he hath ſuffered,

*For this, let ſome way bee found that my Honnor be cleered, that I gave no way for the treatie of Bruſſelles, and I ſhall be content.*

*But I ſee not how that can bee, except Don Alonço bee brought to confeſs his miſtaking, in ſome publike*

*A.D.*1639. *way; which done, I ſhall not be unwilling to admitt him as formerlie to negotiate for his Maiſter.*

"as we do hope and deſire his Majeſty would "receive it for ſatisfaction.") Beſides the danger of a conteſtation between your Majeſty and that King, which you may pleaſe to obſerve they deſire by all means to avoid; and, which is, in my poor opinion, the moſt conſiderable of all, if it ſhould come to a diſpute, they will undoubtedly in their own juſtification publiſh the propoſition made by Princeſs Phalsburgh, and take that in their own ſenſe for a treaty at Bruſſels, and in probability the French will interpret it ſo likewiſe; ſo that by this means your Majeſty's ſecret negotiations may run hazard to be diſcovered: Which, what prejudice it will be to your affairs, conſidering how uncertain your treaties are with the French, and the other confederates, and how unſettled your buſineſs is yet in Scotland, I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's great wiſdom. Beſides, if, after theſe intimations from them, their Miniſter ſhould ſtill continue in your Majeſty's disfavour, and ſuſpenſion of his negotiation, it is to be doubted that in Spain your Majeſty's Ambaſſador ſhall be likewiſe kept at the like diſtance; and conſequently he can be of no uſe there. Laſtly, your Majeſty may pleaſe to conſider, that by paſſing by this offence of Cardenas, he may be gained (as much as can be expected from a foreign Miniſter) to your Majeſty's ſervice; which he hath really vowed to me, ſince your Majeſty gave me leave to treat with him, profeſſing he will uſe his utmoſt endeavours to redeem himſelf with your Majeſty: Whereof good uſe may be made to the Advantage of your Majeſty's ſervice, conſidering the great opinion they have of him there, as appears by Sir Arthur Hopton's letters. Theſe circumſtances I take the boldneſs, and hold it my humble duty to repreſent to your Majeſty, for your own ſervice; moſt humbly ſubmitting them to your Majeſty's great judgment and pleaſure.

For the third and laſt buſineſs, which is the conference, your Majeſty may pleaſe to obſerve how you are likely to be uſed in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, between the French and Bavaria, if you will treat at Cologn; and thereupon adviſe, whether it will not be more for your advantage to treat apart, where your own intereſts only may be taken into conſideration, without mixture of thoſe of others, with the ſucceſs of which your Majeſty muſt ſtand or fall. If your Majeſty ſhall reſolve upon this independency, the next query will be, whether you will treat at Bruſſels or Madrid; and then, whether by your own Miniſters, or by the intervention of ſtrangers. For that at Bruſſels, and by ſtrangers, your Majeſty hath had ſufficient experience by the interpoſition of Princeſs Phalſburgh, and may perceive by that romance in Sir Arthur Hopton's letter, how capable women are of ſuch great affairs, and what a repreſentation ſhe hath made of your Majeſty's intentions to the Infant Cardinal. I am therefore moſt humbly of opinion, this buſineſs can be negotiated no where ſo well as in Spain, by your own Miniſter, privately and with as little noiſe as may be; and that powers may be enlarged to him for this purpoſe, he having hitherto no powers but to confer. If therefore your Majeſty ſo pleaſe, he may be inſtructed and authoriſed by me to proceed

*This may bee as much arte, as trewth in Olivares.*

*The former being granted, it is.*

*Of the two, Madrid is the beſt; yet Collen muſt not be left, before I ſee more cleerely why.*

in

*Let him doe ſo, but ſtill as a privat perſon, for the reaſons above mentioned.*

in the conference, by writing or otherwiſe, and ſee how far he can drive the buſineſs, keeping himſelf as near as may be to your Majeſty's anſwer to Princeſs Phalſburgh; and if he ſhall think fit to enlarge himſelf beyond it, to do it ſtill with reference to your Majeſty's good pleaſure, and as no way binding or concluding to your Majeſty. In this way *(ad referendum)* though he ſhall deliver papers to treat by writing, as long as there ſhall be reſervation to your Majeſty, I am humbly of opinion your Majeſty may truſt his diſcretion; and, ſeeing the Conde Duke ſeems ſo real and well affected in the buſineſs, that Hopton may have power to put him to it. It ſeems, they make nothing of Bavaria, and that they have it in their power to play faſt and looſe with him, as they pleaſe: Which if it ſhall really appear to be true, and that an abſolution may be got from the pretended Emperor without renunciation, there may be life in the buſineſs. Howſoever, it were not amiſs, if your Majeſty pleaſe, that Hopton proceed in the conference, to put them to it to mediate with the pretended Emperor for this abſolution. And it is not improbable but, if Hopton and the Conde can draw the conference to any terms of agreement, [*but*] that they will be contented to undertake it; which Hopton may be inſtructed to move to them, according to the ſucceſs of this negotiation. *A.D.* 1639.

I MOST humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon for theſe impertinencies and importunities, and the honour to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 9 July* 1639.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Lord Aſton being a Peer of Scotland, hath ſent me a blank, which goeth herewith, and humbly deſireth your Majeſty to cauſe it to be filled in the uſual form of a Proxy, and with what name your Majeſty ſhall appoint, to be made uſe of at the next Parliament in that Kingdom.

*Tell the Major and Aldermen of London that I wonder why all this whyle they have given me no anſwer to my Letter*

*C. R.*

*Barwike*, 13.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE my laſt of the 9th, I have received back again mine of the 2d apoſtiled, and dated the 7th, together with one to her Majeſty, which I had the honour to deliver to her with my own hand, and another to the Lord Archbiſhop.

*A.D.* 1639. BEFORE the receipt of theſe, and the ſignification of your Majeſty's pleaſure in your apoſtile concerning the letters to the Gentry, I had prepared the draught that goes herewith, and yeſterday in Council it was read at the Board, and generally approved, ſaving in that clauſe which your Majeſty will find interlined; concerning which the Lords were divided; ſome being of opinion it ſhould be omitted, and others that it ſhould ſtand. Whereupon, I moved it might be ſent to your Majeſty, and ſubmitted to your judgment and princely pleaſure. Indeed, in the firſt draught it was ſomewhat flat; *viz.* "the ſuppreſſing of that dangerous rebellion of the Scots;" but now, in tranſcribing it, I have limited it according to your Majeſty's own ſtyle in your former letters; which nevertheleſs is left in all humility to your Majeſty's wiſdom, whoſe order and commandment I ſhall attend and obey.

*Delay the ſending of them, untill I ſend you further word.*

FOR the City, the Mayor is ſuch a beaſt, and his Brethren the Aldermen ſuch cattle, as they will be neither driven nor go of themſelves. I ſent a letter to them the laſt week by my Lords' direction, requiring them to make anſwer by letter, to be ſigned by them all, to your Majeſty's letters vouchſafed them, written all with your own hand. Yeſterday they ſent one of the Sheriffs and an Alderman to my Lords; who brought only a copy of ſuch another paper as I formerly ſent your Majeſty; in which every Alderman's anſwer was ſet down, and the Mayor's laſt of all; which they deſired might be accepted for their anſwer, being extremely vexed that they are thus held to it. My Lords rejected the paper with indignation, and have commanded them again at their peril to make anſwer to your Majeſty's ſelf by letter. They are extreme fearful to be catched by any thing in writing, and my Lords are reſolved to hold this whip over them; which, if any thing, is moſt likely to cure their coſtineſs.

*This is well done, and lett it be perſewed*
*C. R.*

I ATTENDED her Majeſty to receive her commandments, and to know her pleaſure, whether ſhe would render your Majeſty any anſwer: But ſhe told me ſhe had written ſo lately, that now ſhe would forbear.

*Yet, tell her that I cannot anie, from wryting to her.*
*Barwike* 14.

IN all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane, 11th July* 1639.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

TELL my wyfe, that I deſyer to know wether ſhe has receaved myne of the 30. of June, (which went by Webb) for ſhe has not anſwered it

it yet. This, I confeſs, needs not much, ſave onlie of the delivery; but the other to my Lo: Treſorer does, and that with haſt. So I reſt A.D.1639.

*Your frend*

*Barwike*, 12 *July* 1639.

CHARLES RE.

*An Original.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

YOUR deſpatches of $\frac{8}{18}$ of June and likewiſe thoſe of $\frac{15}{25}$ of the ſame that came by the expreſs of Plymouth, I have ſent into the North to his Majeſty; and as ſoon as I ſhall have received his orders concerning them, I will not fail to acquaint your Lordſhip with them. In the mean time you may perceive by the duplicate of the Marquis of Ceralvo's letter to the Princeſs Phalsburgh, which goes herewith, that they would fain draw the treaty to Bruſſels; though, for my part, I am of opinion this is but an artifice to diſcover his Majeſty's anſwer to Princeſs Phalſburgh's propoſition; there having been no powers at all ſent to her, nor any copy or part thereof in writing to be delivered to her nor any other upon peril of his life. What his Majeſty in his wiſdom will ordain concerning theſe motions from Bruſſels, I do not yet underſtand: But I have freely delivered my humble opinion, that, if he will have a treaty, it is loſt labour to leave Spain, the fountain, and be amuſed with other ſtreams, which are of little conſideration: Beſides that, after much time ſpent, we muſt at laſt reſort to the head before any thing of moment can be concluded, or any ground be ſettled for an agreement. Nevertheleſs, it is advertiſed from Bruſſels that either Queen Mother herſelf, or ſome of her Miniſters here, have of late, by the intervention of a poor churchman, one Bonnefont a Frenchman, ſent into Flanders, made overtures to the Infant Cardinal of a marriage between our Princeſs Mary and the Prince of Spain, and, in conſequence of that, of a treaty between the two Crowns; to which the Infant Cardinal hath made anſwer, that he diſlikes not the motion, but is jealous of the French hand by which it is conveyed; and beſides, hath no opinion of any thing that cometh from Queen Mother or her Miniſters. The ſame advice bears, that Queen Mother in this treaty negotiates her own return to Bruſſels, holding her own perſonal ſolicitation of greateſt moment to the ſucceſs of it. But his Majeſty and the Queen our Miſtreſs here having been made acquainted with it, find it very ſtrange that a motion of this importance ſhould be ſet on foot without their knowledge; and for Queen Mother, ſhe utterly diſavows it. So that either this is ſome practice of her buſy Miniſters without her knowledge, or elſe ſome invention of Princeſs Phalſburgh there, or the Dutcheſs of Chevreux and the Marquis de la Vieuville here. Theſe two laſt have been very importunate with me of late, to have commiſſion from his Majeſty to make ſome motions underhand, and as of themſelves, to the Conde Duke concerning the ſaid marriage between the children of both Kings; Madame de Chevreux taking upon her to underſtand that the inclinations of that King and of the Conde are very good, and that they will moſt readily hearken to ſuch a motion; which likewiſe may train with it the accommodation of the Palatinate. But his Majeſty makes no account of theſe overtures; being

*A.D.* 1639. reſolved that, whenſoever he ſhall think fit to enter into theſe treaties, he will uſe the ſervice of his own Miniſters, and not of ſtrangers.

Our buſineſs of Scotland, ſince the pacification, hath met with ſome difficulties, all the ſpirits of the covenanters being not yet laid: Or, if they were, they are riſen again upon the diſmiſſing of his Majeſty's army, as your Lordſhip will perceive by the copy of the proteſtation that goes herewith. Nevertheleſs, though there have been ſome reſtifneſs in the Covenanters in delivering the caſtles and forts to his Majeſty, according to the agreement, yet of late the caſtle of Edinburgh is conſigned to the King; and his Majeſty hath put in a garriſon, munition, and victuals there without oppoſition; ſo that the place is ſecured to him. The Aſſembly and Parliament are appointed in Auguſt next; but whether his Majeſty will be there in perſon, conſidering the late tumults and diſorders happened in Edinburgh, is not yet certain.

I am in great haſte, and therefore crave your Lordſhip's pardon for this curſory advertiſement, for which I ſhall make reparation at more leiſure, and in the mean time, with the remembrance of my true love and ſervices, reſt

*Your Lordſhip's*, &c.

*15 July* 1639.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Proviſion of Catholick Biſhops in* Ireland.

Conſidering the correſpondence allowed between the See Apoſtolick and her Majeſty, and the preſent ſtate of Catholick religion in Ireland, how far it concerns his Majeſty's ſervice and the ſecurity of that Kingdom from foreign invaſion and domeſtical inſurrection, that the proviſion of Biſhops made by the Pope in Ireland, depend of her Majeſty's nomination, which hitherto the King of Spain *de facto* doth challenge, as inherent to his Crown.

First, it muſt be taken for granted, as a thing certain, that generally throughout all the ſhires of Ireland, there are of Catholicks twenty to one Proteſtant, and in many places more; notwithſtanding the continual and politick endeavours of the ſtate of England to effect the contrary, by introducing the reformed religion ſince the firſt breach of King Harry the eighth from the See of Rome, to this preſent.

Secondly, the Pope from time to time provided the church of Ireland of Biſhops and Vicars general Apoſtolick; and at this day four Archbiſhops and twelve Biſhops are reſident in that Kingdom; and a further treaty is held for making more for Biſhopricks not yet provided for. And whereas the Court of Rome and the Congregation *pro propagandâ fide* preſuppoſe that in good policy his Majeſty and the State will never uſe that rigorous execution againſt Catholicks, eſpecially in that Kingdom, but rather temperate themſelves according to the conſtitution of times, they neither have nor will ceaſe from continuing the ſaid proviſions and other eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions in that Kingdom.

Thirdly, it is to be obſerved, that all rebellions attempted heretofore in Ireland, and fomented by the aſſiſtance of foreign Princes, were cloaked under pretext of defending and furthering Catholick Religion; which for future time will not a little weaken, while her Majeſty continues her correſpondency

pondency with Rome; ſo that the proviſion of Biſhops depend upon her propoſition and commendation. For this is the ſureſt means to give Biſhops affection, and conſequently keep both Clergy and Laity in due ſubjection and fidelity, as by the ſubſequent reaſons ſhall appear: *A.D.* 1639.

First, becauſe Epiſcopal name and authority is in ſo high eſtimation among Iriſh Catholicks, that for accompliſhing their will and following their counſels, they would venture and hazard their own lives and fortunes.

Secondly, thoſe that be made Biſhops are learned men, brought up either in Spain, France, or Italy, well experienced within and without the Kingdom, and conſequently able to withdraw and perſuade people from due obſervance to the Prince, if they ſhall be ill affected, or dependent from foreign Princes; even as, being well affected, and dependent only from her Majeſty's aſſiſtance in matters of preferment, they can well keep the Kingdom in loving and faithful diſpoſition.

In conſideration of theſe reaſons in the year 1627. divers petitions were preſented to his Holineſs in the Congregations *pro propagandâ Fide* and Holy Office, perſuading that the Primacy of Ireland, then vacant, ſhould be provided only in perſons apt for reducing the Kingdom under the Spaniſh dominion. Wherefore, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, then reſident in Rome, ſo earneſtly ſupported and fomented this buſineſs, that he pretended the nomination of Biſhops to be an act of juriſdiction belonging to the King and Crown of Spain; and, in conformity hereof, would have eſtabliſhed, that Epiſcopal Dignities ſhould be provided only in perſons well affected and able to further the Spaniſh ſervice. And conſequently, ſuch as were found affected to the King and State of England, ſhould be excluded from all preferments. Nay, for the better advancement of this plot, they diſtinguiſhed the Iriſh into two factions; the one, called ancient, or pure Iriſh; the other, Anglo-Iriſh, that is, deſcended from Engliſh, though natural for many hundred years.

Item, in the year 1638. the very ſame reaſons were propounded in the Congregation held in the month of March for Iriſh affairs in Cardinal Spada's houſe, before Cardinal Antonio Barberino, Protector of Ireland, and Cardinal Pamphilio, only to exclude certain perſons known to be well affected to his Majeſty, and thought to be commended by her Majeſty, though really not: Wherein if Sir William Hamilton did * prevent Cardinal Antonio by his letters, things had been prejudiciouſly carried. Likewiſe laſt October 1638. the Spaniſh extraordinary Ambaſſador, Don Juan Samaſero, by virtue of particular orders ſent from Spain, at the inſtance of the Iriſh Lords ô Neile and ô Donnel, dealt earneſtly with the aforeſaid Cardinals, ſpecially Pamphilio, for the excluſion of the aforeſaid, as a thing prejudicious unto Spain; and endeavoured to perſuade it apparently prejudicial and harmful unto the common cauſe of Catholicks in Ireland, that the Queen or her Agents ſhould have any intermeddling with the proviſion of Biſhops to be done in Ireland; whereas the correſpondency between the See Apoſtolick and her Majeſty was allowed by the State for political ends, as is pretended, thereby to palliate plantations chiefly introducted for the extirpation of religion, and ſtop all recourſes the ſubject may have either to the See Apoſtolick, or other Catholick Princes for their ſuccour.

Whence it clearly appeareth, how beneficial it is for his Majeſty's ſervice and the ſecurity of that Kingdom, that the promotion of Biſhops and other

* *So the MS.*

*A.D.* 1639. ſubſtantial Prelates in Ireland, depend of her Majeſty's propoſition and commendation, whereas foreign Princes hold it conſiderable; nay, it would be a means to fruſtrate all conſpiracies ordinarily fomented by ſuch as through the favour of Princes work their own preferments under pretext of Religion. But againſt this can be objected,

FIRST, that if his Majeſty and State give way to ſuch proviſions of Biſhops in Ireland, or ſeek after the nomination thereof, it will ſeem they approve it.

To this may be anſwered, firſt, that in outward appearance it ſhall be the Queen's act. Secondly, that this nomination of Biſhops is but by conſequent of the correſpondency already allowed; wherefore the one is no more to be excepted at than the other; ſpecially in a buſineſs of ſo great moment, wherein probably conſiſts the quietneſs and ſecurity of that Kingdom. For they that are naturally well affected will thereby take courage, and the ill affected will change proceedings, ſeeing their preferment to depend of her Majeſty's commendation. Thirdly, can be anſwered, that politick Princes ought to ſteer their courſe and manner of government according to the conjunction of things, and circumſtances of times. Wherefore, that Kingdom being ſo conſtantly addicted to Catholick Religion, as is well known, and the intereſt of the Crown of England in keeping good quarters with the See Apoſtolick greater now-a-days than is fit herein to expreſs, none can juſtly except againſt proviſions of Biſhops as aforeſaid.

IF this diſcourſe and reaſons take place, or ſeem beneficial, hereto will follow a compleat inſtruction how things ought to be carried with diſcretion, and ſecretly effected, with ſatisfaction of both ſides.

*In an unknown hand; endorſed by Windebank;*
"3d Septr. 1639. Concerning titular Rom. Cath. Biſhops in Ireland."

*The Subſtance of what is humbly deſired of his* MAJESTY *in behalf of Recuſants, with the reaſons thereof.*

THAT by ſome preſent and effectual order out of the Exchequer, all commiſſions, or other acts, which have iſſued ſince Eaſter laſt 1639. in order to Mr. Pulsford's commiſſion; and, in particular, ſuch as have been followed by Mr. Stanley, or any other by his means, may preſently be ſuperſeded: And that Stanley may expreſsly be commanded to forbear all proceeding therein; and that no extraordinary commiſſion or proceſs may iſſue out of the Exchequer againſt Recuſants, 'till his Majeſty's pleaſure to the contrary be expreſsly known.

THAT effectual letters be ſpeedily written to the Sheriffs of Norfolk, Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire and Cornwall, as alſo to the Biſhops of York, Durham, Cheſter and Exeter, (becauſe in the counties within theſe Dioceſes, the contribution of Catholicks' monies is not yet made) requiring them in his Majeſty's name, not to concur towards any extraordinary proſecution of any penal laws, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, againſt Roman Catholicks, 'till his Majeſty's pleaſure to the contrary be expreſsly known; and that they would intimate the ſame direction to ſuch inferior officers of their's in their ſeveral charges and counties, as it may concern; and to reverſe, as well as they can, or at leaſt temper, ſuch acts of their's as have iſſued from any of them, ſince Eaſter laſt, *Anno Domini* 1639. contrary to this preſent intimation of his Majeſty's pleaſure. And it is humbly moved, that, for the ſpeedier and more aſſured deſpatch of this buſineſs, theſe letters may be ſent into the country

country with ſpeed, by Meſſengers of the Chamber; with direction that no time may be loſt, whereof too much is ſpent already. *A.D.* 1639.

For that which is now deſired, concerning Mr. Pulsford's commiſſion, [*it*] was formerly granted by his Majeſty upon the Queen's interceſſion for that purpoſe; and ſhe was pleaſed to ſignify and undertake as much by ſeveral meſſages, which ſhe ſent to ſuch as were aſſembled about the contribution: Which contribution will yet come to nothing in thoſe countries which have not already paid in their monies, unleſs theſe preſent rigours may be forborn.

*Auguſt* 1639. *In an unknown hand, endorſed, as above, in the ſame hand.*

## *Sir* Arthur Hopton *to Mr. Secretary* Windebank.

*Right Honourable*,

I AM to acquaint your Honour that I am come to the knowledge of a conſpiracy between the fugitive Iriſh that are here, and ſome Romiſh Biſhops that are in Ireland, for the rebelling of that Kingdom againſt his Majeſty.

Certain Biſhops, whoſe names are as followeth, the Archbiſhops of Caſtellencia and Toamens, the Biſhops of Limerick, Oimolacepbi, whoſe name is Hurly, [*and*] of Waterford, have written to the Iriſh Lords here, inviting them to go into Ireland; ſaying, they are not Sons of good Catholicks, unleſs they take this time to relieve their Country and Religion, aſſuring them the Country is in a fit diſpoſition for it. Whereupon divers meetings have been held here. The names of thoſe that have met are, Tyrone, who is here, Tyrconnel, by his letters, who is with the army in Catalonia, the Earls of May and Berhaven (as they call them) Don Gulielmo Burgh, and ſome Churchmen, the chief whereof are two Friars of the order of St. Dominick. The name of the one is William Gerardin, or Gerard, Son to the Knight of Query; the name of the other is Daniel Hodal; here he is called Fray Domingo de Roſario. After many meetings it is reſolved, that theſe two Friars ſhall paſs preſently into Ireland, Gerard by Bilboa, and Hodal by Liſbon, where he is already, and hath been this month, if he be not paſſed. Gerard is a man of forty and five years old; he wears a tawny cloth ſuit and coat of the ſame, laced with ſilver and gold lace; his hair, which is brown, long, the ſleeves of his coat faced with ſatin. Hodal is a very tall black man, and ſpeaks very big, and is about the ſame age that the other, and his clothes near the ſame colour. Theſe carry letters of credence, and nothing elſe, all being referred to their relation. The letters are to the Earls of Antrim and Weſtmeath, the Viſcounts Bary and Roche, [*and*] to another Earl, whom my correſpondent could not name, but he ſaid he hath been a priſoner in England; to the Barons of Exchequer and Britas; to M^c Morris, to the Knight of Query, to Salivan, More; and a general letter to all the Gentlemen of Note. There is in Ireland one called Cornelius Quilin, an Abbot, who is to be employed herein; and after theſe that are going, Don Dermian ô Brien. I believe ſome of theſe names may be miſtaken; for he that gave me the relation could not ſpeak them but in Spaniſh. The end of theſe men's going is, to diſcover and prepare; and if matters fall out well, then the Lords are to go thither.

I cannot inform your Honour what encouragement they have from hence; but I am told that Hodal had given him by the Conde Duke, when

A.D. 1639. he went away, two thouſand double piſtoles. And Tyrone is kept here from his regiment, with pretence of want of money; but he is every day with the Conde Duke, morning and evening. And I am told that in theſe meetings there were two Spaniards. I will not affirm any thing without being certain; yet I do mainly ſuſpect they have ſome encouragement from the Conde Duke; though methinks the plot hath not *capricho* enough to be his.

I BELIEVE theſe men may ſtay their journey expecting the * of Iriſh ſhips with fiſh. It will therefore import that the Lord Deputy of Ireland have timely notice thereof.

I DESIRE to know, whether I ſhall give any reward, or what, to the diſcoverer, who is a man of quality. For your Honour knows how I am reſtrained in the matter of my extraordinaries.

I SHALL trouble your Honour with no more; but humbly remain

*Your Honour's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, Sept.* $\frac{1}{11}$. 1639.

ART. HOPTON.

*An Original, all in cipher, but deciphered by Windebank.*

## *Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

I WROTE to your Honour on the $\frac{3}{13}$ by the way of Bilboa, and ſent you duplicates on the $\frac{5}{15}$ by the ordinary of Flanders.

TO that in cipher I can only add that, my care being to find out what I can in that buſineſs, and particularly what hand this Crown hath therein, I have learnt that the two Spaniards, mentioned to have aſſiſted at the meetings of the Iriſh, were Fray Domingo Daſa, of the order of St. Dominick, a man of great eſtimation for his wiſdom and parts, and much employed by the Conde Duke; and Aguſtin de Caſtro, a Jeſuit, of no leſs eſtimation than the other. I have alſo learnt that on the $\frac{4}{14}$ of this month, the King of Spain's Confeſſor, who is of the Council of State, and Inquiſtor General, ſent for Don Gulielmo de Burgh; and, after he had asked him concerning the ſtate of Ireland and the Catholicks there, he told him that this time is thought fit for them to take arms; and for that purpoſe, that he muſt go thither to take a view of the country, of the ſtrength the King hath there, what fortifications there are, and to feel the pulſe of the people. I am well informed that this Gentleman told him, that the country could not eaſily be drawn to take arms, becauſe they are well uſed, and therefore it would be in vain, and do much harm, unleſs ſome great Prince would undertake to furniſh them with men, money, and arms. To this the Confeſſor added not a word; inſomuch that I am told that the deſign is, that the King of Spain ſhall not be ſeen therein, until matters be in a full ripeneſs; and in the mean time, if it ſhould come to be diſcovered, he will diſavow it, and lay it on the Churchmen. So as, although my correſpondent ſaith, he nothing doubteth but that all this moveth from the Conde Duke, by the inſtigation of Tyrone and the Friars, nevertheleſs a clear diſcovery is not to be made as yet; but it cannot be hid from me long. I have been told the ſubſtance of a paper they have delivered to the Conde Duke, and do hope to get the paper itſelf. It containeth many conveniences of men and victuals

* *A word omitted in the Original.*

that

that Ireland would bring to Spain. Tyrone hath long affected to be called Prince of Ulſter; and of late, in a letter the King of Spain hath written to the Cardinal Infant, he is ſo ſtiled. The two Friars I mentioned in my letter in cipher have all their letters; and they ſtay either for money to carry with them, or for Iriſh ſhips, or for both. I ſhall trouble your Honour with no more, but humbly remain *A.D.* 1639.

*Your Honour's moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, 17 Sept.* 1639.

ART. HOPTON.

*An Original, all in cipher, but deciphered by Windebank.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

FOR the propoſition in your Lordſhip's of $\frac{7}{17}$ of Auguſt, made by the Conde Duke concerning Iriſh ſoldiers, it would not have been pleaſing to his Majeſty at any time, though I confeſs the conditions are conſiderable, much leſs at this, when your deſpatch of $\frac{3}{13}$ of September gives advice of ſo dangerous a practice by that nation in Ireland. And therefore your Lordſhip is to give them a fair anſwer, that, conſidering his Majeſty's great uſe of his ſubjects for his own ſervice in theſe times of action, he can by no means ſpare them any levies out of his dominions, eſpecially out of that Kingdom.

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OF ſo much of that of the $\frac{12}{22}$ of Auguſt as referred to Queen Mother's Miniſter, I made an abſtract by his Majeſty's commandment, and ſhewed it to the Queen's Majeſty our Miſtreſs, and to the Queen her Mother; who were both very well pleaſed with your Lordſhip's diligences in that buſineſs; howſoever the ſucceſs is not like to be anſwerable. But for this Queen Mother's reſolution is abſolute and poſitive, and ſo her Majeſty hath deſired me to let you know, in conformity whereunto ſhe hath likewiſe ſignified her pleaſure to her Miniſter there, That if he may not be reſtored to his former entertainment, as well as to his negotiation, and that you find no probability thereof, that then he ſhall deliver his letters of revocation; and, taking his leave, he ſhall come away fairly, and without demonſtration of any diſtaſte. In this your Lordſhip is to give him what aſſiſtance you ſhall think fit. And, whether in his Majeſty's name you will take notice of thoſe hopes that were given by the Conde Duke of a better end in this buſineſs, in regard of the interpoſition of both their Majeſties here (the Conde telling your Lordſhip, the buſineſs had taken a new face by the interceſſion of his Majeſty, and accordingly they would conſider thereof) it is left wholly, both for the matter and manner, to your own ordering. But I am of opinion that ſomewhat ſhould be repreſented to them in the cloſe, to make them ſenſible of their neglect of his Majeſty's intervention, which his Majeſty cannot take well, conſidering with what civilities they firſt entertained the overture from his Majeſty.

AND now that I am upon this buſineſs of Queen Mother, I am by his Majeſty's ſpecial commandment to give your Lordſhip order, that whereas ſundry reports have been raiſed both in Flanders and Spain, and advices accordingly given from both thoſe parts, which your Lordſhip well knows, of an intention in Queen Mother to leave England, and to return into Flanders,

*A.D.*1639. or ſome other of the territories of the King of Spain, and that her Majeſty hath laboured her remove with great and earneſt ſolicitation; your Lordſhip is in his Majeſty's name to repreſent to that King and his Miniſters the great injury done to Queen Mother in ſo malicious and falſe a ſcandal; and you are abſolutely to diſavow it in her name as a thing which never ſo much as entered into her thoughts, but is raiſed merely by her enemies in Flanders and in other parts to do her ill offices, and to put jealouſies and diſlikes between their Majeſties here, and her; that ſhe is moſt contented with the royal and cordial entertainment ſhe receiveth here; which ſhe deſireth ſhould be made known to that King there; and that ſhe is reſolved never to depart from hence, unleſs it be to return into France upon ſome good conditions of accommodation. But withal, underhand, you are to uſe diligences to diſcover, whether really ſhe have uſed ſuch means for her return thither as hath been reported, and what ground there is for it; and, if you find any probability that it will take effect, to further and advance it ſecretly as much as you can. In all theſe particulars concerning Queen Mother's Miniſter and the falſeneſs of the report of her deſire to return into Flanders, your Lordſhip will underſtand Queen Mother's intentions by her own letters to yourſelf, and to her Reſident there, which go herewith. I aſſure you, it is very highly taken by both their Majeſties and Queen Mother here, that the Queen of Spain hath not been permitted to receive her Mother's letters nor tokens, and is interpreted a very impertinent ſtrictneſs and a barbarous diſreſpect in ſuch a trifle, conſidering the near relation between a Mother and a Daughter, and the mediation of their Majeſties here.

For the other paſſage in this deſpatch concerning the alarm they took there at the intercepting and viſiting the Engliſh merchants' ſhips by the Hollanders, that formerly were to bring the Spaniſh forces to Dunkirk, I have given your Lordſhip a full account in my letters of the 16th of Auguſt, what his Majeſty did thereupon, and that he was pleaſed not only to reſent it to the States' Ambaſſador here, but cauſed his Vice-Admiral to give the Vice-Admiral of Holland an admonition to forbear it hereafter, proteſting againſt it as an innovation and diſorder, and that he would by no means hereafter endure it.

The firſt of your three letters of the $\frac{3}{13}$ of September, concerning the diſcovery of the conſpiracy now hatching for Ireland, his Majeſty takes ſpecial notice of, holding it a very extraordinary ſervice, and hath commanded me to thank you for it, and to require you to continue your diligences for further diſcoveries. For your correſpondent in this ſervice his Majeſty remits to you to beſtow upon him ſuch a reward as yourſelf ſhall think fit; which, being accounted in your extraordinaries, I will give allowance of, and ſee your Lordſhip reimburſed.

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Your Lordſhip's third of the ſame date gives account of a meſſage delivered to you by the Secretary of the Council of War in that King's name, that he was reſolved to put his great fleet to ſea for the tranſportation of his forces to Dunkirk, with intention to chaſtiſe the inſolencies of the French and Hollanders; and thereupon deſired his Majeſty to afford the fleet a good paſſage in his ſeas, and accommodations in his harbours, with ſupplies of the neceſſary commodities, if it ſhould happen to put into any of them. Theſe letters though they came in extraordinary diligence, yet they arrived not until the fleet had been here in the Downs ſome days. Now, that ſo great

great a force of near 70 veſſels ſhould put into any of his Majeſty's ports, *A.D.* 1639.
with ſuch numbers of men of war, without his Majeſty's leave at all, or ſo much as his knowledge until they were actually in the ports, beſides the neglect and diſreſpect, is beyond the articles of the peace, and gives occaſion enough of jealouſy, and would no queſtion be taken highly by them, had his Majeſty done the like within their dominions. I am ſure it has caſt his Majeſty into ſome difficulties and jealouſies with the French and Hollanders; and what prejudice it may bring upon his treaties with them, is much to be apprehended. It is very true, that Don Alonſo gave ſome intimation, while his Majeſty was in the North, that ſome veſſels were preparing in Spain for the tranſportation of forces into Flanders, and deſired his Majeſty would not take apprehenſion at it, but that they might have a friendly reception and treatment in his ports, as occaſion ſhould be preſented. But he ſpake not of ſo great a number nor ſuch a ſtrength; and it was to be preſumed he had meant no other than thoſe Engliſh merchants' ſhips that firſt tranſported the 14 or 1500 ſoldiers, and were intercepted and viſited by the Hollanders. There was likewiſe a letter of the King of Spain lately ſent by Don Alonſo to his Majeſty, wherein notice was given of the fleet; and his Majeſty was deſired to give order that it might be fairly uſed, if it ſhould come into any of his ports. But this was a proviſional letter of an ancient date, which Don Alonſo had lying by him, merely in caſe of neceſſity, and not delivered to his Majeſty until 3 or 4 days after the arrival of the fleet in the Downs. When the fleet was come in, notwithſtanding they were in diſtreſs, having been ſhrewdly torn and beaten by only 17 of the Holland ſhips in their firſt encounter, (a ſhameful thing, conſidering the number of the Spaniſh veſſels and their vaſtneſs, and their oſtentation before to chaſtiſe both the French and the Hollanders,) they refuſed to do the uſual duties by ſtriking to the King's ſhips, which belong to them; inſomuch as Sir John Pennington, our Vice-Admiral, was enforced to threaten to ſhoot them, if they did it not; and then, after ſome diſpute and much unwillingneſs, it was yielded to. After the firſt encounter with the Hollanders, the Holland ſhips (of which two were ſunk) falling off, the Spaniards, by their own acknowledgment, had the paſſage of the ſeas free, and might as well have held on their way to Dunkirk, as come hither. Which makes it probable their coming hither was not without deſign to put us in jealouſy with France and Holland. And yet why they, who have given ſo little ſatisfaction to his Majeſty in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, would put themſelves into his mercy, I underſtand not: It is obſerved, their ground tackle for Cables and Anchors is very poor and weak, and no way able to reſiſt winter ſtorms in theſe ſeas; ſo that they cannot continue long where they are; and the Holland army increaſeth daily, and are already near 80 ſail. Beſides, it is wondered they would ſend veſſels of ſuch immenſe greatneſs as their Galleons upon this ſervice, which was for the landing of their men in Flanders; their vaſtneſs and unwieldineſs being ſuch as they could not enter into any harbour, nor come near thoſe ſhores without hazard. When the fleet firſt arrived I was in the country; but Don Alonſo ſent to me to be a means to his Majeſty, it might have ſafety from their enemies in his ports; which I procured from his Majeſty immediately, upon condition that they would diſpute no more thoſe duties that belonged to his ſhips royal in his own chamber. Ever ſince they have continued under his Majeſty's protection in the Downs; and his Majeſty's pleaſure is, they ſhould be furniſhed with all things neceſſary during

*A.D.* 1639. their ſtay here. But ſome of them, to the number of 14 or 15 of the leſſer veſſels, with 3000 of their men, are eſcaped away by night to Dunkirk; the clamour whereof his Majeſty hath heard on all ſides from France and Holland. But the Holland Admiral, Trumpe, had a Rodomontado upon it, beyond any that ever I yet heard of from any Spaniard; ſaying, that "having his hands full of flies, it was impoſſible but ſome of them would "eſcape through his fingers." When I came to town, Cardenas repaired to me, and told me in a mournful manner, that now the honour of his Maſter the King of Spain, and the ſafety of Flanders, were in his Majeſty's hand, and deſired me to do good offices. I told him he would do well to remember the Palatinate, and judge by that what they had deſerved from his Majeſty. He promiſed great things both in that and in acknowledgment of his Majeſty's favour, if he would preſerve them in this exigent, and help them out of theſe ſtraits, with all which I have acquainted his Majeſty; whom I find better inclined to relieve them than they deſerve, if they will conſider the charge his Majeſty muſt be at in providing a fleet merely for their defence, to balance the great forces of Holland, and ſo to quiet the paſſages for them by ſea in their return to Spain; for which I believe his Majeſty will demand £150,000. which is little enough for the ſaving of Flanders, and ſuch a fleet, and for hazarding a rupture with France and Holland. Of this we are in treaty with Cardenas, who is ſo narrow-hearted a man that I fear he will do little good in it, holding the ſum moſt unreaſonable and impoſſible to be furniſhed by them. But they muſt bleed well; and it muſt be money that muſt carry the buſineſs, and we ſhall do little for love of his or any other Madrid face. Howſoever, they have a way open to come out of theſe ſtraits by his Majeſty's favour, if they be not worſe than beaſts, and, loving their money beyond themſelves and their honour, will ſtill continue in Hob's Pound.

When I was advanced thus far, I was commanded by his Majeſty to repair to Cardenas, and propoſe to him what his Majeſty will do for the fleet, and what he expected by way of reimburſement for his charge, and by way of acknowledgment for his favour, which is £150,000. ſterling; £50,000. whereof to be preſently paid. He fell to croſſing himſelf, and told me I demanded impoſſibilities. Nevertheleſs, the next day he deſpatched an Expreſs towards Plymouth for Spain, and tells me he hath mentioned £100,000. but withal that he had [*been*] as good have ſet down a million, and the one might have been as ſoon procured as the other. Your Lordſhip ſhall do well to make them ſenſible of the immenſe favour of his Majeſty in their diſtreſs, and to adviſe them to take this opportunity of ſettling a better intelligence between the two Crowns; which if they ſhall neglect, it muſt be their own fault and not his Majeſty's; and themſelves are much more concerned in it both in honour and intereſt than his Majeſty can be.

Cardenas, having exhibited a paper diſavowing that ever his Majeſty, to his knowledge, gave way to the treaty of Bruſſels, or ſo much as mentioned it to him, (a duplicate of which paper goeth herewith,) and an extract of ſo much of your Lordſhip's letters of $\frac{15}{25}$ of June as concerns this buſineſs, having been made by his Majeſty's commandment and ſhewed to the foreign committee, is admitted again to his negotiation, and hath had an audience; and ſo I hope that ſtorm is paſſed. Though I do not hold him a fit Miniſter to be here, and therefore they ſhall do well to think upon ſome other for this employment, and to qualify that other with the title of Ambaſſador.

Ambaſſador. Otherwiſe, there will be thoſe that will take occaſion to do ill offices, and to repreſent to his Majeſty the diſparagement it is to him to have an Ambaſſador in that Court, and that King a Miniſter of inferior quality here. And ſo I return again to your Lordſhip's letters. *A.D.*1639.

For the latter part of this laſt letter of the three of the $\frac{3}{13}$ of September, concerning the ſearch of our merchants' ſhips by the Hollanders, though I have anſwered it in part already, yet I cannot but be very ſenſible of it, both in regard of the honour of our nation, and in reſpect of our trade. For if the Spaniard ſhall fall to viſiting our merchants' ſhips as well as the Hollanders, as he will infallibly do if the other be ſuffered, it muſt be the deſtruction of all trade. And therefore your Lordſhip is to aſſure them that his Majeſty will not endure it from the Hollanders nor any other, and to acquaint them with what his Majeſty hath anſwered already to the States' Ambaſſador, and what hath been likewiſe ſignified to the Vice-Admiral of Holland concerning this particular.

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The laſt of your Lordſhip's which came to my hands were of the $\frac{19}{29}$ of April; which being of ſo ancient date may be thought to require little anſwer. But the order you there mention from Mr. Secretary Coke concerning our plantations on the coaſt of America I never heard of before, and therefore do verily believe [*it*] was never well digeſted in Council: Which, conſidering the weight and conſequence of it, ſhould moſt neceſſarily have been done. For the ſmartneſs of the ſtyle, I dare ſay it was his own; and for the ill blood it may cauſe, it may be it was not the leaſt of his deſign. But your Lordſhip by your prudent moderation and good offices will, I doubt not, repair thoſe errors. The other paſſage in this letter concerning the German Ambaſſador and the Palatinate is very judicious and right; and the account in the reſt of it of the ſtate of their affairs there, and how they ſtand in all parts of Chriſtendom, very exact. For all which I return your Lordſhip moſt affectionate thanks, deſiring you to be confident that I ſhall not fail to do you all the good offices to his Majeſty which ſuch abilities and diligences do juſtly require of me.

John Taylor having been called before his Majeſty and the foreign committee, and ingeniouſly acknowledging that wherewith he was charged, and that he had delivered papers in the pretended Emperor's Court concerning a treaty at Bruſſels with commiſſion or order from hence, is committed to the tower, where he hath been near theſe three weeks. Your Lordſhip ſhall do well to inquire there (of yourſelf) how it is taken. The Prince Elector is upon his departure from hence; and his Majeſty is pleaſed to furniſh him with monies for the employment, which he is in hope to have conferred on him in Germany by the directors of the Weymarian army, who are very well inclined to him, and give great hopes to receive him for their chief; in caſe whereof his Majeſty will give him all the aſſiſtance he ſhall be able.

The Lord Deputy of Ireland is lately by his Majeſty's ſpecial licence returned hither, and preparing for a hearing of the great difference between the Chancellor Loftus, and the Deputy and Council of Ireland, the Chancellor having appealed to his Majeſty's ſelf. I have acquainted the Lord Deputy with your advice concerning the Iriſh conſpiracy. But he is confident, there can be no danger, and that it will come to nothing; yet he is very glad of the advertiſement, and will make excellent uſe of it in his Majeſty's ſervice.

*A.D.* 1639. The buſineſs of Scotland hath gone on, both in the late Aſſembly and in the Parliament now ſitting, without tumult: And now they have their wills, I hope they will be quiet; which is all we expect from them.

It is more than time to put an end to your Lordſhip's trouble, and to aſſure you that I am moſt really &c.

29 *Sept.* 1639.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *Mr. Secretary* Windebank *to Sir* Arthur Hopton.

*My Lord,*

By my laſt to your Lordſhip of the 29th of September, our ſtile, among other buſineſſes, I gave you an account of the Spaniſh fleet then lying in the Downs, where it continued near ſix Weeks. During which time, though his Majeſty uſed all the means in his power, both to the States' Ambaſſador here, and their Admiral at Sea, and likewiſe by inſtructions and orders to his own Vice-Admiral, and by putting ten of his own ſhips in a readineſs, with ſundry Merchants' ſhips, beſides ſome others of his own formerly in the Downs, not without extraordinary great charge, and ſome jealouſy of his neighbours, to keep the two fleets from committing any act of hoſtility in his imperial chamber; yet the Hollanders, after ſome forbearing upon his Majeſty's inſtances, did at laſt aſſault the Spaniſh fleet in his Majeſty's Road, and chaſed them from thence, not without much effuſion of blood, and a very great defeat. The particulars of this diſaſter are not yet certainly known here: But the relation of them will (no doubt) come too ſoon to you into thoſe parts.

How his Majeſty hath governed himſelf in this great and weighty affair, your Lordſhip will perceive by the duplicates of the deſpatches between the Lord Admiral and Sir John Pennington, and likewiſe of a memorial delivered by me in his Majeſty's name to the States' Ambaſſador; all which are herewith tranſmitted to you. Nevertheleſs, becauſe it is not improbable, but that ſuch of the Spaniards as by running on ground in his Majeſty's ports, or by ſaving themſelves elſewhere, have eſcaped the ſtorm, may, for their own excuſe, endeavour to ſhift off the blame and diſgrace of this action from themſelves, and lay it upon his Majeſty's Miniſters here, (for ſuch hath been the reality of his Majeſty's own princely proceeding from the beginning to the end of this buſineſs, that he hath ſhewn himſelf a true friend and ally to the King of Spain, even to the hazarding of his friendſhip with his other neighbours, ſo that the leaſt ſuſpicion of diſaffection or miſcarriage cannot juſtly be faſtened upon himſelf;) his Majeſty in wiſdom thinks fit that you ſhould have a clear and juſt account of the whole matter; that ſo you may be able to vindicate his honour, if either by malice or ignorance, it ſhall be called in queſtion.

Your Lordſhip is therefore to underſtand, that this great fleet of the King of Spain, though it were prepared and ſet out (as you advertiſe in one of your deſpatches) to chaſtiſe both the French and Hollanders, yet it was not furniſhed either with munition or other incidents of war, or with gunners or mariners, equal to the height of ſuch an undertaking. And this appeared upon the firſt encounter with the Hollanders in the open ſea; where only 17 of the Holland fleet put this great Armada of 66 for the moſt part

of

of them goodly veſſels to ſuch diſtreſs, and they were ſo aſtoniſhed with this very firſt blow, that they loſt both their courage and underſtanding. For after this conflict, the Holland fleet falling off, they had the ſeas free, and were as near Dunkirk as the Downs, and might as eaſily and ſafely have gone thither as come hither, and yet they choſe the latter to their own diſadvantage, and the great trouble and charge of his Majeſty. When they came into the Downs, paſſing by his Majeſty's fleet, they did not only omit to yield thoſe reſpects which are due to his Majeſty in his Imperial Chamber, but ſeemed to diſpute them; inſomuch as, until Sir John Pennington forced them to it, and that the Hollanders were within ſight coming into the road, they abſolutely refuſed it. Nevertheleſs, at the very firſt motion of Cardenas their Miniſter here, his Majeſty was pleaſed to command they ſhould be uſed civilly and according to the treaties between the two Crowns; which was accordingly performed. *A.D.* 1639.

After ſome continuance in his Majeſty's road, the Holland fleet increaſing daily, the Spaniards never put themſelves into any defence, alleging ſtill they were under his Majeſty's protection and in his harbour; which was ſtrange, conſidering they could not expect to make long ſtay there, or to be always ſo protected by his Majeſty. And yet his Majeſty had given order they ſhould be furniſhed with powder, victuals, and other things neceſſary for their ſupply and reparation: Whereat the French and Hollanders took exception, and complained earneſtly to his Majeſty; and it is evident the Hollanders would not have forborn them ſo long but merely in reſpect of his Majeſty. Beſides, his Majeſty had cauſed, to his great charge, ten of his own ſhips, beſides ſix other and ſome merchants' ſhips that were in the Downs before, to be put in a readineſs for preventing of diſorders in his port, and conſequently for their aſſiſtance, in caſe they ſhould be firſt aſſaulted by the Hollanders. And if theſe ſhips came not in time to that ſervice, the wind ſitting ſo contrary that it was impoſſible to get out of the river, his Majeſty's good intentions towards them are not the leſs conſiderable; and I am ſure his charge is all one as if they had ſerved. And immediately upon the turning of the wind, which was the night before the Hollanders begun the fight, theſe ten ſhips did ſet forward toward the Downs, arriving there as ſoon as was poſſible, and have been there ever ſince. When his Majeſty, being then at Windſor ſolemnizing the feaſt of St. George, was advertiſed that the Hollanders were reſolved to aſſault them, he ſent to their Admiral to forbear for 3 or 4 days; aſſuring him that, at his return, he would prefix a ſhort time to both the fleets to depart out of his harbour: And withal, Sir John Pennington (as you will perceive by the letters) had order to ſend to the Spaniſh Admiral to know in what ſtate they were to defend themſelves: And, upon his anſwer, Pennington reſolved to aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt of his power. And becauſe, upon ſo great a preparation and force of the Hollanders, it was to be doubted that ſome of the Spaniards might be forced on ſhore, his Majeſty in his princely care of them in ſuch caſe, ſent expreſs orders before the fight to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and to the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent, that ſuch Spaniards as ſhould be driven on land, ſhould be billeted in the country, and accommodated with victuals, lodging, and other neceſſaries for their monies; which hath been carefully obſerved by the Lord Warden; and great numbers of them have been relieved that wanted money.

*A.D.*1639. As ſoon as his Majeſty underſtood that ſundry of the Spaniſh fleet were driven or did run themſelves on ſhore, which they did to the number of 20 or 24 in the very beginning of the conflict; he gave expreſs charge to his Vice-Admiral to take them into his protection, and to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to preſerve them from the violence of thoſe of the country. And beſides, order was taken for the embarking of the poorer ſort, and for the tranſportation and ſafe conducting to Dunkirk of them and of any other of the Spaniſh nation that would depart and repair thither. When his Majeſty was advertiſed that the Holland fleet was returned to the Downs, and threatened to deſtroy the reſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, which lay under his Majeſty's protection there, his Majeſty (as you will perceive by the Lord Admiral's letter to Pennington) immediately commanded the Holland fleet out of the Downs; and in caſe they refuſe to depart, or ſhould commit any act of hoſtility upon thoſe Spaniſh ſhips, his Majeſty hath charged Pennington to endeavour with all the power and ſtrength he can make, to force them out of that place; which may train with it an ill intelligence between his Majeſty and that State, and that chiefly for the Spaniards' ſake; and his Majeſty knows not yet what the iſſue thereof will be. All which are evident and undeniable arguments that his Majeſty hath omitted nothing on his part either before or ſince the fight, in favour of the Spaniards, which can be expected from a true friend and ally, and from a pious and generous Prince. And if his Majeſty's good intentions have failed, through any wilful neglect or ſiniſter carriage of his Miniſters, upon juſt proof, they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.

If it be objected, as the Spaniſh Reſident hath complained here, that the powder and other neceſſaries which the Spaniards had provided, came not to them in time, it was partly their own fault; ſeeing the barks which they had hired upon pretence of this ſervice of carrying proviſions to their fleet, were indeed deſigned for tranſportation of their land-men ſecretly and by night to Dunkirk; which coming to be diſcovered, and upon complaint of the Hollanders being reſtrained, the barks were ſtayed for ſome time, but after diſcharged time enough to do the ſervice, upon caution that they ſhould not meddle with the carrying away any men. But his Majeſty, having ſuſtained no little loſs by this default, hath commanded ſtrict examination to be taken of thoſe officers who had the charge of conveying the powder. And if it ſhall appear that the ſervice hath been retarded either by their wilful neglect or practice, they ſhall be ſeverely and exemplarily puniſhed.

The Reſident hath further complained, that Sir John Pennington failed in aſſiſting them in the fight, and ſtuck not to them as he ought, and they expected. But his Majeſty hath aſſured him, if he can make good proof of this, that juſtice ſhall be done upon Pennington; and in the mean time order is given for an exact examination hereof, and that Pennington ſhall render an account of his carriage in this whole action.

For the affront offered by the Hollanders to his Majeſty in committing ſo notorious an act of hoſtility in his port, you are to aſſure that King, that his Majeſty reſents it highly, and will demand and look for that reparation and ſatisfaction that becomes him in honour, and that ſo high an inſolency requires: Which you will more particularly perceive by the Lord Admiral's letter to Pennington, a duplicate whereof goeth herewith.

These particulars you are to repreſent in his Majeſty's name to that King, aſſuring him withal, that his Majeſty hath a lively ſenſe of this unhappy accident

accident and great loſs to the Crown of Spain, and that he holds his own intereſts nearly concerned therein: And the rather, becauſe it happened in his own ports, where his pleaſure is, that the ſubjects of that King ſhall receive fair and friendly treatment, according to the articles of the treaties and the good and ancient correſpondence between the two Crowns, which his Majeſty, for his part, will inviolably preſerve. *A.D.1639.*

18*th of October* 1639.

*A Copy, by himſelf.*

## *Colonel* GAGE *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

SINCE my laſt the Infant Cardinal is returned to Bruſſels, whither I repaired immediately, but found not Don Miguel de Salamanca. He had left his Highneſs at Dunkirk, taking a journey from thence in great haſte to Antwerp, and, as ſince I am credibly informed, had taken order there for the remitting, if not of all the £ 150,000. demanded, at leaſt of ſome conſiderable part of it for the preſent. The Marquis of Ceralvo and the ghoſtly Father told me with a cheerful countenance, that a reſolution was taken in the buſineſs I propounded; and that Don Miguel de Salamanca, at his return from Antwerp, ſhould give me an anſwer, which they doubted not would prove ſatisfactory to his Majeſty of Great Britany. But ſince, we have received news of the Hollanders' bold attempt upon the Spaniſh fleet, within his Majeſty's harbour, and within ſight and ſhot of his Majeſty's fleet: Which hath ſo changed the face of buſineſſes, that no anſwer will be given, 'till they ſee whether his Majeſty will reſent this injury done the Spaniard under his royal protection, and (as they ſay here) in contempt and defiance of his Majeſty's fleet, prerogative and power. In this language the court and country diſcourſeth here; and the Infant Cardinal told Sir Balthazar Gerbier, that his Majeſty of Great Britany, by this attempt of the Hollanders, had received a greater blow than the King of Spain. For their intelligence from Holland tells them, that when the States in their aſſembly propoſed firſt the attacking of the Spaniſh fleet, it was reſolved on with that inſolency and animoſity, that to the objections which ſome made of the intrenching upon his Majeſty's prerogative, the contempt of the protection he had taken of the Spaniſh fleet, not only upon his own ſeas, but within his own harbour, and conſequently the rupture which would neceſſarily enſue betwixt his Majeſty and the States; their general anſwer to theſe objections was, that his Majeſty durſt not break with them; and, if he durſt, they feared him not; and, in fine, rather than ſuffer the Spaniſh fleet to eſcape, they would attack it, *though it were placed upon his Majeſty's beard.* A ſpeech ſo inſolent, ſo irreverent, and ſavouring of ſo foul ingratitude to a Prince, whoſe predeceſſors have made them a State, and whoſe withdrawing his royal hand from them would again ruin their State, that no other reaſon can be conceived for this their pride and arrogancy than — *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat.* And, queſtionleſs, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to deny them his ports, and to hinder their herring fiſhing (which to them is another India, and to his Majeſty would prove the like, if ſome ſkilful undertaker had the management of it) and recall his Engliſh and Scotiſh ſubjects, which are the beſt of their army, their pride would be ſo abated, that the world would

*A.D.*1639. ſoon ſee them turn ſuppliants in their humble and ancient ſtyle of *Poor diſtreſſed States*, and acknowledge their modern ſtyle of *High and Mighty* to proceed only from the royal hand and power of his Majeſty. Theſe are the diſcourſes of this court upon this late proceeding of the States; which I write to let your Honour know the opinion conceived here of this inſolent action. Your Honour, and the reſt of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, know beſt how theſe diſcourſes hit or miſs the mark, and what is fitteſt to be done for his Majeſty's ſervice, whom I beſeech God to proſper in all his undertakings, and make me worthy to lay down my life in his royal ſervice. I crave pardon of your Honour for this boldneſs, and humbly beg the title of

*Your Honour's humbleſt Servant,*

*Bruſſels, this* $\frac{12}{19}$ *of October* 1639. HENRY GAGE.

WHILST I was ſealing up this, Don Miguel de Salamanca, who, it ſeems, is returned, ſends me this incloſed, which I ſend your Honour.

*An Original.*

## *Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

CONCERNING the Iriſh buſineſs, I find it to be of importance. For I am told that Tyrone hath an inſtrument in Scotland, a Franciſcan Friar, with whom he correſpondeth: That Rodeles,* the Friar, of whom I wrote formerly, hath refuſed to go into Ireland without a good ſum of money, which hath been promiſed him: That there is to be a collection for this ſervice among the Biſhops of this Kingdom; and that he of Cordova hath offered 4000 Ducats: That it is thought fit to ſend arms into Ireland from Biſcay, where they are made; and that one Stephen Engliſh, an Iriſh merchant of Bilboa, is to be the inſtrument therein: That the King of Spain is to contribute a good ſum, with the name of an alms: And that it hath been thought fit that a man of quality ſhould be the Head of this action; and the fitteſt is thought to be the Duke of Maqueda: That there is an Iriſh Archbiſhop going from hence to Rome, to ſolicit help there: That all the men that they endeavour to have from Ireland, are to be employed back again thither: And that this buſineſs hath a dependance on that of Scotland. I hope to ſend you ſhortly more particulars, although my agent begins to be a little fearful, as I know he hath ſome cauſe. And ſo I humbly take leave and reſt

*Your Honour's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, Nov.* 10. 1639. *St. novo.* ART. HOPTON.

*An Original in cipher, deciphered by Windebank.*

* *Probably the ſame that is called* HODAL *in his Letter of* $\frac{7}{17}$ *of September* 1639.

*Mr.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

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HIS Majeſty near theſe ſix weeks laſt paſt hath been in continual *A.D.1639.* conſultations with a ſelect Committee of ſome of his Council (of which I have had the Honour to be one) how to redreſs his affairs in Scotland, the fire continuing there, and growing to that danger, that it threatens not only the Monarchical Government there, but even that of this Kingdom. Hereupon his Majeſty finding no way to quench it but by force of arms, nor that to be undertaken without money, the next conſideration was how to procure ſupplies equivalent to ſo great a work. The means of raiſing monies in this Kingdom have ever been either ordinary or extraordinary, the ordinary by Parliament, the extraordinary by his Majeſty's prerogative, and that by ſundry ways. That of the Parliament was held at the firſt impracticable at this time, it being unlikely that a Parliament would furniſh ſupplies in time and in proportion anſwerable to this preſent exigent; in either of which if it ſhould fail, that way muſt be fruitleſs. Whereupon the extraordinary ways were taken into conſideration, and after many long and ſerious debates thoſe appearing likewiſe full of difficulties, it was nevertheleſs reſolved that ſome of them ſhould be attempted. But the Lords being deſirous that the King and his people ſhould meet if it were poſſible, in the ancient and ordinary way of Parliament, rather than any other, were of opinion his Majeſty ſhould make trial of that once more, that ſo he might leave his people without excuſe, and have wherewithal to juſtify himſelf to God and the world, that in his own inclination he deſired the old way; but that if his people ſhould not cheerfully according to their duties meet him in that, eſpecially in this exigent, when his Kingdoms and perſon are in apparent danger, the world might ſee he is forced contrary to his own inclination to uſe extraordinary means, rather than by the peeviſhneſs of ſome few factious ſpirits to ſuffer his State and Government to be loſt. Theſe conſiderations ripening this great buſineſs for a reſolution, it was thought fit to bring it to the General Council, and to give the board account of what had paſſed in the Committee. Which being done, and the Er. of Traquair his Majeſty's Commiſſioner in Scotland newly come from thence, having likewiſe by his Majeſty's commandment, made particular and exact relation to the Lords of the late Aſſembly and Parliament in Scotland, and of their high and inſolent demands, together with his opinion of their purpoſe to perſiſt in them, and that there was no probability of reducing them but by force, his Majeſty demanded the opinion of the Lords by vote, what was to be done; whereupon the Lords unanimouſly voted, that, rather than his Majeſty ſhould yield to ſuch demands, and ſuffer this high rebellion to continue, he muſt of neceſſity vindicate himſelf and his Honour, and ſecure his Crown by force of arms; and that to maintain this force, the beſt way was the ordinary by Parliament, which they doubted not but would be ſenſible of the Honour of his Majeſty and the nation, and of their own ſafeties, and enable him with means to ſettle his affairs. But before his Majeſty would declare his reſolution for this way, he was pleaſed to put another queſtion to the Board, whether, if the Parliament ſhould prove as untoward as ſome

*A.D.* 1639. have lately been, the Lords would not then assist him in such extraordinary ways in this extremity as should be thought fit. Which being put to votes the Lords did all unanimously and cheerfully promise that in such case they would assist him with their lives and fortunes in such extraordinary way as should be advised and found best for the preservation of his State and Government. Whereupon his Majesty declared his resolution for a Parliament, and that it shall begin the 13 of April next. It had begun sooner but that the Lord Deputy is to go first into Ireland, and to call a Parliament likewise there, and make a session before this here shall meet.

The Covenanters in Scotland have since petitioned his Majesty for permission for some of them to come and represent their affairs to his Majesty's self, which his Majesty hath condescended to, and so we expect some of them here shortly. I believe nothing will astonish them more than this course of a Parliament, so much contrary to their expectation at this time, especially considering the close and strait conjunction of the Lords to his Majesty, and their unanimous consent to his assistance for the suppression of that rebellion.

The Er. of Tarquair is returned into Scotland, which, considering how he painted out and blazoned the villanies of the Covenanters to the Lords publickly at the Board, is a hardy resolution, and little less than exposing himself to the mouth of a canon.

Now that I have given your Lordship account of my time since my last writing, I will acquaint you with other business.

The States' Ambassador extraordinary, Monsr. Aresens, hath been sundry times with his Majesty in private, but I do not find he hath yet touched upon the business of the Downs, neither hath his Majesty let fall any thing concerning it. What demonstration will be made thereof I yet know not, it being a great business, and as dangerous to do something in it as nothing, considering the strait conjunction between the French and the Hollanders, whose interests being alike, they will hold the quarrel to concern them both jointly, and will be both sensible if either be touched. But your last letters come very seasonably, and I shall not fail to acquaint his Majesty with them at large.

As soon as his Majesty had notice from the Earl of Leicester in France of the arrest of the Prince Elector and his bringing in that ignominious manner as a criminal to the Boys de Vincennes, his Majesty made choice of my Son your ancient servant and Camarade to go to that King, and deliver letters to him demanding the Prince's liberty. What the success will be I much apprehend, considering that what they have done is with great deliberation, and I should think such businesses so settled are not easily to be altered. But his Majesty is very sensible of the affront, and hath declared to the French Ambassador here, and to his own in France, that all business must stand still, and he will hearken to no proposition until the Prince Elector be in full liberty. I hope my son as I have commanded him will give your Lordship account of his negotiation, and of himself which he oweth unto you during his being there.

Don Alonço de Cardenas hath been lately with me and is much troubled that the States' Ambassador hath been admitted to so many audiences, and no demonstration made of the affront which the Hollanders have given to both Kings. I desire him to quiet himself, and to expect his Majesty's own time. He acquaints me further that the Infant Cardinal is so much displeased

pleaſed with Gerbier's carriage, when he repreſented to him the buſineſs of the Downs, mixing with it ſundry complaints againſt ſome in Dunkirk and Bruſſels that had ſpoken inſolently of his Majeſty and our nation upon that action, that he intends to hear him no more, and to this end Cardenas hath order to demand audience and to let his Majeſty know as much. I wiſhed him to temporiſe a while, holding this conjuncture very improper for ſuch a demonſtration, eſpecially if his complaints were not very particular and well grounded, his Majeſty having a very good opinion of the affections of the man, and not inclined to put a publick diſgrace upon one that had ſerved him ſo long, without very great and manifeſt occaſion. He told me he is a Hollander both by birth and affection, a rebel to the King of Spain, and that they had endured his inſolencies many years, and hoped now that his Majeſty here, if he deſired to continue a good intelligence with them, would employ ſome ſubject of his own that might do better offices between the two Crowns; and not one of their's whom they cannot but eſteem a rebel. This is likely to go very high, and I could not divert him, having as he told me preciſe orders to repreſent this to his Majeſty, but as yet he hath not been with the King. What Gerbier hath done to raiſe this complaint I do not yet underſtand; for he had the ſame orders that your Lordſhip had, and no other inſtruction but a duplicate of the ſame deſpatch I ſent to you, and if upon the ſame rule he hath given offence by which your Lordſhip hath given ſatisfaction, his Majeſty will eaſily put a difference between his Miniſters, and find of what importance it is to his ſervice to employ ſuch as are moderate and diſcreet. *A.D.* 1639.

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*Your Lordſhip's*, &c.

13*th Dec.* 1639.

*A Draught, by Himſelf.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

THIS Coreo is deſpatched by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors; and I have ſo ſhort warning of it, that they have ſcarcely afforded me time to give him a poſt-warrant: And had they not made uſe of ſuch a warrant, I am jealous they would not have given me notice of his departure.

HIS Majeſty hath commanded the Lord Admiral, the Lord Deputy and myſelf, to whom, at their requiſition, the Marquis Hamilton is to be added, to treat with them; and there have been two meetings. The Ambaſſadors have much inſiſted upon the ſecret treaty; * but we have ſet on foot the treaty of Necolalde; which your Lordſhip may remember was in the year 1634. † If we keep them to this, the King may aſſiſt them with ſhips upon pretence of guarding his own ſeas, and ſo avoid the danger of an open rupture with Holland.

OF the marriage ‡ they ſay not one word.

THE Parliament here is diſſolved, having been ſitting three weeks, and done nothing towards his Majeſty's ſupply, though his Majeſty often repre-

* *Which was agreed between the Conde Duke and Lord Cottington at Madrid, in the year* 1631.

† *See ſeveral Papers relative to this treaty in the* 1*ſt Volume.*

‡ *This refers to an overture made there by Sir Arthur Hopton of a Match between the Prince of Spain, and the Princeſs Mary of England.*

*A.D.* 1640. ſented the urgency of his affairs. This is a very great diſaſter; but there was no other way, and his Majeſty hath wherewithal to juſtify himſelf to God and the world, that the fault is not his, having offered redreſs of all their grievances, and particularly of that which they call ſo, the ſhipping-money. I am

*in extreme haſte*, &c.

*Drury-Lane*, 11 *May* 1640. *Our St.*

*A Copy, by himſelf.*

*Reſult of that which hath been treated between the Miniſters of their Majeſties the Kings of* Great Britany *and* Spain *in the year* 1640. *

CHARLES R.

I. THAT the King of Great Britany will make a league offenſive and defenſive with the King of Spain, and break with the Hollanders, immediately after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in Scotland, and the reducing that Kingdom to the former obedience, in which it was before theſe preſent troubles.

II. THAT the King of Great Britany hath granted a levy of 3000 Iriſh for the ſervice of the King of Spain; for which purpoſe the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is preſently to deſpatch orders neceſſary to that levy.

III. THAT the King of Great Britany hath likewiſe granted a ſhip for the waſting of the Marquis of Ceralvo and the Counteſs of Feria into Spain.

IV. THAT his Majeſty hath likewiſe named Dr. Eden to join with the Doctor of the Admiralty of Dunkirk, brought hither by the Marquis of Velada, for compoſing the differences between the ſubjects of the two Crowns.

V. THAT in the mean time, and until the full accompliſhment of this league, and for the actions of this preſent ſummer, the King of Great Britany will give convoy to ſuch money and men as ſhall come from Spain to Flanders, and from Flanders to Spain; and in caſe that Dunkirk, or any other place upon the coaſt of Flanders, ſhall be aſſaulted by the Hollanders, or other enemies of Spain, the King of Great Britany will ſuccour it, and will keep commerce and navigation open and free between the ports of England and thoſe of Flanders: For the performance whereof the King of Great Britany ſhall add preſently, over and above the fleet which he was to have before at ſea, twenty ſhips more to paſs up and down the channel, and to ſee performed that which is above mentioned.

VI. THAT in conſideration of all this, the King of Spain ſhall furniſh by way of loan 1200^m. crowns, to be paid to the King of Great Britany; 600^m. whereof to be paid within one month, and the other 600^m. at Michael-

* *Theſe artitles are grounded upon the treaty ſet on foot between the two Crowns in the year* 1634. *during the Reſidency of Don Juan de Necolalde; relative to which treaty there are ſeveral papers publiſhed in the firſt Vol. of this work. There goes with the preſent paper another, which is intitled,* "A Relation of what hath "hitherto paſſed between the Ambaſſadors of the King of Spain, and the Lords Commiſſioners of "the King of Great Britany, in the Conferences they have held together;" *which* Relation, *as it appears, was drawn up and preſented by the Ambaſſadors of the King of Spain to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, during theſe conferences in* 1640. *The Reader will find this* Relation, *which is a pretty large one, in the Appendix to the preſent Volume. It ſhuts up with the articles of the ſecret treaty, and an additional article relative to Zealand; the originals of which in Spaniſh occur in Pages* 49, 50. *of the firſt Volume. Immediately after this Relation in the Appendix, there follows a very curious extract of a Letter from Sir Robert Anſtruther, the King's Ambaſſador in Germany in the year* 1631. *to Lord Dorcheſter, relative to this ſecret treaty, and the Light in which it was conſidered by his Majeſty; which extract was very obligingly communicated to the Editor by the preſent Earl of Hardwicke.*

mas

mas next. And if the King of Great Britany ſhall fail on his part in any of the premiſſes, then he ſhall be obliged to repay to the King of Spain the ſaid 1200^m. crowns. And for ſecurity of this repayment the King of Great Britany will oblige himſelf by bond ſealed with the Great Seal of England; to which as well his own goods as thoſe of his ſubjects ſhall be liable. *A.D.* 1640.

VII. That in regard of the great charge of this fleet of 20 ſhips to be put to ſea by his Majeſty of Great Britany, the King of Spain ſhall make an allowance of 100^m. crowns by the month, the ſame to continue during ſuch time as the ſaid fleet ſhall be at ſea and employed as aforeſaid. And the ſaid allowance of 100^m. crowns by the month ſhall be deducted by his Majeſty of Great Britany out of the ſaid ſum of 1200^m. crowns, and ſhall be allowed and acknowledged by his Majeſty of Spain in part of ſatisfaction, or in full payment of the ſaid 1200^m. crowns, according as the ſaid monthly allowance of 100^m. crowns ſhall be found to ariſe unto upon account. And further, if it ſhall be neceſſary, for the ſervices aforeſaid that the ſaid fleet of the King of Great Britany, ſhall be increaſed to a great number of ſhips, and ſhall exceed the number of 20 ſail, then the King of Spain ſhall increaſe the monthly allowance from 100^m. crowns proportionably after the ſame rate, and according to the number of ſhips that ſhall be increaſed, the ſame to be likewiſe deducted upon account out of the 1200^m. impreſted as aforeſaid.

VIII. And becauſe this action at ſea may be of ſome continuance, the King of Spain ſhall oblige himſelf, that when the ſaid 1200^m. crowns ſhall be run out, and repaid by the King of Great Britany, by way of deduction for the charge of the fleet, the King of Spain will pay and advance from time to time to the King of Great Britany four months pay before hand, that is 400^m. crowns for a new ſupply for the time to come, and ſo from time to time to advance the like ſum, as long as the action at ſea ſhall continue, the ſame to be allowed to the King of Great Britany toward the charge of the ſaid fleet, and to be deducted after upon account, according to the proportion and number of ſhips to be employed by his Majeſty of Great Britany.

IX. That of all theſe propoſitions account ſhall be given to the Ambaſſador of his Majeſty of Great Britany at Madrid, that he may treat with the King of Spain and his Miniſters, and a reſolution returned hither with all the ſpeed that may be.

X. That likewiſe the ſame propoſitions ſhall be ſent in writing under the hand of Secretary Windebank to the Marquiſes of Velada and Muluezzi, and to Don Alonço de Cardenas, that they may underſtand them the better, and ſend them into Spain, that ſo the proceeding on both ſides may be with all clearneſs, and the beſt means uſed for gaining of time and perfecting of this agreement, without ſending to and fro of more meſſengers.

And becauſe the principal ſcope of this negotiation is the league offenſive and defenſive, which cannot take effect until Scotland ſhall be abſolutely reduced, it is therefore agreed on both ſides, that the life of this buſineſs conſiſts in expedition and ſecrecy, without both which it muſt come to nothing: It being evident, that if either his Majeſty of Great Britany ſhall not be preſently ſupplied with monies for this action of Scotland, the war there muſt be drawn out, into greater length; or, if this treaty of confederacy ſhall come to be diſcovered by the French and Hollanders, they will infallibly foment the Rebellion, and conſequently retard the reducing of that

*A.D.*1640. Kingdom, and ſo the conſummation of the league. Wherefore the Ambaſſadors of the King of Spain have promiſed in the King their Maſter's name, that his Majeſty of Great Britany ſhall be punctually complied with in both theſe; which the Ambaſſador of the King of Great Britany in Madrid is to take notice of, and to preſs for a ſudden reſolution and anſwer accordingly.

*Wythall, the 25 of May* 1640.

*An Original, in Windebank's hand, but ſigned, and dated by the King.*

## *Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Right Honourable,*

MY laſt was of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of this month; ſince when I received your Honour's of $\frac{11}{21}$ of May by the Coreo deſpatched by the Spaniſh Miniſters; of whoſe return there is no certainty as yet, which makes me think they have no more mind to the now treaty of 1634* than they had at that time, unleſs they ſee Dunkirk in danger: And then they will look to engage his Majeſty further than perchance the preſent ſtate of his buſineſs will permit. For I have ever obſerved, as well in the time of the ſaid treaty as otherwiſe, that ſuch a league, wherein his Majeſty may preſerve his friendſhip with Holland, hath never been valued by them. And as concerning the ſaid treaty, it is true that in the year 1634. his Majeſty might without any danger have gone through therewith, becauſe he was then free from trouble at home, and then France and Holland would have taken any ſatisfaction from him. But now his Majeſty ſhall not be able to uſe ſo much caution in making a league with Spain, but with the like they will aſſiſt his rebels; which is the only buſineſs to be thought on by us at this time. For which purpoſe it imports much more to get no enemies than ſome friends. And as for theſe here, it is very little, or nothing, they can avail us: For ſhips they have few, mariners fewer, landmen not ſo many as they need, and, by all ſigns, money none at all that can be ſpared. So as, if we ſhould be brought into a war, the whole weight thereof muſt light upon us; beſides that the diſorder of Scotland would become of a much worſe quality. I will not deny but that, for the balance of Chriſtendom, ſome league with Spain were not unfit; but it is more certain that reaſon of ſtate begins at home.

CONCERNING the marriage, conſidering what your Honour writes, and if accordingly you ſhall find that the Marquis de Velada ſhall go away without having effectually negotiated the ſame, I ſhall clearly judge they mean to do nothing therein, and that the anſwer they gave me was fraudulent: Since which the Conde Duke hath never ſpoken one word; which is a ſign his heart is not much upon it. And I have forborn to ſpeak to him, becauſe I do not know whether his Majeſty will think fit that ſo much forwardneſs ſhould be ſhewed, without a due correſpondence on their ſide; which is the leaſt that can be expected.

I UNDERSTAND that my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is to command an army againſt the Scots; and I doubt not but he will leave that Kingdom ſafe. For certainly there will be means uſed to diſquiet that people; wherein I am told the Scots do repoſe their greateſt confidence. And the Iriſh here

* Meaning, *the preſent Treaty grounded on that of* 1634.

do

do begin to move again; but I cannot now ſo well obſerve their motions, *A.D.* 1640.
becauſe my correſpondent is made Corregidor of Avila, and is at his charge.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

THERE is an advice come from Braſil to Liſbon of a great deſtruction made by the Hollanders on the Spaniſh ſugar-works, and that they have met with the nova Eſpaña fleet that went hence in April, and have diſtreſſed it: But it is not believed; the certainty whereof will arrive there, by the way of Holland, ſooner than here.

I SHALL trouble your Honour with no more but the humble reſpects of

*Your Honour's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Madrid, June* $\frac{11}{21}$ 1640.

ART. HOPTON.

*An Original.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to Sir* ARTHUR HOPTON.

*My Lord,*

SINCE my laſt to your Lordſhip of the 27th of June, our ſtyle, by your kinſman Mr. Morton, the Ambaſſadors and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland have had a meeting; and the Ambaſſadors finding that their delays, mentioned at large in that deſpatch, had put back their buſineſs, and that the treaty was at a ſtand, and they remained here without employment, and conſequently with little conſideration but the diſhonour that three Miniſters ſhould be here at once from ſo wiſe a ſtate, and do nothing, were contented to enter into a new conference; the reſult whereof was a promiſe to uſe their beſt endeavours for the procuring of £ 100$^{m}$. ſterling to be preſently furniſhed to his Majeſty by way of loan, upon ſecurity of repayment within a time to be limited; for which, beſides his Majeſty's obligation, the Lord Lieutenant is to give his word. And, for a teſtimony of their reality herein, they have ſent away this bearer expreſsly, pretending they have no other occaſion at this time for a deſpatch. They have likewiſe ſent into Flanders for this purpoſe; and for more expedition uſed diligences with ſome merchants there to lend this money: Which they ſeem to be of opinion will take effect; though for my part I am very hard of belief that either they do intend it really, or, if they do, that they are able to compaſs it, conſidering their own neceſſities, and the great uſe they have for monies themſelves in this diſtraction and danger of their affairs. But this in probability they have been willing to offer at, rather to avoid the opinion of doing nothing, than in hope of ſucceſs; knowing withal that if they had propoſed the ſupply from Spain only, it had not been conſiderable; his Majeſty's occaſions not admitting ſo long and uncertain an expectation. If this ſucceed, they may obtain a levy of 3000 [*men*] out of Ireland; whereof otherwiſe there is little hope. This is the true ſtate of buſineſs between us and the Ambaſſadors for the preſent.

FOR other things, your Lordſhip may perhaps have heard a great noiſe of a purpoſe here of ſeizing upon ſome monies in the mint for the ſupply of his Majeſty's moſt urgent occaſions; and it is very true that ſome ſuch thing was in propoſition. But upon ſerious advice, it was apprehended that it would give a dangerous blow to that rich trade and commerce of bringing

*A.D.*1640. in of bullion; beſides the breach of publick faith, and of the contracts of the mint, which hitherto have been held inviolable. Whereupon another way was taken for his Majeſty's ſupply, to the ſatisfaction of all parties, and this way laid aſide.

Don Alonço de Cardenas hath received commiſſion from that King to be an Ambaſſador Reſident here; and is to have a ſolemn reception, and this day to be fetched from Greenwich by the Earl Rivers, and to make his publick entry into London in that quality. This, I underſtand, he much glories in; and he hath reaſon, conſidering the opinion we have of him here, and how pleaſing he is to his Majeſty. I told Henry Taylor, when the advice firſt came, it would trouble them if his Majeſty, in conſideration of this reſpect of their's to him, ſhould requite them with making Gerbier at Bruſſels an Ambaſſador. However, I aſſured him, it would infallibly have this operation, that whereas the Ambaſſadors have laboured with all poſſible earneſtneſs and importunity for Gerbier's revocation, this would fix and eſtabliſh him there in perpetuity: And ſo they had brought this part of their negotiation to a fair iſſue. He told me, this was but your caſe; ſeeing his Majeſty from the quality of a Reſident had advanced you to that of an Ambaſſador. I replied, they took their aim very ill, and that the caſe, well conſidered, is totally different; ſeeing you never gave offence, but all ſatisfaction, to that King and State; whereas they well underſtand the inſatisfaction his Majeſty hath of this man; and in that reſpect, were he fitter for this place than he is, if really they intend to preſerve a good intelligence between the two crowns, they ſhould have avoided this choice of all others, and rather have called him from hence, than thus advanced a perſon ſo diſtaſteful.

Dr. Eden is appointed to treat with the Civilian they have brought hither for the accommodation of the complaints of the ſubjects on both ſides. But it can come to nothing: For firſt, their Civilian hath no power to treat but in cauſes belonging only to Flanders: So that the complaints of his Majeſty's ſubjects trading in Spain, which are the moſt conſiderable, are excluded. And beſides, they anſwer us with recriminations, and thoſe in many caſes that are adjudged for the ſubject of England in our court of admiralty here; beſides ſome other difficulties which daily ariſe, and will hardly be reconciled.

Cardenas hath lately made a complaint againſt the Earls of Warwick and Marlborough, concerning certain ſhips they are ſetting forth for the Weſt Indies, with purpoſe, as he pretends, to commit depredations in thoſe parts, the Earl of Warwick pretending to have received much loſs by the Spaniards of late, and threatening to right himſelf. He hath procured a large commiſſion from his Majeſty, which gives him leave to trade there, and to offend ſuch as ſhall oppoſe him. But this is no letter of Marque, though it ſeems he intends to make uſe of it in that kind. Under this commiſſion the Earl of Marlborough ſhelters himſelf, and is now going to ſea; but Cardenas deſires he may be ſtayed until he hath given caution not to commit any act of hoſtility or violence upon the ſubjects of the king of Spain. This hath been referred to ſome of my Lords; and we find, that, though by the ſecond article of the laſt treaty between us and Spain there ought to be peace between the ſubjects of both crowns in all places within their Dominions, and, namely, beyond the line after nine months, yet the practice hath ever been otherwiſe, and the ſubjects of both Kings have taken each other in

thoſe parts as freely as in time of hoſtility. Beſides, hitherto there hath been no caution demanded of any that went from hence into thoſe parts; neither can it be equal that his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be obliged, and thoſe of the King of Spain at liberty; or, that we ſhall be expoſed to be pillaged, and they not be meddled with by us. We therefore deſire that either there may be a ſtrict obſervation of the peace there on both ſides, or elſe that we may be free to catch as well as they. Whether they will think this reaſonable or no, it is no great matter: For we ſhall conſtantly keep ourſelves to theſe grounds, and hereupon do not hold it equal in the mean time to take that caution of the Earl of Marlborough which is demanded. This I thought fit to acquaint your Lordſhip with, that you may know what to anſwer, in caſe any thing ſhall come in queſtion there concerning this buſineſs. *A.D.*1640.

In my laſt I gave you advice of his Majeſty's purpoſe of ſending over to Ratisbon to the Diet with Inſtructions concerning the Prince Elector's affairs; but I find nothing done in it yet; and, it ſeems, it grows cool.

Her Majeſty is exceeding well ſince the birth of the late prince, and better than ſhe hath been of any of her former children. The chriſtening is paſſed privately, and the name Henry. Your Lordſhip will not omit thoſe ceremonies to that King and Queen in both their Majeſties' names, that are uſual in ſuch caſes.

For our Northern affairs, the Scots are raiſing great forces, and threaten an invaſion in England. But as long as the Caſtle of Edinburgh holds out for his Majeſty, which hath endured ſundry aſſaults and repulſed the enemy with loſs, it is not probable they will enter England, and leave a place of that importance untaken at their backs. His Majeſty's army riſes ſlowly; but ſome conſiderable forces there are in the North; and the reſt are levying as faſt as the malignity of the countries, that like not the buſineſs nor the quarrel will permit.

The merchants' buſineſs ſhall be remonſtrated to the Ambaſſadors; but they have no power to redreſs any thing; and to expect an anſwer from Spain, is a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe.

There is a propoſition now on foot for the coining of braſs Money, † which his Majeſty is neceſſitated to put in practice by reaſon of his vaſt expences in the expedition for Scotland. There is much clamour againſt it in the city and among the merchants. But conſidering their carriage to his Majeſty, in refuſing to furniſh him with monies upon ſecurity for his and their own ſafety, he hath no reaſon to be much moved at it.

*24th July* 1640.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

### *Mr. Secretary* Windebank *to his* Majesty.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IMMEDIATELY after your Majeſty's departure this Morning, my Lords of the Committee met at Whitehall, and called to them the Earl of Dorſet, according to your Majeſty's order.

The firſt buſineſs taken into conſideration, was the ordering of the Lord Marquis Hamilton's troops; which, after ſome debate and an account given by the Lord Cottington of the ſtate of monies, both in preſent and expectation, the Lords found could not be continued, and thereupon un-

† *In a letter to him of the fifth of September following (not publiſhed) he informs him, that this deſign is dropped.*

*A.D.*1640. animouſly reſolved they ſhould preſently be diſbanded; and have given order to the Lords Lieutenants in the ſeveral counties to ſee it performed accordingly. There is likewiſe care taken for preſent money for their pay; for reſtitution of the arms to the officers of the ordnance, of thoſe that are armed; for a muſter to be taken of the ſeveral companies, that ſo your Majeſty may not pay for more than ſhall really be found to have been in the ſervice; for the aſſiſtance of the trained bands, and likewiſe for conductors to prevent inſolencies and diſorders at their disbanding; and laſtly, for rendering to the ſeveral counties the coſt and conduct money levied for thoſe troops, where it hath not been expended; and where any of it hath been diſburſed, for the rendering ſo much as remaineth, and for reſerving for ſome other occaſion ſuch coats as have been provided, and have not been uſed. The laſt particulars my Lords thought fit to yield to the countries, to win them to undertake the like ſervices hereafter with the more cheerfulneſs. The ſhips and victuals deſigned for theſe forces are likewiſe diſpoſed of for your Majeſty's beſt advantage in other ways.

The next particular propoſed, was a deſire of Mr. Percy to raiſe a troop of Curaſſiers at his own charge, and that he may have the abſolute command of them himſelf, as one of the Captains of your Majeſty's guards, yet ſtill with ſubordination to, and under the command of, the General. This the Lord Lieutenant acquainted the Lords was firſt moved to your Majeſty by him; and their Lordſhips hold it of that importance to your Majeſty's ſervice, that they have commanded me to repreſent it as their humble and joint advice and deſire that you will pleaſe to grant it. Beſides, my Lords are of opinion, that the two troops already deſigned for this ſervice, are too ſlender a guard for your Majeſty, and that the ſervice will fall too heavily upon them, if a third be not added, eſpecially ſeeing it may be done without charge to your Majeſty.

*I doe willinglie grant it, but deſyre them to take care that there may bee no diſput in the Cōmande betwixt He: Percy and his Nepueu.*

The next particular propoſed, was a deſire of Mr. Percy to raiſe a troop of Curaſſiers at his own charge, and that he may have the abſolute command of them himſelf, as one of the Captains of your Majeſty's guards, yet ſtill with ſubordination to, and under the command of, the General. This the Lord Lieutenant acquainted the Lords was firſt moved to your Majeſty by him; and their Lordſhips hold it of that importance to your Majeſty's ſervice, that they have commanded me to repreſent it as their humble and joint advice and deſire that you will pleaſe to grant it. Beſides, my Lords are of opinion, that the two troops already deſigned for this ſervice, are too ſlender a guard for your Majeſty, and that the ſervice will fall too heavily upon them, if a third be not added, eſpecially ſeeing it may be done without charge to your Majeſty.

Their Lordſhips have likewiſe thought fit, if your Majeſty ſo pleaſe, that, ſeeing the Gentlemen Penſioners do not attend your Majeſty, they may be muſtered and held in a readineſs here by the Earl Marſhall, your Majeſty's General for theſe parts; and in this the whole Committee do humbly deſire you to ſignify your pleaſure, and to countenance this buſineſs, in caſe the Earl of Salisbury * ſhall oppoſe it.

*I give you power to doe this.*
*C. R.*

The Lord Lieutenant did make account to have parted from hence upon Saturday next: But he made known to my Lords the impoſſibility of that, by reaſon of the multitude of your Majeſty's affairs that lie upon him, and muſt be put in order before his leaving theſe parts, and thereupon deſired my Lords that he might be ſpared 'till Monday next; which they held moſt neceſſary, and have commanded me to acquaint your Majeſty with it, beſeeching you to be pleaſed to excuſe it. Beſides, it will be fit that, before his departure, he may certainly underſtand what your Majeſty is to truſt to for matter of ſupplies from the city, which he cannot do until Monday. Upon Wedneſday following (if God hinder not) he makes full account to attend your Majeſty in perſon. The Lords have further adviſed that ſome private perſons

*I approve this, and for*

* *He was Captain of the Band of Penſioners.*

*God's ſake haſte Monies all you can by all wais, and haſte account thereof to mee.*

*C. R.*

*Newarke* 22.

perſons be called by the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington, and treated with for lending more money upon ſecurity. *A.D.* 1640.

Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower was this morning called before the Lords, and your Majeſty's pleaſure ſignified to him concerning the Conſtable of the Tower; to which he ſubmitted very willingly.

I SHALL not fail to keep my Lords to their meetings, as well thoſe of the Council, as of the Committee, nor to give your Majeſty juſt account of all that ſhall paſs, beſeeching God to proſper your Majeſty, and give you victory over all your enemies.

IN all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 24th Auguſt* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

### *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK. †

*Windebanke,*

THIS is to bid you tell my Lo: Treſorer and Cottington that if they furniſhe me with thoſe monies, w^ch^. I had reaſon to hope for, when I came from London, I doe not doute but, (by the grace of God) to have a moſt happie end of this my expedition for now I have no feare at all of Newcaſtell, ſo expecting diligence in you for Diſpaches, and in my officers for getting monie, I reſt

*Your frend*

*Newarke, this* 21. *Aug.* 1640.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

### *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK. †

*Windebanke,*

BESYDES the deliverie of this incloſed I have nothing to ſay to you but to conjure my Lo: Treſorer and Cottington in my name to haſten Monies to mee, and in particular to haſten that, of raſing the Coine. So I reſt

*Your frend*

*Yorke* 23: *Aug:*

CHARLES R.

*An Original.* *

### *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

THOUGH for this tyme I refer you to your Brother Sec. for an anſwer, yet I lyke that your cheefe letter of account ſhould bee written to me.

† *The King's Letters to S. Windebank of the* 21*ſt*, 24*th*, 27*th*, *and* 29*th of Auguſt*, *and of the* 8*th and* 22*d of Sept. were communicated to the Editor by* John Loveday, *Eſq*; *See Preface to the* 1*ſt Vol.*

* *There is a Copy of this among thoſe communicated by* Mr. Loveday.

*A.D.*1640. TELL my Wyfe, when ye deliver this incloſed, that this is the 4th that I have written to her, and yet I have receaved none from her: So farewell

*Your frend*

*Yorke*, 24 *Aug.* 1640.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

*His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke*,

I WOONDER muche that I have beene ſo long of heering from you, and ſpetiallie concerning Monies, for certainlie if ye ſend us none or too littell, the Rebelles will beate us without ſtryking ſtroake: and ſo tell the Treſorer and Cottington from me: So I reſt

*Your frend*

*Yorke* 27: *Aug.* 1640.

CHARLES R.

YOU know to whom ye ar to deliver this incloſed.

*A Copy.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty*,

YOUR Majeſty's of the 24th, with the incloſed to the Queen, came to my hands the 26th at eleven at night. The next morning early, becauſe I had obſerved that ſuch letters of your Majeſty's, as I had formerly ſent by meſſengers to the Queen were ſlowly and negligently delivered, I repaired to her Majeſty, being then at Windſor, myſelf; where I found her in the midſt of your royal olive-branches, all very well and in perfect health. There I delivered your Majeſty's letters, and acquainted her with the ſtate of your affairs in the North, eſpecially the readineſs of thoſe of Yorkſhire to come in to your Majeſty's ſervice, which gave her very great ſatisfaction.

I LIKEWISE made known to her Majeſty that which your Majeſty commanded me in your letter, that that was the 4th letter which you had written to her, and that yet you had received none from her; which her Majeſty found very ſtrange, aſſuring me ſhe had written four already, and that this with which ſhe was pleaſed to honour me, and goeth herewith, is the fifth.

*I thinke it is but the fourth.*

IN my return from Windſor, where her Majeſty ſtayed but that night, I called at Sion; but my Lord General was then in a ſweat, after a very long and violent fit. And this day I underſtand he is much better by the benefit of that ſweat.

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's commandment in your letter I ſhall give the chief account of your affairs here to yourſelf. But withal, I ſhall then be a moſt humble ſuitor to your Majeſty to reſerve my letters to yourſelf, and not to deliver them to any other, but to vouchſafe to ſend them back to me apoſtiled in your wonted gracious way; which will be the ſafeſt and cleareſt both for your Majeſty and me.

*This is to ſhow you I meane to doe ſo.*

UPON

UPON Wedneſday laſt the 26th I repreſented to your Majeſty briefly what I had underſtood from my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington concerning your money-buſineſs, and that of the pepper. The Lord Cottington is ſtill uſing diligences to perfect that of the pepper, and by monday next intends to deſpatch Sir William Uvedall toward you with £ 20,000. Among others whoſe names he made uſe of to ſubſcribe, for giving ſecurity to the Eaſt India Company, Mr. James Maxwell of your Bedchamber was one; and it was done without his knowledge. Wherefore my Lords of the Committee, aſſembled this day, have thought fit that I ſhould ſend to him, as by order from your Majeſty, and let him know that it was done by your Majeſty's ſpecial commandment, and that, in ſpecial truſt and confidence of his readineſs to ſerve you, your Majeſty hath made choice of him among others for this great ſervice. This I have done already by letter to him; and when he comes I ſhall ſignify the reſt to him in your Majeſty's name; to which I moſt humbly beſeech you, vouchſafe me your royal aſſent. *A.D.* 1640.

*I doe, and ſhall avow it to himſelfe, or anie of his frends.*

I HAVE acquainted my Lords of the Committee with the advertiſements from Mr. Treaſurer; and they are very glad to underſtand that thoſe of Yorkſhire are ſo well inclined, holding it the very life of your expedition, and attributing it merely to your Majeſty's preſence and dexterity.

*Now if they hould faſt, I ſhall aſke no more to make the Rebelles harts ake yet.*

THEIR Lordſhips have commanded me humbly to move your Majeſty that ſome of thoſe officers that are left here behind and are already in your Majeſty's pay, may be commanded to ſtay here, to be ready upon any occaſion to undertake the command of ſuch forces as ſhall be levied here, in caſe of neceſſity, by direction of the Lord General.

*Take ſome, but ſend the moſt of them with all ſpeede hither. Yorke*, 30.

THE Lord Cottington hath given your Majeſty a large account of your money-buſineſs in a deſpatch directed to the Lord Marquis, and lately ſent by Mr. Palmer. Wherefore I ſhall not preſume to give your Majeſty further importunity for the preſent; but in all humility crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Drury-Lane, 28th Aug.* 1640.

*Subject and Servant,*

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

I WOULD that I could ſend you as good Newes from hence, as I receaved yernight by your's of the 26: for wch. I deſyre you to thanke Cottington in my name: My Lo: of Cant: letter requyres no anſwer therfore ye may tell him that I have burned it: deliver or ſend this to my Wyfe. So I reſt

*Your frend*

*Northallerton, 29: Aug:* 1640.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*A.D.* 1640. YOUR Majeſty's letters of the 27th of Auguſt brought letters for her Majeſty; which I had the honour to deliver yeſterday to her Majeſty's own hand at Oatlands.

THIS day hath brought me another from your Majeſty, with a like to the Queen; which, becauſe I was to attend the Lords in Council this afternoon, I committed to the delivery of Rogers Mr. Treaſurer's man, the expreſs that brought them, who was to repair to Oatlands with other letters.

*I hope you know that I have not made anie to you without one to my Wyfe.*

I HAVE this afternoon acquainted my Lords with the diſaſtrous news that came with both theſe letters; who are full of affliction for theſe ſad beginnings; but yet do hope that God will aſſiſt your Majeſty in your juſt cauſe; and howſoever, they will not be wanting here to contribute what ſhall be in their abilities to the redreſſing of your Majeſty's affairs.

IN the mean time, according to your Majeſty's commandment by Mr. Treaſurer, their Lordſhips have given order to the officers that are reformed, and were left here, to make their immediate repair to your Majeſty, though my Lords of the Committee had commanded me to repreſent to your Majeſty the neceſſity of the ſtay of ſome of them here, to have undertaken the ordering of ſuch forces as are to be levied here upon occaſion; and of which in ſuch occaſion there will be great want; which your Majeſty will find in my laſt letters.

MY Lords are likewiſe preparing to put the forces of the city and other parts in a readineſs; and there is care taken by my Lord Cottington of ſtrengthening the Tower.

AFTER the riſing of the Council, the Committee met; and the Lord Cottington and myſelf acquainted them with the reſort hither to this town of ſome Lords, and others Perſons of Quality, who have been obſerved not to be very well contented with the time: namely, the Earls of Eſſex, Warwick, and Bedford, the Lords Say, Ruſſel and Brooke, Pym and Hambden. Theſe have had their meetings; and the Lords, as they have reaſon in this diſtraction of your Majeſty's affairs, do much apprehend it is for ſome dangerous practice or intelligence with the Rebels of Scotland. My Lords have therefore deſired the Earl Marſhal, as of himſelf, to ſend to the Earl of Bedford, and to let him know how neceſſary it is that he repair to the county where he is Lieutenant, and attend your Majeſty's ſervice there, for the raiſing of forces upon any ſudden occaſion. If theſe diſcontented Lords ſhould have an intention to join in a petition to your Majeſty, as it is doubted they will, I do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider what you will have done to prevent or divert it. If they could be handſomely diſperſed, it might be of ſingular advantage to your Majeſty's ſervice. The Earl of Eſſex hath been already

*It is moſt fitt the whole Councell doe abſolutlie command that all the Lords Lieutenants (that ar not otherwais imployed by mee) to repaire immediatlie to ther counties, it being not anufe that anie one Lorde ſhould doe it, as of himſelfe; and this I thinke will doe it.*

already dealt with by a friend of his to repair of himſelf to your Majeſty and make offer of his ſervice; from which he ſeemed not averſe. The Lords of the Committee do likewiſe underſtand that the Queen hath been moved to deſire your Majeſty to call him to you, and to employ him, which the Lords think very fit, and do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to do it with your own letter, and in the moſt obliging way that yourſelf in wiſdom ſhall conceive beſt. If this Lord were taken off, the knot would be much weakened, if not diſſolved. And beſides that it will be of great importance to ſever him from that ill-affected company, he is a popular man, and it will give extraordinary ſatisfaction to all ſorts of people to ſee him in employment again. This is the humble opinion of the Committee, which they have commanded me to repreſent to your Majeſty, and in all humility to ſubmit it to your wiſdom. *A.D.* 1640.

*For him, I have alreddie envyted him (and meane to doe it more effectuallie) to cum along with the forſes of his Country.*

THE Committee have likewiſe given order that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London with ſome of the Aldermen attend the Board upon Wedneſday, where the Commiſſion of Lieutenancy ſhall be ſolemnly delivered to them by the Lords; and the Earl Marſhal will ſignify to them the neceſſity of being in a readineſs with their forces for your Majeſty's ſervice and their own defence, whenſoever they ſhall have warning. But if they ſhall deſire a general muſter, as they have already intimated ſomewhat to that purpoſe, though my Lords will not flatly refuſe it, yet they are reſolved to diſadviſe it, and excuſe it upon the great charge it will draw on with it, which were better otherwiſe employed at this time, and likewiſe upon the danger of the ſickneſs; my Lords being exceeding jealous of ſuffering any conſiderable forces, more than neceſſarily muſt, to be drawn together at this preſent, unleſs the city were in better temper, and your Majeſty's affairs in the North in a more proſperous condition. The Lords will likewiſe give them a ſpecial charge of the government of the city, and that ſtrong watches be duly kept, and that the gates and chains in every ſtreet be in order.

*Ye have reaſon.*

THE Earl Marſhal is likewiſe thinking upon ſome forces and ſtrength for Whitehall, in caſe the Queen ſhould come thither. Mr. James Maxwell hath ſealed and ſubſcribed the bond to the Eaſt India Company for the pepper; and he did it cheerfully, though he knew it not until his name had been uſed. I took the liberty to ſend for him, and to deliver him your Majeſty's pleaſure, and the confidence you have in him in making choice of him for ſo great a ſervice.

MY Lord of Canterbury, when he delivered the incloſed to be ſent to your Majeſty, deſired me to acquaint you that he had written this letter before the laſt ill news came.

I BESEECH God bleſs and proſper your Majeſty, and preſerve your ſacred perſon from all your enemies.

AND ſo in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 31 *Aug.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*A.D.* 1640. It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

To morrow the Lord Cottington makes account to deſpatch Sir William Uvedal with £ 20,000. My laſt to your Majeſty were of the 28th, with a letter from her Majeſty.

*Remember now to put onn the Mint buſineſs.*

*C. R.*

*Yorke, 2 Sep:*

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* Windebank *to his* Majesty.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

The laſt night I made a deſpatch to your Majeſty, and gave account of your Majeſty's affairs here.

This ſerves only for a cover to the incloſed from her Majeſty, which I am commanded by her to ſend to your Majeſty in all diligence.

I conjecture it concerns the buſineſs of your Majeſty's ſending for the Earl of Eſſex, which I repreſented to your Majeſty from the Lords of the Committee the laſt night. It is of extraordinary conſequence to your Majeſty's preſent affairs; and therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take it to heart, and to call that Earl to you with a letter written with your own hand, and in an obliging way.

*I have anſwered this in the other, and have anſwered my Wyfe conſerning him.*

This I moſt humbly remit to your Majeſty's wiſdom, and in all humility expecting your ſudden anſwer and order, I moſt humbly crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Arundel Houſe, 1 September* 1640.

Fran. Windebank.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

My Lord Marſhal, your Majeſty's Lieutenant General here, is uſing diligences to raiſe the forces of theſe parts, and bring them to a body to back your Majeſty's forces, if occaſion require; and to that purpoſe all your ſubjects whatſoever are to be commanded to put themſelves into arms; and to be in a readineſs. I pray God we may find money and commanders.

*Tell the E. Martiall and all the Councell, that wee heere preache the Doctrine of ſerving the King every one upon his chardge, for the defence of the Realme; wch. I aſſeure you is taken as Canonicall heere in Yorkeſhire; and I ſee no reaſon why you of my Councell, ſhould not make it bee ſo underſtood there.* *C. R.*

*Yorke* 2 *Sep.* 1640.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr.*

### *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I GAVE your Majeſty the laſt night by Sir Henry Hungate ſo large an account of your affairs here, and of the occaſion of the deſpatch of this bearer Mr. Nicholas, that I ſhall give your Majeſty the leſs importunity at this preſent. I hope your Majeſty will have conſidered ſo well of the propoſition and advice of the Lords which I ſent, that you will be ready for a reſolution againſt the arrival of this bearer; who is ſent rather to bring back your Majeſty's anſwer, and to receive ſuch orders from your Majeſty as you will deliver in confidence to him, and not truſt to a letter, than to add any thing to what I have already repreſented in this buſineſs. *A.D.*1640.

YOUR Majeſty will pleaſe to underſtand that the propoſition I have ſent from the Lords is only a mere humble advice of their's, taken upon your Majeſty's pleaſure ſignified by Mr. Secretary Vane, That they ſhould give you ſome counſel in this extremity; That it is the beſt they could think upon for the preſent; That it is no way binding, but that, if your Majeſty diſlike it, or ſhall in your wiſdom adviſe or command ſome other way, they will in all humility ſubmit to it, and lay this aſide; That the ground and motive of it hath been the uniting of your Majeſty and your ſubjects together, the want whereof the Lords conceive is the ſource of all the preſent troubles; and they are confident, if your Majeſty and your people had been well together, the Rebels durſt not have thus inſolently affronted your Majeſty and the nation; That in probability the Lords being made ſenſible of your Majeſty's and their own danger, and participants of your Counſels, will be won to lay aſide all private animoſities and diſcontentments, and unanimouſly join to ſave the Monarchy, and to repel the common enemy by a preſent aſſiſtance; That the Lords, thus gained, will in all likelihood train with them their friends and adherents and many of the people; beſides the ſatisfaction that is conceived the people will receive by this calling of the Lords to your Counſels; That it is likely theſe Lords, when they ſhall be called, and ſhall meet, (if your Majeſty ſo pleaſe) will fall upon grievances, and the preſent calling of a Parliament, which alſo are the pretences of the Rebels. And the queſtion is, Whether your Majeſty will not rather give the glory of redreſs of grievances, and of a Parliament, to your own Lords, or rather to yourſelf by their common advice, than to the Rebels, if your power and force be inferior to their's; That in outward appearance, conſidering the conſtitution of the City and the generality of the Kingdom, without ſome ſuch ſweetening of the Lords and People as this, it is to be doubted, if your Majeſty ſhould receive a blow (which God forbid!) monies and forces will be raiſed very coldly and ſlowly; and without a voluntary aſſiſtance of both theſe, the Kingdom muſt be in danger; for to force ſupplies of either in this conjuncture is not held practicable; That it is true there may be danger, too much, in this advice; but in all choices there is a greater and a leſs; and that any thing, ſo it bring not a greater diſhonour and danger to your Majeſty and the State, is to be tried and adventured, to diſperſe this ſtorm in this exigent. Theſe are the motives, from that light which the Lords have received at this diſtance from Mr. Treaſurer of the preſent condition of your Majeſty's affairs, which have led them to this humble advice now preſented to your Majeſty; of which myſelf have only the miniſterial

*A.D.*1640. part, and am nothing but the moſt humble repreſenter thereof to your Majeſty.

My Lords have likewiſe commanded me to put your Majeſty in mind that ſpecial care be taken of the ſtrengthening of Hull; and that, your Magazine being there, it may not come into the Rebels' hands.

Some of my Lords of the Committee are of opinion that Portſmouth ſhould be preſently put in order, and ſome ſupplies of ammunition and victuals ſent immediately thither; it being a place, as they conceive, of greateſt ſafety for a retreat for your Majeſty and your royal Conſort and Children, in caſe of extremity, the ſea being open to it, and Wales and the weſtern parts lying near to it, to raiſe forces, if there ſhould be occaſion.

I beseech God there may be no cauſe for it, and preſerve your Majeſty's perſon, that you may have a happy end with much honour and glory, according to your princely merit and the juſtneſs of your cauſe, of all theſe troubles. So in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*, &c.

*Drury-Lane*, 3 *Septr.* 1640.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

Mr. Nicholas brings your Majeſty a minute of a letter from your Majeſty to the Earl Marſhall for calling the Lords, if your Majeſty like that way.

*A Copy, by himſelf.*

*Mr. Treaſurer* Vane *to Mr. Secretary* Windebank.

*Sir*,

This ſerves for a cover to his Majeſty's by Mr. Gordon, whom he hath thought fit to return again to his employment into the Eaſtland Country; by which you will receive from his Majeſty anſwer to your own letter of the 31ſt. The Scots have put in a garriſon into Newcaſtle of 400 horſe and 500 foot: And this day I am advertiſed that Leſley hath poſſeſſed himſelf of Tinmouth, and intends to make ſafe the Tine at the Sheilds. He doth ſtrangely poſſeſs the people's minds where he comes. This night we have got 30 pieces of artillery to us here to York, with their equipage and ammunition. One of the Yorkſhire regiments is joined to us. To-morrow and the next night we ſhall have the moſt of them and the Newcaſtle army joined to us, with all our foot armed; ſo we ſhall have a gallant army. God ſend us hearts to fight! We ſhall have horſe and foot ſufficient. His Majeſty holds up his courage; and he had need to do ſo; for the panick fear was great in theſe parts upon the Scots paſſing of the Tine; but now they begin to be [*in*] heart. However, we ſhall have hard picking them out of Newcaſtle; where and in the Biſhoprick they will have good winter-quarters; and, if good heed be not taken, Berwick and Carliſle will run great hazards. And therefore, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you ſhould call upon the Lords Treaſurer and Cottington timely to provide them with monies and victual; and this you are to take an eſpecial care of.

Lesley hath poſſeſſed himſelf of the King's ſtores in Newcaſtle, [*and*] hath found there great ſtore of butter, cheeſe and corn, beſides 70 barrels of powder, and arms. He is making a work on the hill on gateſide, and he is perfecting the works he began there. You do well to pray for the proſperity of the army here. For I do much apprehend, if the Rebels proſper,

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in the South you will meet with many difficulties. His Majeſty before your laſt deſpatch had reſolved to ſend for the Earl of Eſſex to come to his aid with all the power of the county where he is Lieutenant. And this day in the morning I ſent an expreſs to him with a letter under the Signet. But I preſume his Majeſty will ſecond the ſame upon the Queen's and your laſt deſpatch. I was advertiſed of the aſſembly this vacation in London, three days ſince. His Majeſty well approves of your advice. This day at four of the clock Rogers arrived here; and within a quarter of an hour the other to which your's ſerved for a cover to the Queen's. Thus you ſee the poſts run well; but I ſhall be glad to have a word from you what you do in it; for [.....] approaches, the 15th of this month will be quickly here. *A.D.* 1640.

*Your Honour's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Yorke, 3d of Septr. two o' Clock in the Morning.*

H. VANE.

I SENT you a ſecond deſpatch from Northallerton; I ſhould be glad to know whether it came to your hand.

*An Original, endorſed by Windebank.*

## *The Lord* CONWAY's *Narrative of his Conduct in the Action at* Newburn.

THAT the cauſes of the loſſes ſuſtained in the North may be the better known, the Lord Conway thinks it fit to relate what the deſigns were in the firſt enterprize, as far as did fall within his cognizance.

AN army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe was deſigned for the borders of Scotland near Berwick. Another of 10,000 foot and 1500 horſe was to be tranſported out of Ireland to the town of Air in Scotland. Alſo 10,000 foot and 500 horſe were to be ſent into the North of Scotland; and a fleet of ſhips with ſome ſoldiers was to go into the Frith. Theſe forces were to be ready by a certain day, as will appear by the acts of the Council at War. For which purpoſe there were divers ſums of money levied, and the monies in certain were counted what they ſhould do, and a ſtate accordingly made. Why all this was not done, but that ſome troops of horſe and divers regiments of foot were not raiſed at all, and the reſt of the foot ſo late, that there was no time to exerciſe them, he knoweth not. Before the 2000 horſe were entirely levied, the Lord Conway was ſent to Newcaſtle, becauſe it was doubted the Scots had a deſign upon that town, for the defence of it. Six thouſand of the trained bands of Yorkſhire were appointed to march thither; and to that end money was advanced to every regiment. And one of the regiments did march as far as Durham, 'till order came to ſend them back again. So that the Lord Conway was left at Newcaſtle with only 500 horſe.

UPON view of the walls, ſtate and ſituation of the place, he found the town to be very weak; which, immediately after his coming thither, he repreſented to the Court; and within two or three days after ſent to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Northumberland and the Biſhoprick of Durham. Thoſe of Northumberland gave him a meeting at Morpeth; where he adviſed with them of the condition and ſtrength of the county, and of the beſt

*A.D.*1640. means to get intelligence of the Scotch preparations, and to put the country upon the borders into the beſt poſture of defence: Which they undertook to do, according to the directions then given, and to ſend men into Scotland to eſpy and keep ſtrict watches on the borders, and to give advertiſement from time to time what ſhould happen. Alſo, upon diſcourſe with ſome of the Gentlemen of the county, the Lord Conway propounded to the Lord General the fitneſs of fortifying Morpeth, and two other places, whither ſoldiers might retire, if they ſhould happen to be broken; and by ſome one of which any army that comes out of Scotland muſt paſs, they having been heretofore fortified. His Lordſhip alſo writ to the Lieutenant Colonel Barwick to be very careful in uſing all means of inquiry how the Scotch ſhould advance in their preparations, and to give timely advertiſement thereof: Who returned aſſurance of little appearance yet of any conſiderable forces they had, and that all care ſhould be taken to obſerve them, and to repreſent their proceedings, as there ſhould be occaſion. His Lordſhip alſo by his letters to the Lord General adviſed that arms ſhould be provided, eſpecially muſkets, and ſent down; that thoſe of Northumberland (who were willing to pay for them) might be furniſhed for their money; alſo, adviſing that they might be ſold to them without gain, at eaſy rates; for that the getting from the country in that kind would much diſcontent them, and diſcourage them in his Majeſty's ſervice. He alſo propounded to the townſmen of Newcaſtle to furniſh men for their own defence, and that the king ſhould arm them. Which they at firſt denied to hearken to, fearing they ſhould be forced to continue them as trained bands. But upon further conſideration, and apprehenſion of their own danger, promiſed to find men only to uſe muſkets and pikes. And the Lord Conway alſo by ſeveral letters to the Lord General and other great Miniſters, did repreſent the fitneſs to have Newcaſtle fortified; which with a moderate charge he believed might be made of ſufficient ſtrength, at leaſt to keep out an enemy until his Majeſty's army might come to relieve it; and that there was one hill whereon a fort might be made, as well to keep out an enemy, as to bridle the town, if there ſhould be cauſe. And becauſe he found money was wanting, he propounded a way to raiſe the charge of it out of the buſineſs of coals; which notwithſtanding was not thought fit to be done. So that there being no more forces at Newcaſtle but 500 horſe, and it not being thought fit that his Majeſty ſhould be at any charge for fortifying the place in due time, and the townſmen being unwilling to do any thing for their own ſafety, the town continued in that weak eſtate, wherein the Lord Conway found it.

Such intelligence as could be gotten to Newcaſtle by meſſengers ſent into Scotland, or from the garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle, or from the Deputy Lieutenants and Gentlemen upon the borders, was repreſented to the court from time to time. And when the Scotch forces began to be aſſembled and muſtered in the nearer parts of Scotland, (though their numbers were but very ſmall in thoſe places at that time, which was about the latter end of June,) the reſt of the horſe were drawn from their Quarters about Beverly to Cleveland; and the Lord Conway writ for ſome conſiderable number of foot to be ſent to Newcaſtle, and alſo to haſten down arms for thoſe of the country that were willing to buy them for their own defence and ſafety. And upon their advertiſements and intelligence, orders were ſent to the Lord Conway that if the Scotch came in (as it was believed they would before his Majeſty's forces could be drawn together) he ſhould command all the ſhips

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out of the river of Tine, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed; and to Sir Jacob Aſhley Serjeant Major General of the foot, that he ſhould ſend up four or five thouſand men from Selby. But Sir Jacob Aſhley did not think fit to ſend them for the reaſons among others expreſſed in a letter dated 9th July 1640. from him to the Lord Conway (among other things) in theſe words: *A.D.* 1640.

"My Lord,

"I HAD order from my Lord General to ſend four or five thouſand men "to your Lordſhip to Newcaſtle. But conſidering that there is not ſuch a "number yet come, and thoſe that are come have neither colours nor hal- "berds, and want drums, I forbear it, &c. There is come money but for "ſeven days; and if I ſhould ſend any of theſe troops in this caſe, you "would be ſufficiently troubled with them for want of pay, &c. Now, my "Lord, I am to receive all the arch knaves of the Kingdom, and to arm "them at Selby. Before I came, ſome 500 of them were brought to Lieu- "tenant Colonel Ballard: They beat the officers and the boors, and broke "open the priſons, &c. Two days ſince Col. Lunsford's regiment comes, "who had by the way fought with all their officers, and as they paſſed "abuſed all the country."

AND by other letters of 13th and 18th of July Sir Jacob Aſhley further intimated how impoſſible it would be to keep thoſe men, that were come, together, if they ſhould miſs the ſeven days pay; and that they would diſband and riſe againſt their officers, or ſpoil the country; and that part of his own regiment raiſed in Berkſhire came to Daventry, and there totally diſbanded; and that the Lieutenant to Colonel Culpeper was baſely ſlain by the Devonſhire men; that three hundred of the Marques* refuſed abſolutely to go to Hull for fear of being ſhipped; and that he went with a hundred armed men, and took with him the Marſhal with 20 of his men to ſend them away. Which general diſorder, backwardneſs and diſaffection to the ſervice gave the Lord Conway apprehenſion that the Scots would be encouraged thereby to make an attempt upon us; although it was againſt his judgment that they ſhould do ſo upon thoſe collections he could make from what he had heard out of Scotland; which was only of ſmall numbers of men that they had muſtered and drawn together at Leith, Dunce and other places near the borders. But when his Lordſhip was advertiſed from Court, where there was conſtant intelligence from every part of Scotland, of their preparations and intentions to come with a powerful army, he had reaſon to alter his opinion, being aſſured of it by a letter from Mr. Secretary Vane dated 3d Auguſt 1640. wherein is expreſſed as followeth:

"My Lord,

"I HAVE only time to tell you, in anſwer to your laſt, and your news "there incloſed, that I gave his Majeſty communication thereof, who com- "pared it with others. And it is my opinion that you will ſhortly, if not "before this comes to your hands, hear that the Scots will march into Eng- "land. I wiſh I may be deceived; for as his Majeſty's affairs are condi- "tioned at preſent, I am one of thoſe that deſire not to hear that they ſhould "be come on this ſide Tweed. I heard not of the order that was given for "bringing of the army ſeven days behind in pay, and after that time four- "teen, until I was advertiſed thereof out of the north. But, as your Lord- "ſhip

* *Qu.*

*A.D.* 1640. "ſhip ſays, in caſe of unavoidable neceſſity it muſt be born withal; and "your Lordſhip I doubt not but laying that for the ground, will perſuade "the officers thereunto; though I confeſs it is *durus ſermo*, and therefore I "do not wonder at all if they were ſad and melancholy, when they de- "clared the ſame unto them. It will be a great ſervice both to the King "and State, if your Lordſhip by your conduct and wiſdom can prevail ſo "far with them as to keep them from mutiny until monies come down, "which his Majeſty and my Lords are haſtening to you with all poſſible "diligence. For it will be worſe than ever to have diſorders fall out either "of horſe or foot, now that it cannot be long expected (if at all) but that "the Scots will be with you. And I heartily pray to God that, they know- "ing but too much of affairs, our diſagreements and diſorders bring them "not in upon us. The ſame God direct you, and give you ſucceſs to act "all for the beſt in this difficult time, &c." Which advertiſement agreeing with what the Lord Conway heard by one he had ſent into Scotland, who was newly returned, and alſo with the relation of Sir Henry Gibb who came from thence, his Lordſhip writ to the Lord General the 10th of Auguſt 1640. as followeth:

"My Lord,

"I AM now informed thus by Sir Henry Gibb, who having ſome buſineſs "with my Lord Haddington, went to the border and ſent for him: He "came and told Sir Henry that without all doubt the Scots' army will come "into England within three days: He is moſt confident of that. He ſaith "that their army will be 30,000. I ſee no help for this Town, but that it "will be loſt. I have written divers times that it might be made defenſible, "but that was not thought fit. Now it is not poſſible to reſiſt it, if Cañon "be brought before it. However, I will ſee if I can perſuade the town to "make ſome defence, if it be poſſible to keep it a day or two. The King "commanded me to burn the ſuburbs; but burning them will not be of "any uſe; the ways are all of ſtone; ſo that the wall will be of as much "annoyance to the town, as if the houſes were untouched. If I leave any "number of men in the town, their arms will help to arm the Scots, and "they are in great danger to fall into their power. If I quit the town, and "leave no ſoldiers, I am ſure it will be imputed to me as a moſt diſhonour- "able thing, when an enemy is maſter of the field, that night to quit to "him that which cannot be kept, and in ſuch manner as he ſhall receive "leaſt benefit by it. I have written to Sir Jacob Aſhley to ſend hither the "foot at Selby, if he think it counſellable to ſend them without money. If "they come, it is to be feared they will ruin the country worſe than the "Scots; who I do verily believe will do no hurt for ſome days, but will pay "for what they take, if I be not miſinformed. I have written to the Vice- "Preſident to put the trained bands in readineſs, and to know of him how "the Country and Gentry will ſtand affected. From Mr. Wilmot I heard "yeſterday that Sir Jacob Aſhley had written for, and he had ſent to him, "two troops of horſe, your's and Captain Herbert's, becauſe he feared a "mutiny, that would undo all, if it happened. I purpoſe to ſend for the "three troops out of Weſtmorland, if there be not invaſion like to be there. "I will immediately give order that all the ſhips go out of the river, thoſe "that cannot, to be burnt or ſunk. They ſay that there is a means to ſink "them, that they may be again recovered. I do hold my purpoſe with the

"horſe

"horſe and what muſketeers on horſe-back I can get to march towards "them; although there will be little to be done againſt ſo many with ſo "few." *A.D.* 1640.

AND alſo at the ſame time the Lord Conway writ to the Earl of Strafford, and incloſed a copy of the before recited letter ſent to the Lord General; unto which the Earl of Strafford was pleaſed to return an anſwer to the Lord Conway in the words following, dated the 15th of Auguſt, 1640.

"My Lord,

"YOUR's of the 10th preſent was yeſterday delivered unto me as I ſat "at Board; and I underſtand that the other to my Lord General (whereof "you favoured me with a copy) gives much diſcourſe at Court, and that "with no advantage to your Lordſhip. It is obſerved that it is contrary "to all that your Lordſhip hath formerly writ, wherein you ſtill judged "England ſecure of the Scots this year; and that to believe ſo mighty an "increaſe of number above what you formerly mentioned, and in truth "can probably be really ſo, upon no more ground than from the bare re-"lation of Gibb, a known Covenanter in heart, and that too not of his "own view, but on the credit and report only of the Lord Haddington, is "a little wondered at. But above all, thoſe who wiſh you not well, ſe-"verely interpret to your prejudice, that upon ſo ſlight an advertiſement, "and from a perſon whom you had ſo little cauſe abſolutely to truſt in "that buſineſs, you ſhould ſo ſuddenly pronounce the town of Newcaſtle "loſt, and ſo early take into thought the quitting of the place. Beſides "we all believe it to be but a mere northern crack, in regard we do not "as yet underſtand any thing from the Governor of Berwick contrary to "what he had formerly written in that behalf; which we conceive we "ſhould certainly have done before this day, if the Scots had been ſuddenly "increaſed twenty thouſand men, as Gibb reports, it ſeems, to you. Never-"theleſs I have written to the Vice-Preſident to have all the trained bands "in Yorkſhire in a readineſs, and will to morrow move that Colonel Go-"ring, and another regiment of foot with all the horſe, may inſtantly "be directed to march up to you; which all together, with the trained "bands of Durham and Northumberland, with the town itſelf, I ſhould "think would be ſufficient to make good the place, 'till the reſt of the "army march up to your relief. But, for love of Chriſt, think not ſo "early of quitting the town, burning of ſuburbs, or ſinking of ſhips. For "believe me, if any ſuch thing eſcape you, there are thoſe who would "quickly miſconſtrue you therein to the King. And with all my heart I "wiſh you had not writ that letter, it being moſt true Sir John Conyers "mentions nothing of it; which makes me alſo believe Gibb's news either to "be out of folly or malice miſtaken or miſrepreſented to your Lordſhip, &c."

BY which letter it appears the Earl of Strafford doth lay blame upon the Lord Conway, and impute it as a crime to believe the coming of the Scots with ſo great an army, becauſe he was formerly of opinion they would not be ready for an invaſion this year. The cauſe of which opinion was, that he from time to time was aſſured from Court, that there would be money to ſupply the King's firſt deſigns, and then he had reaſon to

*A.D.* 1640. judge that they would be hard put to it to defend themſelves. Beſides, the Lord Conway had no notice given him from Court 'till a few days before, what the Scots' Nobles and Gentlemen about the King had informed, who muſt of neceſſity have knowledge of every thing that was done in every part of that Kingdom; there being many of the beſt quality attending his Majeſty, who had in Scotland Fathers and Mothers, Wives, Children, Brothers, Siſters, Kindred, Allies and Friends; who, as the Lord Conway hath heard, did give certain notice of all the preparations. And if the ſaid Earl would not believe them, it could be no other in him than a wilful unbelief. And it could not be expected that the Lord Conway, though nearer, could have good intelligence of their preparations, which were made by ſmall numbers, and in ſeveral places, until they were drawn together; for that he was a ſtranger there, and had no allowance for intelligence; which would have required great ſums to have been well done. And it was not to be done but by employing Scots' men; wherein they had a great advantage of us, in not ſuffering any of our nation to come to them, and their's having free paſſage to us.

And for Sir Henry Gibb, he was a man ever to be believed to be an honeſt gentleman, and a faithful ſervant to the King; neither had the Lord Conway ever heard any other of him, either at the Court, or there in the country, where he was well known to divers gentlemen his neighbours. And he had been informed of the Lord Haddington that he was as much of the King's part as he durſt appear to be. And for the ſecond part, to think that Newcaſtle ſhould be loſt, the Lord Conway conceiveth was no ſudden or raſh opinion; for he had divers times before propounded the town ſhould be fortified, and declared that without fortification it was not tenable, as ſeveral letters written after the ſame was loſt may witneſs. In one of which from the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury bearing date the 10th of September (amongſt other things) theſe words are expreſſed:

"It is true that the letter you ſent and the opinion you expreſſed, what "would become of Newcaſtle in caſe the Scots came in, was cenſured, and "not to your advantage. And ſo much I writ to my Lord Lieutenant ſince "his going northward. All that you writ is found true; but that which is "thought might have been more done, is, that the hill on this ſide might "have had ſome defence put upon it, and that, as yourſelf write, more "might have been done than was to hinder the paſſage to Newburn Ford. "But if the ſoldiers there and men of experience be of opinion that, as "things were then conditioned, you could not hinder them, and that the "things which you did at firſt adviſe are now doing, (by the Scots, I think "you mean,) ſurely you cannot be blamed for the one, but ſomebody elſe "may be for the other."

And alſo in another letter from Mr. Secretary Windebank dated the 23d of September 1640. theſe words amongſt others are contained:

"My Lord of Canterbury hath abundantly cleared any thing that can be "objected againſt you, concerning the neglecting of fortifying Newcaſtle; "which it is evident you did propoſe timeouſly enough to have preſerved it "from ſurpriſal."

Neither could the Lord Conway have much hope in the forces at Selby, becauſe Sir Jacob Aſhley had divers times advertiſed him of their want of arms and total ignorance to uſe them; which was ſuch, that the Earl of Strafford himſelf in the great Council did openly there declare that he had told

told his Majeſty, upon the firſt ſight of the ſoldiers, that it was not ſafe for him to hazard any thing with that army, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in their arms. And therefore the Lord Conway doth think it was injuſtice to require any other to do that, which he that requires it does not think fit to be done. And it was impoſſible they ſhould be otherwiſe; being levied and brought together ſo late as in July and Auguſt, when the ſervice was to be done; and the Scots were exerciſing two years together, and many of them had been in the field the year before. *A.D.* 1640.

ALSO from the trained bands in Yorkſhire leſs good was to be expected, as appears by a letter the Lord Conway received from the Vice-Preſident of York about 14th of Auguſt 1640. Wherein is expreſſed, amongſt other things, as followeth:

"YESTERDAY, immediately after my return to York, (for I received not "your letter 'till Wedneſday morning) I ſent for the directions to the Colo- "nel of this county, or to the Lieutenant Colonels, where there are no "colonels, whereof we want four at this time. And my Lord Lieutenant "having been ſo full of other buſineſs of great importance, hath not as yet "ſupplied their places with others, nor indeed can we find out fit perſons for "that employment, who ſtand rightly affected to this his Majeſty's ſervice; "in which reſpect two of the four were lately diſcharged from their com- "mands. I doubt extremely our forces are not now in ſo ready a condition "as they were the laſt year; very many arms being loſt in that expedition, "and now to be bought ever ſince for ſupply of defects. A great number "likewiſe of exerciſed men both of horſe and foot are gone from his Ma- "jeſty's ſervice into other countries, or ſeveral parts of this; ſo as we can- "not meet with them again, but are forced to take on new men. And al- "though I have from time to time called upon the commanders to exerciſe "them, yet I find that by reaſon of the country's great expences both this "year and the laſt, and the damage it hath ſuſtained by the preſent army, "they have too much forborn that duty. But, which is worſt of all, it is "much to be feared by thoſe murmurs and repinings from all their gentry's "mouths in every place and upon all occaſions, that they will not ſtir with "their men further than the neceſſity of their own ſafeties ſhall inform "them; which they think ſufficiently ſerved if they march to the confines "of the country. I perceive likewiſe by ſome of them, which I doubt will "prove ſeveral, that they will expect advance-money, if they ſtir; as was "lately allowed when ſix of our regiments ſhould have marched to New- "caſtle. I beſeech God work better affections in us than yet I find; for I "am perſuaded, if Hannibal were at our gates, ſome had rather open them "than keep him out. It grieves me to give your Lordſhip this account; and "I pray God I may be miſtaken therein: But in obedience to your com- "mands touching this particular, and what hope may be expected from our "forces and gentry of this country, I have truly repreſented to your Lord- "ſhip my opinion, together with my apprehenſions, and the reaſon of them. "The country is very willing, upon my Lord Lieutenant's laſt letter, to truſt "the ſoldiers for 14 days; but I perceive his Lordſhip will have many bills "preſented to him when the army is gone from us. Monies we yet hear of "no more than £ 8000. which our High Sheriff lately paid in; but I "doubt ſome of this is already iſſued; and I think the Scots had better "advance a good way into Northumberland without reſiſtance, than we "ſend this army to encounter them without pay. For then, without all

*A.D.*1640. "queſtion, they will prove more ravenous upon the country than the Scots; "who for their own ends and to gain a party here, I believe will give the "country all the fair quarter that may be; which our men neither can nor "will do. It is time to forbear your Lordſhip further trouble, being ready "therefore to receive your commands always, I reſt, &c."

Besides all theſe at this time, the Lord Conway had advertiſement from Court, that the firſt counſels for ſo many armies were ſo far from being purſued, as now the Lord Marquis Hamilton's expedition was wholly to be laid aſide; that the Earl of Strafford's regiment were not at all to be raiſed; and ſome of the regiments in the North were not to be reduced; and that inſtead of 20,000 men appointed for the borders, there ſhould be only 14 or 15 thouſand; for the paying of which there was ſo little money, that it was not to be hoped they would be held together without mutiny. So that things ſtanding in this ſtate, they gave ſuch evident proofs either of the weakneſs or ill purſuance of that counſel which deſigned ſo powerful an invaſion, and was then forced to a defenſive war, and that upon all poſſible diſadvantage, that the Lord Conway had juſt reaſon to believe that not only Newcaſtle would be loſt, but God knows how much of England more, if an invader would attempt, and thoſe of the country would not defend; and therefore did foreſee the town muſt be abandoned; quitting that which could not be kept, and leaving it in ſuch manner, that it ſhould give the leaſt hope that might be to the invader that ſhould take it: That with unfielded force and good advice reſiſtance might be given in a convenient place, or attempts might be made to cauſe them to retire into Scotland. And whether that were beſt, or to go on headlong until we fall into the ditch, he leaves the world to judge.

The burning of the ſuburbs in caſe of danger was an expreſs command from the King; and therefore it was the Lord Conway's duty to give a reaſon why he did not think it neceſſary to be done. And the propoſition of ſinking the ſhips did proceed from a command which he received in theſe words expreſſed (amongſt other things) in a letter of 23d June 1640. "When you hear that the Scots are approaching, your Lordſhip muſt com-"mand all the ſhipping out of the Tine, leaſt the Scots ſurpriſe them." And becauſe it was not conſidered in this command whether the winds and tides would ſerve, the Lord Goring did propound the ſinking of them to help the defect of the command, and to ſhew himſelf obedient to it, in caſe they could not be ſent out of the river; which was a thing very reaſonable and fit to be done, and therefore much miſtaken by them that thought otherwiſe of it. This letter, and the order ſent for the keeping of the town of Newcaſtle by fortifying it, when it was too late, made the Lord Conway lay aſide all other thoughts but only the doing of that which was commanded. Therefore he ſent for the Deputy Lieutenants of Northumberland and the Biſhoprick; who promiſed to do all that was poſſible for his Majeſty's ſervice, and accordingly employed their beſt endeavours. But the country would not lend any money to pay the trained bands, or the King's army, nor to furniſh any horſes to mount muſketeers; nor would the trained bands go on without pay; being rather deſirous to ſtay at their homes, to look to the ſafety of their own goods and friends. So that the Lord Conway, having no forces but the horſe to go out with into Northumberland, and having ſent men of experience to view the country and the river of Coket, there being no place found where it was poſſible for him to give the Scots any

ſtop,

ſtop, he did not think it was fit to go out to meet them; ſince he was not able to hinder their paſſage, and that he muſt be forced ſo ſoon as he ſhould ſee them, to retire before them; not thinking it counſellable to teach his men to be afraid, or to go to meet them whom he could not meddle withal: For ſmall parties would bring intelligence of the motions of their army. But the letter he received from the Earl of Strafford of the 15th of Auguſt, declaring what ill conſtructions were made of the Lord Conway's advertiſement of the 10th of Auguſt did make him doubt that as ill interpretations could be made of this which he thought the beſt counſel, not to move againſt the Scots, until he had forces and places fit to encounter them. And it is moſt likely it would have fallen out ſo, for that he did underſtand by letters from Court, that they did think the Scots might be ſtayed at Alnwick, or at Morpeth, ſome days; two places that they came not at; and which are ſuch, as one might as well be commanded to keep the wind out of a door with his hand, as to ſtop an army there. And the country likewiſe, although they would not contribute any thing to their own ſafety, yet did murmur that Northumberland was abandoned. Therefore, to avoid the danger which he doubted from the Court, and if it were poſſible, to keep thoſe people of Northumberland from aſſiſting the Scots, he went out 4 days with 1000 horſe, and, without being able to do any hurt to the Scots' army, was forced to retire before them to Newcaſtle; whither Sir Jacob Aſhley was come during the Lord Conway's abſence, and had brought with him the forces from Selby that were armed, leaving 4000 behind him that wanted arms; which 4000 were after ſent to Newcaſtle, but were turned back being without arms, there being none for them, nor money to pay them there. Sir Jacob Aſhley had uſed all diligence to make quarter for the ſoldiers without the town for ſecurity of it, as well as the time would poſſibly admit, according to the commandment then ſent for fortifying Newcaſtle. And alſo he had ſent to view the river of Tine, which was found to have many fords, and the higher up the river the fords were the larger and the ſhallower. And becauſe it was believed the enemy would paſs at Newburn, he had cauſed the engineer to caſt up ſome works there; and in obedience to the commands from the Court, to uſe all means poſſible for the defence of the river. After one night's ſtay at Newcaſtle the Lord Conway went to Newburn with all the horſe and about 2000 foot. That day, being the 27th of Auguſt 1640, the Scots came to the other ſide. The works that were made upon the paſſage were ſo weak that the Lord Conway would not have hazarded the troops in any ſuch engagement, where they would be ſure to have been beaten. And although Sir Jacob Aſhley came the next day with 2000 men more, and increaſed his ſtrength, yet the Lord Conway, not to engage the troops further than he might fairly, had reſolved to make a retreat to Newcaſtle, if he had not at that inſtant received a letter from the Earl of Strafford, commanding him to fight; which follows in theſe words: *A.D.* 1640.

"My Lord,

"I PURPOSED to have been moving towards you to-morrow; but I am "ſo very weak and ſick, as the King will not permit me to ſtir hence till "Saturday at the ſooneſt. Your Lordſhip will admit me to deal plainly with "you. I find all men in this place extreme ill ſatisfied with the guiding of "the horſe, and publiſh it infinitely to your diſadvantage; that having with "you 1000 horſe and 500 foot you ſhall ſuffer an enemy to march ſo long

*A.D.*1640. "a way without a ſkirmiſh, nay, without once looking upon him. And it "imports you moſt extremely by ſome noble action to put yourſelf from "under the weight of ill tongues. Your laſt letter then certified us that the "enemy is intended to paſs the Tine at Hexham. If ſo, I ſhall adviſe that "you, with all the horſe and at leaſt 800 foot, and all the cannons you "have, march oppoſite unto them on this ſide the river, and be ſure, what-"ever follow, fight with them upon the paſſage. Indeed, you look ill about "you, if you ſecure not the river: If there be a bridge at Hexham, it "ſhould be broken down. Dear my Lord, take the beſt men, and do "ſomething worthy yourſelf." With a Poſtſcript; "There was ſent a man "hence to viſit the Scots' army, who hath been there amongſt them; and "he aſſures us that, upon his life, their horſe is not conſiderable; which "ſtill lays it heavily upon you. Their foot is at moſt but 20,000. and this "I am confident that you may rely upon."

WHICH letter although it is ſaid but to be an advice, yet the Lord Conway conceived it to be a command, and, as much as it was poſſible for a general command and order, enforced. The laſt part preſcribes how he ſhall fight; the firſt part directs him to break his neck upon any diſadvantage. And howſoever this is ſaid but to be an advice, if the Lord Conway had not obſerved it, it would have proved a command, and it is moſt probable that the whole miſcarriage of the buſineſs would have been laid upon his not fighting, ſince it was endeavoured to be laid upon his fighting, diſavowing that he had any order ſo to do, and before that, laying great blame upon him for not fighting with the Scots coming through Northumberland, and not underſtanding the country; maintaining that the Lord Conway with thoſe horſe he had might have gone to the Scots' army, and have counted every Colours and Cornet, and have come off at pleaſure, without being touched; a thing impoſſible to be done, unleſs he had found them, as David did Saul and his army, when he took away his ſpear and pot of water from his head. And for the good intelligence which the Earl of Strafford aſſured that he had of the Scots' forces, the Lord Conway ſaith that he received as certain information of them as was poſſible to be gotten both by ſoldiers that put themſelves into diſguiſe and marched in their army a day or two, and by many gentlemen of the country that ſaw their army march. So that he had very good reaſon to believe their reports before any thing that could be informed to the Earl of Strafford by any ſingle ſpies into the country, who had not ſo good means to know nor ability to judge of the ſtrength of the Scots' army as divers that gave their information from their own view. And taking for granted that they were no more but 20,000 foot, and their horſe inferiour to ours, it was not wiſdom to hazard a day with them with 10,000 foot and 2000 horſe; and that not only for the diſadvantage we had in the numbers but in the rawneſs and untowardneſs of our men. The Scots having made a battery and drawn down their army, our works were provided with men to defend them, and with others to ſecond them. Six troops of horſe were placed to charge the Scots when they came over, and ſix or ſeven more to ſecond them. When the Scotch forces were put in readineſs, and their cannon played, our works were not proof againſt them; the ſoldiers were new, unacquainted with the cannon, and therefore did not endure many ſhots, but quitted the works. Thoſe that were to ſecond them followed their example. The horſe charged the Scots and drove them back into

into the river; but their cannon beating through ſome of our troops, they retired, and ſo did the other. Thoſe troops that were ſet to ſecond, went off when they ſaw the place forſaken. They ſhould have gone on the left hand, that they might have gone off with the foot; but miſtaking the direction, they went on the right hand, which carried them up to the hill, where they found ſome troops. Whilſt they conſulted what was beſt to be done, the Scots' horſe came up in two diviſions, and with them 1000 muſketeers. The firſt charge was upon the regiment commanded by Mr. Wilmot, who was there taken priſoner, his men forſaking him, and falling foul upon ſome troops of my Lord Conway's regiment, diſordered them. The reſt being charged, did as they ſaw others do before them. The cauſe of the loſs that was that day, was from the diſadvantage of the ground, and the ſlight fortification, which the ſhortneſs of time would not afford to be better: Neither would it allow us to make any works upon the hill which we ſtood oppoſite againſt. And when we came to fight, the ſoldiers did not do their parts as they ought to do, being the moſt of them of the meaner ſort of men about London, and unacquainted with ſervice, and forgetting to do that which they had often been commanded and taught. After the diſorder, the horſe by the Lord Conway's command, went to Durham, the foot to Newcaſtle; where it was conſulted by the Lord Conway, Sir Jacob Aſhley, and all the Colonels, what was fit to be done. By all their conſents it was agreed that the town ſhould be quitted, becauſe it was not tenable, being altogether unfortified on the Biſhoprick ſide; and the fortifications which were made on the other ſide were very inconſiderable. To ſtay there would but increaſe the loſs; it would not ſave any thing; the gaining 2 or 3 days could not make the town ſtronger, there being not any place which could be made defenſible in that time; and the loſs of our men would greatly weaken the King's army. And this was agreeable to that which was thought fit at the Court; for with all ſpeed orders were deſpatched by ſeveral ways to command the bringing up of the army from Newcaſtle; as appears by two letters from the Earl of Strafford, both dated 29th of Auguſt 1640. in theſe words following: A.D. 1640.

"AFTER my hearty commendations to your Lordſhip and the reſt, This "ſad accident which hath befallen us upon the paſſage of the Scots over "the Tine, will fetch all our counſels round. There is no remedy; we "muſt retreat; and, as I think, to Hull. The horſe at Durham I ſhall "gather and ſettle the beſt I can, and ſo march up and join the reſt of ſuch "horſe and foot, as are left us. But how to fetch that part of our foot "which are at Newcaſtle with you is (God knows) our greateſt care and "difficulty. I ſend you this by the way of Sunderland; and will, before I "ſleep, ſend another by Hexham. In my opinion your beſt way will be, if "poſſibly you can, to ſhip yourſelves and ammunition for Hull; That were "the beſt; but if that cannot be, then, if the town be not to be held any "longer, to make the beſt compoſition for yourſelves, with Honour, that "you can. But therein I muſt wholly ſubmit to your own better judgment, "upon the place. And ſo in great haſte I commit you to the bleſſed pro-"tection of God," &c. And in a Poſtſcript; "Before I had cloſed this "letter, his Majeſty came to this town, and approved of all before written; "only adviſeth that, if there be any poſſibility of keeping the town, then "that, ſhipping the reſt, you leave 2000 in the town to defend it."

*A.D.*1640. "My very good Lord,

"It was very good news to me here to underſtand by your letters, that "the foot are all advanced on this ſide Durham; nor is there any thing to "be done more than to loſe no time in your retreat. For there is no thought "of fighting, with a frighted army, 'till we join with the King's forces, "which I truſt will be 20,000. I will uſe all poſſible diligence to provide "as much bread as poſſibly I can in this town; and have given order that "£ 8000. ſhall meet us at Topcliff, to furniſh the ſoldiers with money. "Put as much life in your men as you can; and aſſure them there will be "within a few days £ 80,000. in the way from London, which will give "every man his own royally; We ſhall want no money. I have taken the "like courſe for baking and buying of bread here and at Northallerton, as "all about the country; and I truſt from York we ſhall have good quan- "tity meet us on the way. I ſhall think the time long 'till I ſee you and "Sir Jacob Aſhley, to whom I pray you ſhew this letter. And I pray you "leave ſome horſemen behind you, that may lie as a watch upon the mo- "tions of our enemies, and ſtill bring us timely advertiſements what they "do. So I reſt," &c.

And although the town of Newcaſtle had been kept ſome days, yet would it not have been with any advantage to the King's ſervice, ſince he had no money, and, by all gueſſes, no men; his choiceſt ſtrength being in theſe men that were at Newcaſtle. And it would have been much for the King's diſſervice to have put theſe inevitably to have undergone baſe conditions, when they muſt compound for the town, if it had pleaſed the invader. Beſides theſe reaſons, though there was a good quantity of powder and lead in the town, there wanted muſket-bullets, there being no moulds to make them; which want cannot be imputed to a commander, any more than if he had commanded a certain number of muſketeers, and that when they came to uſe their muſkets, they could not do ſervice for want of ſcouring-ſticks. If there had been moulds, bullets would not have been wanting; but bullets would not ſerve to keep a town that wanted fortification.

Now, upon the whole matter, it may eaſily be judged, whether the two actions of the retreat at Newburn, and quitting Newcaſtle, were the cauſes of our loſſes, or the effects of ill-grounded deſigns; to make a war without means, to go on with it, and to begin it at ſea; thereby giving the Scots a pretext to attempt us by land, before we were able to reſiſt them.

### *Mr. Secretary* Windebank *to his* Majesty.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE laſt night by the ordinary poſt I gave your Majeſty account of what paſſed in Council at Hampton-Court, with intention to acquaint your Majeſty with the buſineſs of this day, which I ſhall now preſume to do.

The Earls of Bedford and Hertford have been heard this day at the Board. The Earl of Hertford was the Speaker, and made known to the Lords, that in the preſent common danger they have lately ſent a petition to your Majeſty; that they had now brought the like, deſiring the Lords to join with them in it, with this proteſtation, that if the Lords would not join, theſe two Lords and the reſt muſt waſh their hands from thoſe miſchiefs that were otherwiſe like to fall upon the State. The petition being read, which agreed wholly

wholly with the copy in my Lord Privy Seal's hand, the Lords desired them to withdraw; and, after a short consultation, appointed the Lord Keeper, Earl Marshal, Lord Cottington and myself to repair to them, and confer with them. The Earl Marshal began and told them, my Lords had sent us to confer with them as friends, and to communicate to them freely their sense of the petition. But first, my Lord desired to know their intention, seeing the petition seemed much different from that which the report was they had presented to your Majesty; there appearing nothing in it but a heap of complaints, without any offer of service or assistance to your Majesty in this common danger; which yet the common opinion was they had freely tendered. They both protested, in the first place, that they were employed by those that did put them in trust, only to present the petition to the Lords; and therefore desired that whatsoever they should answer might be understood merely as from private persons, and not obliging or conclusive to any other. Being then asked who those were, they said, many other Noblemen and most of the Gentry in several parts of the Kingdom. But to the question concerning their intentions, they both vowed They had no other end in the petition but your Majesty's service and the publick good; That, though your Majesty should deny their petition, they would be ready to serve you with their lives and fortunes without condition; That there were sundry grievances that lay heavily upon them and the people, which hindered them from being able to serve your Majesty as they desired; That they had presented this petition for the removing of those impediments, and to enable them the better to serve your Majesty; That they were only messengers and put in trust by others, and therefore desired my Lords to confer with some of those others, who were best able to express their own intentions. My Lord of Bedford still inclined to be understood as a private man; and in that quality made great professions of his loyalty and readiness to serve your Majesty, but still feared to be disavowed. But my Lords told them that, if such were their intentions, they had very ill luck in the manner of expressing them, seeing they seemed in their complaints rather to join with the Rebels; (whom yet they had not termed Rebels, but the Scotch army) besides the indecency and unreasonableness of the petition, to press their grievances when your Majesty and the Kingdom were in this strait, and in danger to be overrun by a rabble of Rebels; That the conclusion of the petition seemed most strange, and could not but give great encouragement to the Rebels, in desiring that they might join in the reformation of Religion; That in these distempers my Lords of the Council had not slept, but had been advising upon some quick remedy in this extremity; and therefore if these Lords would have acquainted them with their purpose, they would have joined with them in the end, though not in this way; and therefore desired them to make good their professions in proposing somewhat that might tend to the publick peace, wherein they promised to join with them. To this they replied, that when their petition was agreed upon, which was the 28th of August, they did not know the Scots had invaded England; and if they had heard of the taking of Newcastle, they would not have consented to the delivery of it; That for remedy to the present troubles, they had no commission to present any, but, as private men, they thought a Parliament the best. But my Lords telling them, the danger is present and imminent, and cannot stay for a Parliament, they said they were of opinion that the very summoning of a Parliament would so win the hearts of the people,

*A.D.* 1640.

A.D. 1640. that they would cheerfully come in to his Majeſty in this action. My Lords aſked them, What they thought of a general meeting of all the Peers in Council, to adviſe what is to be done in this exigent: They anſwered, ſtill as private perſons, that ſuch an aſſembly, as it might be ordered, might be to very good purpoſe. But if it ſhould be intended excluſive to the Commons, or to raiſe monies any other way than by a Parliament, it would give no ſatisfaction. Being asked, whether they had received any anſwer from your Majeſty to their petition, they ſaid, no. Being deſired to deal clearly with the Lords, whether they know of any Covenant here in England, to be ſworn to, like that of Scotland, my Lord of Hertford vowed he knew of none, and did deteſt it. The other denied the knowing of any, but more faintly. They were likewiſe charged with the divulging of their petition, and that copies of it were frequent in town; which they proteſted was not juſtly to be imputed to them. This is the ſum of the conference; which being reported to the Board, the Lords thought fit to amuſe them no longer, but to acquaint them with your Majeſty's anſwer to their petition, for the calling of the Peers to York upon the 24th of this preſent, referring them more particularly for anſwer to their own meſſengers. This my Lord Marſhal declaring to them, my Lord of Bedford in ſome paſſion interrupted him, and told him if any report had been made to the Board of any thing paſſed in that conference, which was underſtood otherwiſe than from private men, he for his part utterly diſavowed it.

*Ye may aſſeure them that there no thought of excluding a Parliament.*

*But ye tell not whether they ſubmitted or formaliſed upon my caling of the Peeres to Yorke.*

For your Majeſty's commandments by my Lord Goring in your Apoſtiles, I have acquainted the Lords with ſuch of them as were fit, and will ſee them all exactly complied with. Only, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take into further conſideration that of the powder already promiſed to the City; ſeeing, beſides that promiſe, if your Majeſty ſhall refuſe it them, which will give them too much cauſe of jealouſy, and to allege they cannot ſerve your Majeſty, they will be furniſhed from others, Cordwell the powder-maker having licence to ſell to the value of £ 6000. to pay his workmen and to continue the works; and from thoſe that ſhall buy it of him they may have what quantities they pleaſe.

*Well, lett them have it, but lett pay well for it.*

For the Mint buſineſs, my Lords of the Committee are no way of opinion that it ſhould be yet ſet on foot.

*If not now, when? but I ſee ye ar all ſo frighted, ye can reſolve on nothing.*

I have acquainted my Lord of Canterbury with what your Majeſty was pleaſed to write concerning his going to the aſſembly at York, and he moſt humbly thanks your Majeſty for your princely care of him. And becauſe his name was not in the liſt of thoſe that are to ſtay here, at his deſire, when I acquainted the Lords with that liſt, I told them that your Majeſty did rather incline to ſpare my Lord of Canterbury, and that you thought it more convenient and more for your ſervice, that he ſhould remain here.

*Ye did well.*

For

FOR thoſe that voted for the Parliament, when the calling of the Peers was propoſed in Council, your Majeſty will find who they were by the paper of the votes that goes herewith, which agrees juſt with my note; and I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to return it to me. *A.D.*1640.

*So I doe.*

THERE were yeſterday in London ſundry papers fixed in many publick places, inviting the apprentices to riſe, and to meet for the reformation of Religion, which, in plain Engliſh, is the defacing of churches, as the ſoldiers have lately done in other parts. But the Lord Mayor cauſed the apprentices to be kept within doors, and the watches to be doubled. Upon this occaſion I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give me leave to propoſe your writing to the Queen (but merely of your own motion) that Roſetti may be adviſed to retire into France, or ſome other foreign part, for a while, and that the Capuchins may likewiſe diſperſe, and diſpoſe of themſelves into ſome places in the country, where, when they ſhall be ſeparated, there may not ſo much notice be taken of them as there is here. If any inſolency ſhould be offered to any of theſe, I know it would trouble your Majeſty and the Queen: And what a wonder it is they have eſcaped all this time, conſidering the malignity of the contrary party, your Majeſty in your wiſdom may judge. But this I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's conſideration, moſt humbly beſeeching that I may be concealed in it.

*I thinke this is fitter for you than mee to doe it, as being upon the place, can better judge of the neceſſetie of this Councell then I that can onlie have it by heere-ſay; and certanlie, whatſoever ſhe reſolve on, ſhe muſt take it well at your hands, as I doe this lardge account.*

*C. R.*

*Yorke*, 9.

THE manner of ſummoning the Lords to York is taken into conſideration by your learned Council, and the Committee will deſpatch it with all expedition.

I HUMBLY crave your Majeſty's pardon for this length and importunity, and leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 7th Septem.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

EVEN now I receaved your's of the 6: Sep: which I have not apoſtyled it requyring no anſwer, but long to ſee Peeter Killegrew, I have no more to ſay at preſent, beſides the deliverie of theaſe incloſed, but to tell Cottington that I deſyre his anſwer with all expedition that will not hinder my ſervice. So I reſt

*Your frend*

*Yorke*, 8 *Sept:* 1640.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

*A.D.* 1640. WE have likewiſe given order for the viewing of the arms that came from Flanders, which are reported to be very defective, and that Lanyon, who was ſent purpoſely to provide them, may be preſent.

*It is well done.*

THERE are many gunners in your Majeſty's pay that never ſerve, but are either belonging to Noblemen, or of ſome trade, all which we have given order to be ſuſpended.

THE Lord Conſtable uſes great diligence in ſtrengthening the tower, and putting it into order, and hath deſired me to know your Majeſty's pleaſure, how thoſe thirty horſe ſhall be levied, which the Lord Marquis Hamilton writes to him are to be put into the tower. His purpoſe was to have furniſhed ſo many of his own; but my Lord Marſhal would have him pay them himſelf, becauſe every one is bound in this exigent to ſerve your Majeſty at his own charge. But he thinks that not reaſonable, it being ſufficient that he brings the horſes, which otherwiſe would coſt your Majeſty five or ſix hundred pounds at the leaſt. So that the charge of the men is only to fall upon your Majeſty; and upon this condition he is contented to furniſh gallant horſes of his own. If my Lord Marſhal will do the like, he is of opinion your Majeſty ſhould accept it.

*I am content, but let him fynde out the eaſieſt way to pay them though it bee out of my purſe, as lykewais to conjure him to haſten more Monies doune to my Armie heere the charge being about £.40000. the month, telling him that I ſhall bee undone, if I ſhall not be able to pay them this two monthes at leaſt.*

*It is.*

MY Lords do likewiſe humbly deſire to know whether your Majeſty intend that the army to be raiſed here ſhall make a ſtand in theſe parts for the guard of the Queen, and for a retreat for your Majeſty in caſe of diſaſter; which God forbid! They alſo think fit to publiſh the raiſing of ſuch an army, but have little hope to effect it without pay, though by law every one be bound to ſerve at his own charge. And beſides, they make account to go ſlowly on, until they ſhall ſee what ſucceſs the meeting of the Peers will have. Yet my Lord Marſhal hath written letters to the counties, ſignifying that they are to have their forces in a readineſs, and to ſerve at their own charge for the defence of the Kingdom, that they are obliged to it by the law; and this he hath done very effectually.

THERE are ſome Iriſh about this town that deſire to ſerve your Majeſty; whom my Lord Marſhal intends to ſend ſhortly to your army under the command of one Captain Noland.

MY Lord Cottington hath made proviſion of ſtore of victuals, and ſent it down to Hull; and the Lords have directed their letters to the Lord Treaſurer not to ſuffer any victuals to be tranſported to any place but to the army.

* *This letter is imperfect.*

THE

*Ye ſhall doe well to haſten him down heere, telling that you know that I will take it well. C. R. Yorke,* 11.

THE Earl of Briſtol is in town, but profeſſeth he likes not the Lords' petition, nor will meddle with it. * A.D. 1640.

AND ſo in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane,* 9 *Sept.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE my laſt to your Majeſty of the 9th by the ordinary poſt, wherein I repreſented ſundry particulars concerning your Majeſty's ſervice, I have received your Majeſty's of the 8th with one to the Queen and another to the Lord Conſtable; and this day about one afternoon arrived Sir William Berkley with mine of the 7th apoſtiled.

YOUR Majeſty's to the Queen I ſent away immediately, and my Lady of Carliſle returned me anſwer that her Majeſty was then ſo troubled with a defluxion in her face, which had brought with it an extreme tooth-ach, that ſhe could not write back again to your Majeſty.

YOUR Majeſty's other letter, to the Lord Conſtable, I likewiſe cauſed to be preſently delivered; and he hath promiſed me to give your Majeſty an exact account of all your commands therein by his own letters at this time. The Lord Treaſurer and he and myſelf met this morning to adviſe about the buſineſs of monies; but I will not prevent my Lord Cottington's letters, in whoſe element that ſervice moſt properly is.

*Thanke him for his account, and tell him I keepe his letter for manie reaſons.*

YOUR Majeſty's apoſtiles upon my letter require no anſwer; except in one particular, wherein your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs, that I did not tell whether the two Lords ſubmitted or formaliſed upon your Majeſty's calling of the Peers to York. If they had abſolutely formaliſed upon it, I ſhould not have failed to have clearly repreſented it. But this I did expreſs, that if the calling of them were intended in excluſion of the Commons, or to raiſe monies any other way than by Parliament, they were of opinion that meeting would be fruitleſs. The Earl of Bedford ſeemed not to like it ſo well as the Earl of Hertford; and I have heard ſince, he hath let fall ſuch diſcourſe againſt it, as it is very likely he will uſe all the art he can to hinder it. Howſoever, I underſtand the Earls of Eſſex and Hertford purpoſe to paſs from hence towards York on Monday next, and Sir Francis Seymour with them. With this laſt the Lord Cottington hath lately had very large conference concerning the petition of the Lords, and the preſent ſtate of your Majeſty's affairs; and he abhors the petition and the barbarous manner of proceeding of thoſe Lords, and ſeems very ſenſible of this invaſion, and deſirous to find ſome way to ſtop it, which your Majeſty will receive more fully from the Lord Cottington.

* *Among the MSS. of this Collection there is a Copy of this Petition, without the names of Briſtol and Paget; but Ruſhworth and Nalſon, and from them Rapin, give the Petition with both thoſe Names.*

*A.D.* 1640. THIS day in Council the Earl Marſhal acquainted the Lords with a report he had heard of a petition intended to be ſent to your Majeſty by the City, agreeable to that of the Lords, and deſired ſome courſe might be thought upon to ſtay it. The Lords approved the motion; and deſired his Lordſhip to ſend for the Lord Mayor and ſome of the diſcreteſt of the Aldermen to his houſe, and to adviſe with them of the way how to prevent it.

THERE was likewiſe a petition preſented to the Board, ſubſcribed by the Earl of Bath, and divers Gentlemen of Devonſhire, againſt the new Canons and the Oath; which being very long, and in many things as impertinent, the Lords did not think fit to be ſudden in anſwering it, but have delivered it to the Lord Keeper, to acquaint your Majeſty with it when he ſhall attend you.

AN Iriſh Prieſt, one ô Connor, Chaplain to Queen Mother, having been charged by an Iriſh woman with ſome ſeditious words in favour of the Roman Catholick party, was this day brought before the Lords, and by them referred to a Juſtice of Peace, and a Clerk of the Council, to be examined. I had committed him before to the Gatehouſe upon the complaint, though, I confeſs, I diſcovered malice and impertinency in the information; and there he hath been priſoner eight or ten days. But the Iriſh woman that accuſes him, having ſome relation to the Earl of Warwick, and having been heretofore a Roman Catholick, but now a Convert and a zealous ſiſter, gave it out, and it grew common in town, that a Jeſuit had threatened the King and the State, and I had ſmothered the buſineſs. Whereupon, I thought fit to bring it to the Board, and remit it wholly to their ordering.

THE Lords are very apprehenſive of the Colliers trading now at Newcaſtle; and do fear, that if ſhips of any burden or conſideration ſhall go into the port, the Rebels will ſeize them and man them with Scots, and ſo become powerful at ſea. And therefore they wiſh that ſuch great ſhips ſhould be forbidden to go within the Bar, and that only lighters and little veſſels ſhould enter the port, and receive the coals, and carry them to the greater ſhips. Sir Robert Manſel is much troubled with the loſs of Newcaſtle, beſides the publick, for his own private intereſts, having a great ſtock there, belonging to his glaſs-houſe, and he hath ſome deep imaginations, if he might be employed, to put in practice at ſea, for the beating the Rebels out of that haven. I deſired him to put them in writing, that they might be the better judged of.

*I have given order in this alreddie.*

*It is fitt to heare him.*

ALDERMAN Abdy is this day dead of a ſhort ſickneſs; but his wife dying two days ſince in like manner, it is ſuſpected to be the infection. Your Majeſty will have a great loſs of him, being a very able and underſtanding citizen, and one whoſe judgment had lately ſwayed him to become a great ſervant to your Majeſty.

THE adjoined packet is from the Lord Archbiſhop, who earneſtly deſired me to put it under mine own cover to your Majeſty, that it might come to no other hand, it being a buſineſs of great ſecrecy.

*Heerewith I ſend you the anſwer, requyring the ſame from you. C. R.*

*Yorke*, 13.

AND

AND ſo in all humility I crave leave to reſt *A.D.*1640.

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane*, 11 *Septr.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

I HAVE acquainted the Committee with the propoſition for the ſtrengthening of Portſmouth, and they like it very well; ſo as now I ſhall haſten the Lord Goring to take it preſently in hand.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THIS day the Lords meeting in Council, the Lord Marſhal gave account what had paſſed in the city upon the letter from the Board to the Lord Mayor for ſtopping of the petition, the duplicate of which letter I preſented to your Majeſty in my laſt of the 16th, together with a copy of the petition. The effect of which account was, that the Lord Mayor could not draw the Court of Aldermen to make any act or declaration, whereby they would diſclaim that petition; neither could he perſuade them to repreſent any thing to your Majeſty by letter in diſlike thereof. Whereupon the Lords thought fit to write a ſecond letter to them (a duplicate whereof goeth herewith) ſignifying, that howſoever they would not make ſuch demonſtration to your Majeſty, yet the Lords expected they would have returned ſome anſwer to their letter.

THEIR Lordſhips likewiſe having underſtood, that ſince your Majeſty's anſwer to the petition of the Lords, ſome other Lords have put their hands to it, do hold this a moſt malicious impertinency, and, in deteſtation of it, have by their letters thought fit moſt humbly to repreſent it to your Majeſty, as an undutifulneſs which moſt unneceſſarily and wittingly they have fallen into.

*They had done well if they had added there Advyce to the advertiſment.*

IT was further repreſented to the Board that one Dr. Burgeſs, a Clergyman, but of the tribe of the covenant, and one that hath been in Scotland, is gone toward your Majeſty with a petition on the behalf of the brethren of his profeſſion; and the Lords do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to ſhew reſentment of this inſolency of ſuch Churchmen, and to cauſe the preſenters of ſuch a petition, Burgeſs and any other, to be committed cloſe priſoners. And they do further moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to ſhew the like ſenſe of the boldneſs of thoſe that ſhall bring you the London petition; and, after examination taken of them what warrant they have from the city, to commit them to priſon.

*I could wiſhe ye would ſhow as much ſtootneſs there as ye councell me to heere; howſoever wee ſhall doe in theaſe particulars as wee fynde cauſe.*

THE Lords have underſtood that your Majeſty, of your grace and goodneſs to thoſe of Yorkſhire, have granted them the wardſhips of their heirs in caſe any of them ſhall periſh in this ſervice; and are humbly of opinion,

*A.D.* 1640.

that the vouchſafing the like favour to thoſe of the ſouth, will invite them to ſerve your Majeſty the more cheerfully at their own charge; which they do moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's wiſdom; and deſire your anſwer herein.

*I give you power to declare the ſame there.*

THEIR Lordſhips are likewiſe certified that there are two of your Majeſty's ſhips at Tinmouth, which will be out of victuals next month about the 19th, and ſo will all the reſt of the ſhips for the winter guard; and that the charge of ſupplying them will amount to £ 4160. And becauſe your Majeſty's commandments are ſo expreſs, that no monies ſhall be diverted to any uſe whatſoever, but all employed for the ſupply of your army, my Lords do humbly deſire to know your Majeſty's pleaſure what ſhall be done with theſe ſhips.

*So that it nether retard nor diminiſh theaſe three* 10 *mlls. that ye mention; otherwaiſe not.*

FOR the ſupply of monies for your Majeſty's army, I have, with your Majeſty's letter to the Lord Cottington brought by Sir Peter Killigrew this evening, delivered your pleaſure; and he aſſures me that this day he hath ſent away £ 10, 000. and within four or five days more will ſend other £ 10, 000. and after that, within the like time, £ 10, 000. more; and ſo from time to time whatſoever he ſhall be able to procure; wherein I aſſure your Majeſty he doth not ſleep, neither needs he to be ſolicited. For he makes it his buſineſs, and is alone in it without any manner of help; nay, I wiſh he did not meet with impediments from thoſe that ſhould help him; ſo that it is a miracle that he is able to compaſs that which he hath done.

*If this be done as it is promiſed, I ſhall make a ſhift to maintaine my Army unto the midle of October, and that will be all; but if eather the ſomes or times of paiments faile, we ſhall bee undon before that tyme.*

THE Lord Conſtable finds the Biſhop of Lincoln's being in the Tower a very great inconvenience and hinderance to your ſervice, and therefore humbly beſeecheth your Majeſty (wherein alſo my Lords do join with him) that he may be removed into ſome other priſon.

*I know none, except it were Hanworthe: in earneſt I know none, nor ſee I reaſon, why he ſhould be a hindrance.*

IF I miſremember not, your Majeſty was pleaſed in one of your former letters to command me to let you know what becomes of W. Montagu's red hat. Since which I am advertiſed from Rome that there is no appearance that the creation of Cardinals will be ſoon. Yet if her Majeſty ſhould ſend her nomination, it is thought it would be much the ſooner. Which is all that is come to my knowledge concerning that buſineſs.

*My Meaning cheefly was if my Wyfe was ſollicited for him at this tyme.*

THE Lord Goring hath been at Portſmouth, and makes account to be with your Majeſty ſuddenly. So I will not anticipate his own report to your Majeſty of his diligences there in your ſervice.

IN all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 18th Septr.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Tell Newcaſtell, that I requyre his attendance on my Sone, not heere.*
*G. R.*
*Yorke*, 20.

A.D. 1640.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I THIS day attended the Queen at Hampton-Court, who was very well, and was pleaſed to tell me ſhe would have given me letters for your Majeſty, but that ſhe had promiſed the Lord Fielding, who is to go from hence to-morrow, to write to your Majeſty by him.

*This day he is com.*

THE Lords of your Majeſty's Council that I met there, were the Lord Archbiſhop, Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Cottington; and our buſineſs there was anſwerable to the number, very little, and of no conſideration.

AN account was taken of the ſhipping buſineſs; of which I herewith ſend your Majeſty the note.

AND becauſe Payler, the paymaſter of Berwick, had written to the Lord Treaſurer, deſiring to know what ſhall be done with the Scotch ſhips under arreſt, and whether they ſhall be ſold, or no, my Lords do humbly deſire to underſtand your Majeſty's pleaſure herein, the rather becauſe they find the reſtitution of ſuch ſhips among the demands of the Rebels; and therefore whether at this time your Majeſty will think fit to have them ſold, is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your wiſdom. It was conceived by the Lord Admiral that they were perquiſites belonging to his place; but Sir Henry Martin hath cleared that doubt, and reſolved they are your Majeſty's. There goeth herewith a liſt of ſuch Scotch ſhips as have been arreſted this year, and are releaſed, and likewiſe of thoſe that are not releaſed.

*By no meanes.*

MR. Henry Percy hath raiſed his troop of horſe at his own charge, and ſtays here only for money for their pay. The Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington, upon that ſtrict command that I ſignified to them from your Majeſty, that no monies ſhould be diverted from the payment of your army, have reſpited the delivery of any monies to Mr. Percy, until your Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be further known. Wherefore the Lords do humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give ſome ſpeedy order herein, the troop in the mean time lying here at great charge. Beſides, I am commanded by my Lords moſt humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, that by the liſt of the entertainments there is only one troop of Cuiraſſiers appointed for guard of the Lord General, the Captain whereof hath at leaſt 20*s. per diem* more than any other Captain of horſe. If therefore your Majeſty pleaſe to appoint this troop of Cuiraſſiers likewiſe for guard of your perſon, and that the Captain ſhould have the like allowance, it will be neceſſary to have a warrant for the ſame under your Majeſty's hand, for that the liſt already ſigned will not warrant it.

*Yes, ſo that my former conditions be kept.*

*I thinke it fitt it ſhould bee ſo, therefor cauſe make the warrant.*

*A.D.*1640. I HEAR of many Lords gone towards York, and doubt not but the appearance will be great; I pray God it may be as good.

SIR William Berkley at his being here did let fall (if I miſtake not) ſomewhat concerning ſome of our Engliſh Lords, which he had from Leſley; that it were no hard matter to diſcover ſuch of them as have held intelligence with the Rebels, and have encouraged them to come into England. If there were any ſuch paſſage between him and Leſley, or any thing like it, I doubt not but he hath acquainted your Majeſty with it. Nevertheleſs, it having often ſince occurred to my thoughts, I judged it not impertinent moſt humbly to put your Majeſty in mind of it.

*It ſhall not be forgotten.*

EVEN now I have received back from your Majeſty my letters of the 16th, apoſtiled by your Majeſty the 18th, for which I render thanks with all humility, and ſhall obey your Majeſty's commandments in thoſe apoſtiles, as becomes

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 20 Septr* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

I HAVE likewiſe inſtantly now received from the Earl of Suſſex, who is utterly unknown to me, a letter of excuſe for his being unable to attend your Majeſty at York, by reaſon of his age, being, as he writes, near fourſcore and ten; but makes great profeſſions of devotion to your Majeſty's ſervice, which he hath deſired me to repreſent to your Majeſty.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK.

*Windebanke,*

THE ſubject of this letter is, firſt to command you to ſend me with all ſpeede a Copie of everie one of thos Actes of Councell wch. were made concerning the Scotes buſineſs: Secondlie, to tell the Treſorer and Cottington that one ſhift or other muſt bee found out to keepe the ordinarie winter guarde of ſhipes at ſea this yeare, without diſapointing my armie of thoſe ſomes, and at thoſe tymes, ye promiſed in your laſt letters: Laſtlie, tell Cottington that I will not have him regiſter George Kirkes diſcharges of my Jewelles, untill he ſend me the copies of them, becauſe it may bee, that I may fynde cauſe, upon further peruſall, to change ſomething in them: And ſo I reſt

*Your frende*

*Yorke* 22 *Sep:*

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE Lords have had a meeting this afternoon in Council; but the Board being thin, there hath little fallen into conſideration of moment concerning the Publick.

THE

THE Lord Herbert, Son to the Lord Chamberlain, made a ſuit to my Lords for licence to repair to my Lord his Father at York, having underſtood that his Father had been lately very ill, and conceiving himſelf obliged in duty to wait upon him. *A.D.*1640.

*He ſhall not need, for his Father is coming to him.*

HE likewiſe repreſented to my Lords the ſtate of Somerſetſhire, where he is Lieutenant; that all things there are in very good order, and the trained bands continually exerciſed, and in a readi[*neſs to*] march for your Majeſty's ſervice; whereupon he conceived his preſence there may very well be ſpared. The Lords commended his diligences in your Majeſty's ſervice, and his dutifulneſs to his Father; but withal told him it is not in their power to grant his deſire without your Majeſty's leave, your Majeſty having given ſtrict commandment that all Lieutenants ſhould reſide in their proper counties in theſe active and dangerous times; with which they could not diſpenſe. It is therefore humbly deſired that your Majeſty will pleaſe to ſignify your will herein as ſpeedily as you ſhall think fit, my Lords finding no cauſe why this ſhould be refuſed him, the county under his charge being in ſo good order; ſo as he make no long ſtay in the North.

THE Lord Conſtable of the Tower repreſented to t[*he*] Board the many inconveniences to your Majeſty's ſervice, and otherwiſe, that ariſe by having the mint in that place; and therefore deſired it might be removed to ſome other, as in like caſes of danger, and when garriſons have been put into the Tower, has been heretofore accuſtomed. There are at the leaſt 200 perſons belonging to the mint, beſides thoſe that go and come continually to and from them; ſo that there cannot be that ſtrict guard kept there as is fit for ſuch a fort. Beſides, the mintmen are afraid of the ſoldiers, and the merchants apprehend, and are full of jealouſies, that their monies are not ſecure, now there is a greater ſtrength there than uſual. Wherefore my Lords are humbly of opinion, which they have commanded me to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the Mint is fit to be removed to Leaden-hall, where my Lord Cottington will undertake there ſhall be very good accommodation for it; and herein likewiſe your Majeſty's pleaſure is moſt humbly deſired.

*I am content.*

UPON diſcourſe lately with the Lord Cottington concerning the ſupplies of money to your Majeſty, he fell upon a way, which, if your Majeſty approve, ſeems to me very fair, and may come in very handſomely, when thoſe pepper-monies, now in furniſhing, ſhall be exhauſted. And that is, that thoſe Lords, and others, your Majeſty's ſervants, that have lent you monies, and who are ſhortly to receive them again upon aſſignments, may be dealt with by your Majeſty to forbear them for a year longer, your Majeſty cauſing the intereſt due to be paid in the mean time. Thoſe that are beſt affected to your Majeſty are firſt to be treated with; and they leading the way, the reſt cannot but follow. By this means your Majeſty may have ſome monies now at Michaelmas; for at that time I underſtand ſome of the Lords' aſſignments will be out; and ſo more monies will be daily coming in between this and Chriſtmas. Your Majeſty may pleaſe to propoſe this of yourſelf to my Lord Treaſurer, and to require him to ſend

*This Day wee have found out a better way.*
*Yorke*, 25.

*A.D.* 1640. you ſpeedily a liſt of thoſe Lords' monies that will be firſt due, and then yourſelf to break it to thoſe Lords in ſuch a way, as in your wiſdom you ſhall think fit.

THERE is this day ſent to your Majeſty from the Exchequer the ſum of £ 12,000, and very ſhortly there ſhall be more, which my Lord Cottington deſired me to make kno[*wn to*] your Majeſty.

So in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 23 Septr.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

I HAVE received mine of the 18th apoſtiled the 20th; and have ſent that to her Majeſty, and the other to my Lord of Canterbury.

THE Frenchman in the Tower, heretofore belonging to Queen Mother, ſhould have been removed from thence; but Queen Mother deſiring he may be priſoner in her houſe, my Lords by no means hold that fit or reaſonable, but rather that he continue where he is.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IN obedience to your Majeſty's commandments in your letters vouchſafed me of the 22d. I have now ſent copies of ſuch Acts of Council as have been made concerning the Scots' buſineſs.

THE firſt, of the 5th of December, hath remained in my cuſtody, and was never entered into the Council Book, your Majeſty having commanded me to keep it by me. But becauſe it is the foundation of all your Counſels, upon which the reſolutions for a war and for a Parliament were grounded, I humbly ſubmit it to your Majeſty's wiſdom, whether you will not think it ſeaſonable now to have it regiſtered among your Council-records, and whether all of it, or only ſo much as concerns the war and the Parliament, omitting that which refers to the Lord Marquis Hamilton.

THE note endorſed upon this act I held very material to tranſcribe as I find it upon my original paper; that thereby it may appear that the Lords did unanimouſly confirm, after the rupture of the Parliament, the adviſe which they before had given to your Majeſty.

THE Act of the 11th of March, and likewiſe of the 18th of the ſame, concerning the Scotch Lords and others that were ſent to your Majeſty, becauſe it refers to a paper of Inſtructions, which they called a Commiſſion and Powers, though your whole Council of England judged it neither, I have likewiſe ſent with it a Duplicate of thoſe Inſtructions; which are all the Acts of Council that are remaining with me. I have likewiſe cauſed Mr. Nicholas to ſearch in the Council-records; where there is only a Proclamation publiſhing an Act of State, and your Majeſty's command, concerning a ſcandalous paper diſperſed among many of your ſubjects; a Duplicate whereof is alſo ſent.

ACCORDING

ACCORDING to your Majesty's pleasure concerning the winter guard of ships, and those at Tinmouth, I have spoken with my Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington, who will take some course for monies for that most necessary service, without diminishing those sums at these times which are already promised for your army; so as this charge amount not to above £5000. But the Treasurer of the Navy hath delivered a note, which goeth herewith, of another reckoning, which arises very high by reason of the ten ships which are to be called in; the wages due to their men, which must be presently paid, amounting to £11,000. for which it will be impossible to find monies. *A.D.* 1640.

*I hope now ye may fynd it out of the Citie.*

THERE is a servant of your Majesty's (Smithby) to whom your Majesty is indebted in the sum of £5469. for which he hath a Privy Seal, who offers to lend your Majesty as much as will make up that sum £10,000. so he may be sure to have it all repaid out of the petty farms at our Lady-day 1644. This my Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington have desired me to represent to your Majesty as fit to be accepted, if your Majesty so please.

*I lyke it well.*

UPON some speech with Mr. Nicholas concerning the shipping business, which he understands very well, because it is likely to come in question now at the assembly of the Lords, I desired him to set down his conception therein, which he hath done; and [*it*] is in all humbleness herewith presented to your Majesty. I beseech your Majesty to take it into consideration, and not to part with it this year, seeing without it your affairs will be in much greater disorder.

THERE goeth likewise herewith the Lord Mayor's answer concerning the City petition; which being a cunning piece, and no way satisfactory to that which the Lords by their letter required, their Lordships have sent to him again to return a positive answer, whether they dislike or disallow the petition, or no.

*The Maior now with the Citie, ar to bee flatered, not threatned.*

IF your Majesty at this assembly of the Lords shall resolve upon a Parliament, some of my Lords here do humbly beseech your Majesty to treat with the Lord Chamberlain, and others that have Burgesses in their disposal, to reserve as many places as they can for your Majesty.

*Now that he is with you, I command you to doe it, and anie of the Lords there that hes power that way.*

I HAVE not yet received back again from your Majesty my despatch of the 20th, wherein, among many other things, I humbly desired to receive your Majesty's pleasure concerning the payment of Mr. Percy's new troop, who attends earnestly your Majesty's order.

*I am much deceaved, if I have not apostyled them bothe. C. R.*

MY last were of the 22d, and these shall give your Majesty no further importunity, but only in craving leave with all humility to rest

*Your Majesty's most humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane, 25 Septr.* 1640.

A.D.1640. *Command Cottington in my name to deliver Q. Mother's man that is in the tower, according as my Wyfe ſhall direct him, for which if a warant bee neceſſarie, ye may make uſe of one of my Blanckes; of this tell my wyfe, and receave her directions.*

*Yorke*, 27.

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

YESTERDAY, being Sunday, arrived young Mr. Proger at Hampton-Court in the Morning, where moſt of my Lords of the Council now in town attended her Majeſty.

THERE I delivered your Majeſty's letters of the 24th to the Queen; who in anſwer of them and of thoſe brought by Mr. Proger, was pleaſed to honour me with the addreſs of the incloſed from herſelf to your Majeſty.

UPON Saturday I received mine back again of the 20th, and by Mr. Proger that of the 23d. So now there remain none of mine unreturned but thoſe of the 25th.

THE Lords meeting yeſterday at Hampton-Court ſate a little in Council for the deſpatch of ordinary buſineſs; but there occurred little of moment. Only the Lord Treaſurer acquainted the Board with a malicious practice of ſome in the City to put by Alderman Aſton from being choſen Lord Mayor, who is to ſucceed in that place the next year, though the man be without exception, unleſs it be that he is a true ſervant to your Majeſty. It is moſt true, that the remembrancer of London, apprehending ſome ſuch intention, acquainted me with it the laſt week, and I communicated it to ſome of my Lords. But my Lord Cottington made no great matter of it; conſidering, that whoſoever ſhall be choſen, he cannot hold nor exerciſe the place, unleſs he be admitted and ſworn in the Exchequer; ſo that, if they ſhall go a factious way, the Lord Treaſurer hath a power to interrupt them there. Nevertheleſs, the Lords thought it much better to prevent it before it ſhall grow ſo high, and therefore have ſent for the Recorder to attend the Board this day, to adviſe upon ſome courſe to direct the city from ſuch an irregularity.

I HAVE received advice from Sir Thomas Roe, that there are twenty ſix principal Scotch Colonels and officers, that have ſerved the Swede, who have obtained their licence, and are preparing at Gottenburg to embark in three ſhips for Scotland. They are perſons of note, as Colonel Lomeſden, Colonel David Leſley, who was Coadjutant General to Banier, and his right hand, Colonel Sinclair, and others. It is fit there ſhould be an eye held toward them; and to that end I called yeſterday at Sion, and gave the Lord Admiral notice of it; but deſired his Lordſhip to adviſe with Sir Thomas Roe how to meet with them; which he hath promiſed to be careful of.

YESTERDAY the Lord Mayor ſent me the dangerous Libel againſt the Lord Cottington that goeth herewith, which was fixed upon ſome poſt in the city. But I hope the way in which your Majeſty in your great wiſdom hath now ordered your affairs, will give ſuch ſatisfaction to all that are not enemies to peace and government, that all theſe factious ſpirits will

will be hereafter quicted and allayed, and that your Majeſty having a good intelligence with your Nobility, which theſe bleſſed beginnings do promiſe, and of which I moſt humbly wiſh your Majeſty that joy and happineſs that is juſtly due to your dexterity in the managing of this important buſineſs, both theſe domeſtick embroilers of the State, and thoſe rebellious invaders from without, ſhall either be reduced, or fall before you; which ſhall ever be the moſt humble and hearty prayer of *A.D.1640.*

*If it produce projection from the London Alembick it will do well, otherwais the Rebelles ar lyke to ſett the Dyce on us.*

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane*, 28 *Septr.* 1640.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

MY Lords of the Council are ſtill ſolicitous of Hull, and have commanded me again, moſt humbly to put you in mind of the ſtrengthening of that place.

*I am even now com from it. C. R.*

*Yorke*, 1 *Oct.*

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE letter that goeth herewith from Payler, paymaſter at Berwick, was this day delivered to me by the Lord Treaſurer; at whoſe inſtance I now ſend it to your Majeſty; and it is humbly deſired, conſidering the importance of the buſineſs, that your Majeſty will ſpeedily ſignify your pleaſure, whether there ſhall be a ſupply ſent thither out of the monies here, which without your expreſs commandment my Lord Treaſurer will not venture to iſſue for any other uſe but that of the army. And yet Payler writes ſo diſtruſtfully of the affections of the garriſon there, that, if ſome ſpeedy courſe be not taken for their ſatisfaction, that place may run extreme hazard.

*Give him order to ſupply it; and if it take anie thing from us heere, G. Kirke's monie of his buſineſs concerning London, may recompence that, for wch. end I have commanded the Keeper to paſſe his Patent without delay.*

THIS day the Lords that came from York about the money-buſineſs, are arrived here; and the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Goring are gone to her Majeſty to Hampton-Court. The Lord Privy Seal came to town after them, and ſent this afternoon to the Lords in Council for a meeting to-morrow in the afternoon, which is appointed accordingly.

THERE is likewiſe this day committed by the Board one David Mallard a Scotchman, your Majeſty's Shoemaker, for having publickly ſpoken theſe words; namely, "that the Scots now come "into England are honeſt men, and that they "are lyars that ſay they are rebels and traytors." This was proved to his face by ſundry witneſſes; but he denied it very earneſtly.

*They all deſerved it well.*

*A.D.*1640. THERE were alſo two yeomen of the Guard committed for refuſing to pay ſuch duties as they are rated at for your Majeſty's ſervice.

I HAVE according to your Majeſty's commandment in my letters of the 25th, apoſtiled and returned the 27th, acquainted her Majeſty with your pleaſure concerning the Frenchman in the Tower; and ſhe hath been pleaſed to order that he ſhall be delivered at St. James's to ſuch as Queen Mother ſhall appoint to receive him. Whereupon I have made a warrant to that purpoſe to the Lord Cottington under one of thoſe blanks which your Majeſty left with me at your departure.

*Right.*

THE Recorder of London made report this day to the Board of the tumultuary meeting at Michaelmas-day in the City, at the election of the Lord Mayor; which was ſo full of diſorder, and ſo contrary to the ancient cuſtom and practice of that corporation, that the graveſt Citizens were much ſcandalized at it. The manner of it being ſet down in writing by Mr. Recorder himſelf in the paper that goeth herewith, I do not hold it a ſubject worthy of a further relation. Only I am commanded by my Lords humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the preſent Lord Mayor and the Recorder have uſed all poſſible means for the preventing of this diſorder; that this is a mere innovation; and that theſe 300 years no one Alderman hath been rejected or put out of his order, but in caſe of poverty, or infirmity of age or ſickneſs; that, if this be permitted, the government of the city is utterly loſt; and if Alderman Soame be choſen, beſides his diſaffections and diſabilities, all the Aldermen his ſeniors, which are ſeven or eight, will diſdain to come into the place after him; that this man (Alderman Acton) is a man without exception, and ſuffers only for his affections to your Majeſty's ſervice. Wherefore, the moſt humble opinion of the Lords is, that if the City ſhall either refuſe to chooſe Acton, or to continue this preſent Mayor for one year longer, (to this latter the Lords ſeem to incline, in caſe the other cannot fairly be obtained) then your Majeſty ſhall do well to refuſe to admit any other that ſhall be preſented in the Exchequer. In the mean time, becauſe Tueſday next is appointed for another meeting in the City, the Lord Mayor is deſired by the Board to diſpoſe, by treaty, ſome of the moſt diſcreet of the companies to conform themſelves to the ancient courſe of election, and to be careful that none be admitted to give voices, but ſuch as ſhall bring tickets from their companies that they have power to vote, and all this to be done by ſtrict ſcrutiny. This falls out moſt unhappily now that the State hath ſo much cauſe to uſe the City; which my Lords do take into conſideration as a buſineſs of higheſt conſequence, and would be moſt glad to find ſome handſome way out of theſe difficulties. Your Majeſty may therefore pleaſe between this and Tueſday next to vouchſafe your direction, and to let me know how you like this opinion of my Lords.

*I lyke the Opinion of the Lds. well ſo that there intentions may be executed without hindering my loane of Monie; but ſo that wee may get that, let innovat, and ſpare not; it may be a good example for me to doe the lyke upon occaſion hearafter: and I ſee not why ye may not uſe this occaſion ſo as to make them lende the willinger.*

IN the letter from Rome which is ſent herewith, your Majeſty will find the ſtate of the buſineſs of the Red Hat; which, if your Majeſty pleaſe, I am humbly of opinion, were not unfit to be communicated to my Lord Duke

Duke of Lennox, that he may have a true underſtanding of what hath paſſed there, and of the preſent condition of that negotiation. I have now written to him, but not one word of this; ſo that it is *Res integra*, and your Majeſty may order it as to your wiſdom ſhall ſeem beſt. *A.D.* 1640.

*I have done ſo, and burnt the letter. C. R. Yorke, 3 Oct.*

In all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 30th Septr.* 1640.

Fran. Windebank.

My laſt to your Majeſty were of the 28th.

*Mr. Secretary* Windebank *to his* Majesty.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*Give the Lds. thankes for ther ſucceſsfull paineſs, and deſyre them to haſt doune Monies, though it be in little quanteties, becauſe I underſtand by Cottington that all his is alredie ſpent.*

This Bearer is to deliver to your Majeſty the report of the Lords Commiſſioners to the City, concerning the ſucceſs of their treaty, which in ſubſtance differs not from the account I preſumed to give your Majeſty thereof yeſterday.

The Lord Privy Seal acquainted my Lords with it this day in Council at Hampton-Court; and they are all humble ſuitors to your Majeſty to be pleaſed to write a letter of thanks to the Lord Mayor and the City, to the purpoſe mentioned in the report.

The laſt night I received the Lord Marquis Hamilton's letters, and in them mine of the 28th of Sept. apoſtiled, together with one to her Majeſty, which I have had the honour this day to deliver to her Majeſty's own hand, and from the ſame to receive the anſwer that goeth herewith.

I shall give your Majeſty no further importunity for the preſent, but only in my moſt humble expreſſions of joy for this happy ſucceſs with the City, which I take as a beginning of much proſperity to your affairs; and I moſt humbly wiſh as much as can be imagined by

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 4 Octob.* 1640.

Fran. Windebank.

*Remember to get as many Burges places for the Par: for my Servants as ye may, from the Chamberlan or anie that hes power that way.*

*I have burnt your's of the* 3.

*Yorke,* 6.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*A.D.*1640. THE laſt night I received mine of the 30th of September, apoſtiled by your Majeſty the 3d of October, with one incloſed to her Majeſty, which I had the honour to deliver this morning here at Whitehall to her own hand; and the anſwer to it goeth herewith.

I ACQUAINTED the Lord Marſhal only with your Majeſty's apoſtile concerning the election of the Lord Mayor; and the Remembrancer of London coming to me this morning from the preſent Mayor, to underſtand whether your Majeſty had declared any thing concerning that buſineſs, I went with him to my Lord Marſhal, where my Lord of Dorſet likewiſe came to us, and aſſured us that if ſome handſome meſſage were ſent to the City in your Majeſty's name, intimating that you expected they ſhould hold their ancient courſe of election, and that your Majeſty would take it well in theſe times of diſtraction that they ſhould proceed orderly and quietly to the choice of the ſenior Alderman, they would yet chooſe Acton. Whereupon we ſent Mr. Mewtys to them in your Majeſty's name, inſtructing him to deliver a meſſage to them to that purpoſe. But it ſeems my Lord of Dorſet's intelligence failed. For notwithſtanding any thing repreſented by Mr. Mewtys, or the Recorder, or any other, they have rejected Acton, and choſen Alderman Wright, who is next in order to Acton; and ſo, though the election be irregular, yet it is not altogether ſo diſorderly as if they had choſen Soame. Whether your Majeſty will have my Lord Treaſurer admit this man thus choſen, when he ſhall come to take his oath in the Exchequer, there is time to conſider.

*It is well anuſe conſidering the tymes, therefore there muſt bee no difficultie made in it for his admittance.*

THERE is a great rumour raiſed here in the city, and in moſt parts of the country, that the Queen Mother hath procured a grant from your Majeſty, concerning an impoſition upon leather; and it is ſo conſtantly reported, and believed, that the innocent Queen ſuffers extremely in the opinion of the people, whoſe malignity is ſtrangely increaſed by this means againſt her. And though there be nothing more contrary to truth, yet hereupon the price of that commodity is really enhanced, which ſtill ſharpens the hatred of the people, and is a powerful argument to them that it is true. Wherefore ſome of the Lords have been adviſing with the Queen's Majeſty our Miſtreſs of ſome courſe how her Mother's honour may be vindicated, and the truth cleared; and they are humbly of opinion, that your Majeſty may be pleaſed to cauſe ſome Proclamation to be publiſhed, declaring the falſeneſs of this ſcandal, and threatening exemplary puniſhment to the ſpreaders of it: And withal, that ſome touch may be given of the quiet and harmleſs demeanour of that Queen; and that therefore your Majeſty expects and commands that ſhe be uſed with all reſpect due to ſo great a Queen, and the Mother of her Majeſty your Majeſty's conſort. This I am commanded by the Queen to repreſent to your Majeſty, and in all humility to crave your anſwer.

*I cōmand you to cauſe an Act of Councell to be made and publiſhed to this purpoſe; but if this bee not thought ſufficient by my Wyfe and Councell there, then I am willing for a Proclamation as you mention.*

*Yorke*, 9.

SIR

SIR Toby Mathew was yeſterday apprehended by a warrant from the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and is in cuſtody of an officer of the High Commiſſion; but the offence is not yet known. *A.D.* 1640.

IN all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

*Drury-Lane, 6 Oct.* 1640.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE report herewith ſent of the meſſage delivered by Mr. Mewtys to the Lord Mayor and the Commons of the City, came to my hands as I was ready to cloſe up this deſpatch. Of the money buſineſs I hear nothing but well: For the city do expect thanks from my Lords, which they ſhall have.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE my laſt of the 11th I have received back again from your Majeſty my ſeveral letters of the 6th, 7th, and 9th of this preſent, all apoſtiled; and have delivered to the Queen thoſe that came with them from your Majeſty.

THE moſt important of your Majeſty's commandments in the apoſtiles is the payment of the mariners; which I have ſignified to the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Cottington; who have thereupon given order for iſſuing out of £4000 for their ſatisfaction.

*I hope this is not of the Citie Monie.*

THE buſineſs of the loan of £200,000. from the City, whereof your Majeſty hath likewiſe commanded me to give you a particular account, ſtands thus.

THIS morning in the Starchamber, I drew the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lord Treaſurer, Earl Marſhal, Lord Goring, and Lord Cottington aſide, and acquainted them with your Majeſty's expectation to be ſatisfied what you are to truſt to concerning thoſe monies. Whereupon, after a long diſcourſe, they inſtructed me to deliver their humble opinions to your Majeſty to this purpoſe:

1. THAT the City have hitherto declared themſelves poſitively but for 50,000.
2. THAT the Lords Commiſſioners for the loan affirm they have already done all that can be expected from them with the City.
3. THAT of thoſe Commiſſioners here are none left but the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Coventry, and Lord Goring.
4. THAT the Lords are of opinion the City will be drawn no further by theſe Commiſſioners.
5. THAT they are likewiſe of opinion the Parliament cannot furniſh it in time, except by ſome credit from the City.
6. THAT therefore your Majeſty may be pleaſed to communicate this buſineſs to ſome of the beſt affected and moſt diſcreet of the Peers there, and to adviſe with them

*I ſhall not faile to doe this.*

*A.D.* 1640.

them concerning ſome other Committee, or ſome others to be added to thoſe of the former Committee, who otherwiſe may think themſelves neglected, and ſo become wayward; and theſe to be preſently ſent from the Peers to the City with inſtructions to negotiate with them for the furniſhing of the reſt of the £ 200,000. at the times formerly mentioned and deſired by the Lords; and that the City will promiſe it, and make declaration of it, as done for the preſervation of the State, and the reputation of your Majeſty's affairs.

7. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſider well, how long the £ 50,000. already granted by the City, and payable upon the 12th of this preſent, will ſerve; and whether it be probable that the Parliament may ſupply more in time.

These conſiderations thus laid by the Lords above-mentioned, without the Lord Privy Seal, it grew into a debate how they might handſomely draw him into the buſineſs, and to concur in this opinion; he having ever been ſo poſitive that the City had granted all that was deſired by the Commiſſioners, and that they would infallibly furniſh the £ 200,000. accordingly. At laſt it was reſolved that occaſion ſhould be taken of breaking it to him, by deſiring to know how he had ordered the letter of thanks ſent from your Majeſty to the City; which letter the Lords had deſired him and the Lord Goring to deliver, the more to honour the ſervice, and to win the City. This being moved to him, he acquainted my Lords, that before he would deliver his Majeſty's letters, he adviſed with the Recorder, who diſſuaded him from the delivering of them himſelf, and that by all means the two Lords ſhould forbear to appear in it in perſon. His reaſons were, that if they ſhould come into the Common Council, they would all be ſilent while the Lords were there; that the City would think the Lords expected the thanks of thoſe letters as due to them, and not to your Majeſty; that at the reading of theſe letters it was to be feared (for ſo the Recorder had been ſecretly informed) that ſome would riſe up and avow that they never intended to lend, nor had lent above £ 50,000. And ſo the buſineſs might receive a foil in preſence of the Lords. For theſe reaſons the Lord Privy Seal and Lord Goring thought it beſt to forbear, and ſo left the letter to be delivered by the Recorder: But what ſucceſs it had, they had not yet underſtood. This introduction being made, the Lord Cottington aſked the Lord Privy Seal, what he thought of the reſt of the monies, and whether the City would furniſh the whole £ 200,000? At the firſt the Privy Seal was much troubled at the queſtion, and grew into paſſion, ſwearing he would avow that, in point of conceſſion, both the Lord Mayor and the Recorder had aſſured him, that all the whole ſum was yielded to. The Lord Cottington preſſed him further to declare, whether really he did think that the City did now underſtand it ſo, and whether he had not heard ſomewhat of late to the contrary. This ſtaggered him, and after a little pauſe he became more calm, and anſwered, that peradventure ſomewhat hath intervened ſince their treaty which may have altered the caſe. The moſt powerful motive to the City to yield to the loan, he ſaid, was the aſſurance of a Parliament; and had they not been confident to be reimburſed by the Parliament, they would never have hearkened to it. Now, ſaid

*I thanke you for this particular Account.*

*A.D.*1640.

ſaid he, I have heard that ſome factious people, taking advantage at the delay of the coming of the writs to the City, had been practiſing with the Lord Mayor to retract what he had formerly granted, alleging that the noiſe of a Parliament was a mere device to get this money, and that nothing leſs was intended. And therefore he concluded that the buſineſs may now be in danger, and that he would aſſure nothing in a time thus conditioned. The Lord Cottington then demanded of him what was then to be done, conſidering that, without this money, the Kingdom muſt be, in all probability, loſt. Whereupon, he fell upon the way of renewing the treaty with the City by ſome new letters from your Majeſty and the Peers, and new Commiſſioners to be joined to the former; and then the Lords that were before acquainted with the buſineſs, came in, and agreed all in the propoſitions before mentioned. They are likewiſe of opinion, that in the new letters or inſtructions, there ſhould be no mention of any difficulty in the City for the whole ſupply of £ 200,000. but take the whole for granted, and that theſe are only to quicken the buſineſs by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of time: but withal to repreſent to the full the inſolencies of the Rebels and their inſufferable demands, and the inevitable danger wherein the Kingdom is without this ſupply at the times already ſet down.

*I ſhall not faile to follow this advyce.*

The writs for the Parliament are lately come to the City; but I am inquiring from whence the neglect grew, and will ſee it exemplarily puniſhed.

The Lord Cottington tells me that yeſterday there was £ 20,000. ſent towards York, which is part of the £ 50,000. lent by the City; and the reſt ſhall be called for and haſtened away with all poſſible ſpeed.

The Lord Archbiſhop tells me that he hath given your Majeſty account of the buſineſs at Oxford concerning my Election there. The laſt night, when I delivered your Majeſty's laſt letters to the Queen, I thought fit to acquaint her Majeſty with it, who was pleaſed to aſſure me ſhe would endeavour to procure me ſome other place. And accordingly her Majeſty ſpake with Mr. Henry Jermyn to relinquiſh his pretenſions to the Burgeſſhip of Corfe-Caſtle, to which Mr. Attorney General had recommended him; which he willingly yielded, and went immediately from her Majeſty to Mr. Attorney, to let him know it. Though I do acknowledge this a tranſcendent grace and favour of her Majeſty, yet I account myſelf unhappy that it muſt be to the prejudice and excluſion of a perſon of his quality and worth. Howſoever, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take notice of it to the Queen as a thing done for your ſervice, that ſo by your Majeſty's goodneſs ſome reparation may be made for my great unworthineſs of this honour.

*I have.*
*Yorke*, 16.

I most humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon for the length of theſe, and leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*
*Subject and Servant,*
FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane*, 14 *Oct.* 1640.

*An Original, apoſtiled by the King.*

*A.D.* 1640.

*Mr. Secretary* WINDEBANK *to his* MAJESTY.

*It may pleaſe your Majeſty,*

UPON Wedneſday laſt the 14th I gave your Majeſty a full account of the State of the treaty with the City concerning the monies, and what in the opinion of my Lords here is to be expected from them. This morning meeting the Recorder in the Starchamber, I inquired whether your Majeſty's letter of thanks to the City had been delivered, and when the reſt of the £ 50,000. ſhould be paid.

TO the firſt, he anſwered that the Lord Mayor had not yet thought fit to deliver the letter, becauſe the City had been jealous, upon the ſlow coming of the writs, that the Parliament ſhould not have been called at the day firſt appointed, and ſo grew cold in furniſhing the reſt of the £ 50,000. But now that the writs were come he was to aſſemble the companies of courſe for the choice of their Burgeſſes, and then he would not fail to acquaint them with your Majeſty's letters.

TO the other, he aſſured me that now the writs for the Parliament were come, the reſt of the £ 50,000. will ſuddenly be paid; and now, ſince I began theſe, both he and the Remembrancer have been with me from the Lord Mayor, and have confirmed it to me, and deſired me to give your Majeſty aſſurance of it. There is already £ 25,000. paid; whereof in the beginning of this week there was ſent towards York £ 20,000. and the reſt ſhall be haſtened away with all poſſible diligence.

THE meſſenger that was charged with the delivery of the writs, had many others for Lincolnſhire and other parts, which made his ſtay upon the way ſo much the longer. And though he could not well have uſed more haſte, unleſs he had attended the delivery of thoſe for London only, yet my Lords have this day committed him; and have commanded the Clerk of the Council to examine him ſtrictly; that, if any further neglect ſhall appear, they may proceed more ſeverely againſt him.

YESTERDAY the Clerk of the Lower Houſe of Parliament came to me to demand the Journal-book of the laſt aſſembly, and ſome petitions, which by your Majeſty's commandment I took into my cuſtody, and they have ever ſince remained with me. I acquainted the Lords with it this day, who are of opinion they *ought to be delivered*,* but not without your Majeſty's pleaſure firſt known, which I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me as ſoon as conveniently may be.

*I, by anie meanes.*

I LIKEWISE repreſented to my Lords, that one Ogle of the Biſhoprick or Northumberland, complained of by Sir John Conyers to hold intelligence with the Covenanters, and to be a conveyor of letters between them and ſome here in England, had much preſſed me, ſince the reſolution for a Parliament, for his liberty and diſmiſſion. Your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember that this man had been examined by the Lord Conway, who certified he could diſcover nothing of that with which he had been charged. Nevertheleſs, your Majeſty commanded me to ſend for him, which I did; and

* *A line is drawn under theſe words by the King, to which the Apoſtile refers. This is generally done, in the apoſtiled letters, but ſeldom neceſſary to be pointed out to the Reader.*

*Lett him out, but on bond to apeare, when he ſhall be caled for.*

now my Lords are humbly of opinion that he ſhould be diſcharged, if your Majeſty ſo pleaſe; and in this likewiſe I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's commandment. *A.D.* 1640.

I HAVE not yet diſcharged Cunningham who hath been long in priſon for refuſing to take the oath, becauſe your Majeſty gave no order in it. But my Lords do humbly adviſe now that he hath taken the oath at the Board, that your Majeſty will pleaſe to command his enlargement; which I likewiſe moſt humbly expect. The laſt night I received back again from your Majeſty mine of the 11th, apoſtiled the 13th, together with one to her Majeſty, to which the incloſed from her is an anſwer.

*Let him goe.*

So in all humility I crave leave to reſt

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*Subject and Servant,*

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

*Drury-Lane*, 16 *Oct.* 1640.

*The Lords have reſolved to wryte a verrie effectual letter to the Citie for the reſt of the* 200*ml.*

*Yorke*, 18.

## *Mr.* WILLIAM AYLESBURY *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Brother,*

I AM much to thank you for your care of me, and that in ſo buſy a time you would find leiſure to write; which I eſteem ſo great a favour, that, if it were not too immodeſt a requeſt, I would deſire the like often; for no intelligence is ſo ſure as your's. Yet I find you miſtaken twice in your laſt; firſt, about the peace, which you then thought not concluded, and, I believe, ſo did many others; but my Lord * had letters that all was fully agreed upon. Then you ſaid it was not in the wit of man to ſave Windebank; and the next day we heard he was at Calais. Whoſe wit brought him thither, I know not; but I am glad the poor creature is ſafe there, and hope the Parliament will not take it ill. He came over in a ſhallop, and with much hazard. For beſides that of ſo little a boat, it was ſo great a miſt when he paſſed, that they could not ſee a boat's length before them. There are come with him ſome others; Forſter, I think, is one; for I ſaw him yeſterday. But though they be here, I pray look better to him in the Tower, † for it concerns us. All other news of this place is at large in Mr. Staneer's; therefore I will trouble you no more at this time; but deſiring all manner of happineſs to you and your's, eſpecially health to little Nan, reſt

*Your moſt affectionate Brother*

*and humble Servant,*

*Paris, Dec.* $\frac{11}{21}$. 1640.

WILL. AYLESBURY.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

* *Mr.* Aylesbury *was in the Family of the Earl of Leiceſter.*
† *The Earl of Strafford.*

*A.D.* 1641.

*Mr.* WILLIAM AYLESBURY *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Ned,*

YOUR letters are ſuch favours in this great time of buſineſs, that I think myſelf obliged to return you at leaſt thanks for your laſt. And if there were any thing here of import, I would participate to you. That which I find moſt ſtrange is Secretary Windebank's carriage; who is as merry as if he were the contentedeſt man living, and tells every body that the King knew of his coming away, that he had a paſs under his own hand, that the Queen expreſsly commanded Aubert to attend him, and that he never did any thing concerning the Papiſts, that he had not either immediate order from the King, or has not yet his hand to ſhew for it; which, by the way, neither does the K. honour, nor him any good. I was yeſterday to viſit him, and find him excellent company; though ſure he could never be a good Privy Counſellor; for he tells all that he ever knew or did. But do not you therefore, that are a Parliament-man, call me to an account for him: For then he will never abide me for my own ſake.

[*To the*] laſt clauſe of your letter I will only ſay [*this, that*] you may be confident of me, and ſo [*I am*]

*Your moſt affectionate*

*Brother and Servant,*

*Paris, Jan.* $\frac{3}{13}$. 164$\frac{1}{2}$.

W. AYLESBURY.

I PRAY favour me ſo much, if you can, as to ſend me my Lord Lieutenant's and Canterbury's charge; for thoſe we have not had from Mr. Waller.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

*Mr. Secretary* VANE *to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland.*

*Right Honourable,*

HIS Majeſty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordſhips with an advice given him from abroad, and confirmed by his Miniſters in Spain, and elſewhere, which, in this diſtempered time and conjuncture of affairs, deſerves to be ſeriouſly conſidered, and an eſpecial care and watchfulneſs to be had therein; which is, that of late there hath paſſed from Spain (and the like may well have been alſo from other parts) an unſpeakable number of Iriſh churchmen for Ireland and England, and ſome good old ſoldiers, under the pretext of aſking leave to raiſe men for the King of Spain: Whereas it is obſerved that amongſt the Iriſh Friars there, a whiſper

* *This letter is publiſhed in the* "Hiſtory of the Execrable Iriſh Rebellion," &c. *Fol. printed at London for Robert Clavel* 1680. *But as it is of the higheſt Importance, and ſome doubts may have been conceived concerning its authenticity, it has been thought proper to give it a place here, in order to remove ſuch doubts; the words* "moſt humble Servant," *and the Signature, being evidently (upon compariſon with the original letter of Sept. 3d.* 1640, *which occurs above and is authenticated by Windebank's endorſement) in the very remarkable hand-writing of Sir Henry Vane, and the endorſement appearing to be in that of the Lord Juſtice Parſons, of which latter alſo there are ſpecimens in this collection. The author of the above hiſtory, after giving a Copy of the letter, without any material variation, P.* 8. *ſays thus:* "Which was delivered to the Lord Juſtice Parſons, and ſince his Death found in his ſtudy, and "by Sir James Barry, Lord Baron of Santry (a right honourable and worthy perſon) preſented to "his preſent Majeſty, who looked upon it as a precious Jewel, diſcovering his Father's royal "thoughts towards the preſervation of his proteſtant ſubjects and people."

runs,

runs, as if they expected ſome Rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Connaught. Wherefore, his Majeſty thought fit to give your Lordſhips this notice; that in your wiſdoms you might manage the ſame with that dexterity and ſecrecy, as to diſcover and prevent ſo pernicious a deſign, if any ſuch there ſhould be, and to have a watchful eye of the proceedings and actions of thoſe who come there from abroad, on what pretext ſoever. And ſo herewith I reſt *A.D.* 1641.

*Your Lordſhips'*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Whitehall, the 16th March* 1640.

H. VANE.

*An Original, endorſed thus by the Lord Juſtice Parſons*; "Sir. H. Vane of the 16 "March 1640. received the 25 of the "ſame."

*The Lord* MOUNTNORRIS *to the Earl of* STRAFFORD.

*My Lord,*

WITH all humble ſincerity of heart I ſpeak it, I come not to you to diſturb your peace, but to further it. My conſcience witneſſeth with me, as I hope for ſalvation, that, until you took away the Secretary's place from me, I honoured and eſteemed you as my beſt friend, and never wittingly offended you in word or deed, but unboſomed my heart and advice to you, as I would have done to my father, if he had been living. And how fervently I ſought your reconciliation, my ſeveral letters and my poor afflicted wife's, written and directed to yourſelf, may teſtify for me. You brought me into diſgrace cauſeleſsly with my gracious Sovereign; whom I call God to be my witneſs I have ſerved with all poſſible faithfulneſs: and the depriving me of his Majeſty's favour hath been and is more grievous to me than any death can be. You have publickly diſhonoured and diſgraced me by accuſing me of bribery, corruption and oppreſſion, whereof my God knows I am innocent; and for trial thereof I have ſubmitted myſelf to the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny of the Parliament. You have by a high and powerful hand by miſinformation to his Majeſty, ſtripped me of all my offices and employments, and ſo impoveriſhed me in my eſtate, and brought ſo many calamities upon me and my diſtreſſed wife and her ſeven children, who are nearly allied to her that is a ſaint in heaven, and was the mother of your dear children, as have ruined their fortunes, which I hoped would have been advanced by your favourable furtherance. My Lord, I beſeech you pardon me for making this woeful relation, which proceeds from a grieved ſorrowful ſoul with tears from my eyes, not for myſelf, (for I bleſs God my afflictions have weaned me from this world, and my heart is fixed upon a heavenly habitation) but for my poor infants' ſakes, whom I am like by theſe occaſions to leave diſtreſſed, if his Majeſty take not conſideration of them. If your Lordſhip's heart do not tell you you have been too cruel to me and mine, I muſt leave it to the ſearcher of all hearts to be judge betwixt us; but if it do, you may be pleaſed, in diſcharge of a good conſcience, to make ſome ſignification thereof to his Majeſty; and I will not doubt but my God will diſpoſe his Majeſty's heart to take compaſſion of my poor infants, and reward it into the boſom of you and your's accordingly. And, my Lord, I do from my heart forgive you all the wrongs you have done me and mine; and do upon the knees of my heart beſeech my God not to lay

*A.D.* 1641. them to your charge, but to receive your ſoul into his glorious preſence, where all tears ſhall be wiped from your eyes. Amen, amen, ſweet Jeſus! which ſhall be the inceſſant prayer of

*Your Lordſhip's*

*Brother in Chriſt Jeſus,*

FRA. MOUNTNORRIS.

11 *of May* 1641.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

*Mr.* RICHARD BROWNE† *to one of the Secretaries of State.*

LIEUTENANT Colonel Gray and Serjeant Major Wagſtoff, and ſome other Proteſtant officers of the caſhiered Iriſh regiment, being, by the malice of the Iriſh, left out of the liſt, were diſmiſſed without pay or paſſport. But upon my complaint to Monſieur de Noyers they have obtained both, and are haſtening into England as faſt as they can to ſeek condition in his Majeſty's ſervice, and bear arms againſt the Iriſh Rebels. Colonel Pinot himſelf hath accepted of a company in Colonel Colon's regiment. The reſt of the Captains, together with their Lieutenants, Officers, and ſome common men (all Iriſh) are in one body going to St. Malo's, there to embark for Ireland, not ſparing to give out here, that they go to ſtrengthen their countrymen, whom they conceive too weak to make their party good againſt England and Scotland.

I HAVE written to St. Malo's to have a particular account of their manner and time of embarking, and what arms and ammunition they carry with them. If one of his Majeſty's whelps might be ſent to lie off there, I believe he might catch them; beſides the other courſes which his Majeſty may order for the taking of them in the Iriſh ſea, or at their landing.

YESTERDAY, after the arrival of the laſt week's packet out of England, came to my houſe divers French merchants of good note, to ſhew me ſeveral letters they had received from their French factors in London, full of loud complaints againſt the common people of London, and the injuries they had received from them; ſome of them being dragged along the ſtreets to the juſtices of peace, others having had their houſes broken open at midnight, under the pretence of ſearching for arms and gunpowder; and divers other inſolencies they have endured, for no other reaſon but for being Papiſts. I told them they were the acts of the meaner ſort of people, neither commended, nor avowed by any magiſtracy, and that in the diſtemper of theſe times it was ſcarce poſſible to prevent ſuch diſorders. Give me leave to tell your Honour that I find them here very much incenſed, and if ſome ſpeedy courſe be not taken to redreſs the like inſolencies, I have juſt cauſe to fear our Proteſtant Engliſh merchants may run hazard of the like or worſe uſage.

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*Paris,* $\frac{21}{31}$ *Jan.* 1641.

*An Extract, probably by a Clerk to one of the Secretaries.*

* *The Engliſh Miniſter at Paris.*

*Mr.*

*A.D.* 1642.

*Mr.* RICHARD BROWNE *to one of the Secretaries of State.*

YOUR letter by the laſt ordinary, coming yeſterday to my hands, and enjoining me all care and diligence to ſtop the Iriſh from going out of any ports of France; give me leave to tell your Honour, it is a thing I know not well how to effect in this preſent ſtate of affairs, Mons^r. le Prince's authority being reſtrained to Paris, and the Iſle of France. And if I ſhould write to the governours of the particular ports, I aſſure myſelf it would avail nothing; at the leaſt not until they had received order from the King or Mons^r. le Cardinal; for the obtaining whereof much time muſt be allowed. And whether this courſe would ſucceed, or no, I know not; in regard this exportation of arms and ammunition is done ſurreptitiouſly, and not avowed; and it will be hard to hinder them of ſome ſpecious pretexts to effect their ends. Wherefore I hope his Majeſty's ſhips will have the good fortune to intercept them in the Iriſh ſeas. I doubt not but they will have order to ſearch all ſhips that paſs that way. It is unpoſſible for me to give particular account of every bark or ſhip that goes out of every port of France. Of one thing, which ſeems to be of conſequence, I ſhall now acquaint your Honour; that is, an intention to embark ſpeedily two regiments, conſiſting of 4000 men; to which effect they have order to march out of Britany towards Calais. This cauſes much diſcourſe; ſome ſay they are for Portugal, others for Holland, and others either for England or Ireland. I will uſe all the diligence I can to penetrate. I ſpake yeſterday with the Holland Ambaſſador about it; who told me clearly he knew nothing certainly therein. Nevertheleſs upon further agitation of the buſineſs, we found it moſt probable that they might be for Holland, to reinforce Count Guebrian's army, in regard the States have refuſed the 3000 men that were demanded of them; and that it was more likely they ſhould embark at Havre de Grace than at Calais.

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*Paris,* $\frac{11}{21}$ *Feb.* $164\frac{1}{2}$.

*An Original.* *

*Sir* HENRY DE VIC *to the Lord* FALKLAND.

ACCORDING to what I adviſed your Honour in mine of the laſt of February, I cauſed the party to draw a memorial to preſent unto this governour, for leave to go into Ireland. This I did in two reſpects, the one, to make a full trial of their purpoſes here to favour the Iriſh Rebels; the other, to take away all ſuſpicion from O Neile and Plunket, that what was profeſſed by that party touching his intention of going into Ireland, was not feigned, but real. To this purpoſe I adviſed him, before he delivered his memorial, to acquaint O Neile, or Plunket, or both with it, and demand their advice therein; which he did accordingly to the laſt, who diſcounſeled him from preſenting it, ſwearing a deep oath unto him, it would do him more hurt than good, for that this governour had been ſufficiently tried in that point, and had refuſed, with reproof, all thoſe that had addreſſed themſelves to him in it, ſaying, that the King his maſter had already

* *This Miniſter has not ſigned any of his Letters; neither has Sir Henry de Vic, ſome of whoſe follow.*

*A.D.*1642. enemies enough, without making any new ones. This communication of the foreſaid memorial to Plunket hath wrought this further effect, that Plunket ſhewed him in confidence a letter newly come to him from a correſpondent of his at Dunkirk, to acquaint him, there was a ſmall ſhip there he might buy, and another of about 4 tons which he thought might be hired to carry him into Ireland. Plunket was yet ſo wary as to hide, as much as he could, the name of his correſpondent at Dunkirk: Howſoever, the party eſpied it, and told it me. Whereupon I have written to Dunkirk, that an eye may be had upon that man's actions. The ſame party I employ was likewiſe this day with O Neile; and having ſhewed him his memorial, and aſked his advice upon it, received the ſame anſwer from him which Plunket had given him, but could draw nothing elſe from him, neither in point of advice nor encouragement, to go into Ireland. Only, he aſſured the party, that, as ſoon as he knew of any good opportunity for him to go thither, [*that*] he would advertiſe him of it; but abſolutely diſcounſeled him from preſenting his ſaid memorial, as a thing by the doing of which he might prejudice himſelf, but get no advantage. One Spaniſh proverb he uſed (for they ſpake together in that tongue) which may afford matter alſo of obſervation, and that was, *Con Tiempo ſe maduran las niſpolas*, *In time medlars grow ripe.*

YOUR Honour's of the 19th of the laſt overtook me at this part of my letter; wherein having received his Majeſty's expreſs order to uſe my beſt means for the ſtay of the two veſſels which the Parliament had notice were laden at Dunkirk with arms and ammunition for Ireland, I purpoſe to lay all other aſide to attend that buſineſs; for which I am now going to draw a remonſtrance, with purpoſe to preſent it unto this governour before night, if I can procure to have audience of him: If not, I am confident, I ſhall ſome time to-morrow.

I PRAY your Lordſhip that this and the others, wherein particular perſons are concerned, may be kept ſecret, for mine own ſake, their's, and his Majeſty's ſervice.

*Bruſſels, 6 March* 1642.

## *Mr.* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.*

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THOUGH I do not hear that any great objection can be made to your Majeſty's laſt meſſage, yet they ſay there were quick and ſharp anſwers fell from your Majeſty in the conference, which have begot notable doubts in them of your intentions, ſo that (eſpecially if theſe are reported to-morrow) we muſt expect a warm day. Since there was nothing ſaid in your anſwer at Newmarket concerning Ireland (which your Majeſty knows to be the envious argument, in which you muſt never appear leſs zealous) your Majeſty may pleaſe to reform this incloſed, and deſpatch it from Huntingdon to my Lord Keeper; that they may have publick notice of your journey to York. The latter part of it is, to my underſtanding, the beſt way of ſatisfying your Majeſty's end of a proclamation, which will be very hard at this time, if not impoſſible, to paſs, and may hereafter, if there

* *This is without a date; but it was evidently ſent between March 9th and 15th* 164½. *For the anſwer at Newmarket was given on the former, and the meſſage from Huntingdon, (which was in conſequence of this letter) was ſent on the latter of thoſe days.*

ſhould

ſhould be neceſſity (as I hope there will not) be ſet forth with more advantage to your Majeſty than now. Men's diſcourſes here are full of your Majeſty's deſigns of immediate force, of a retreat into Scotland, of the diviſions there, to none of which your ſervants give the leaſt credit; aſſuring themſelves that, however your affairs and conveniences have invited you to York, [*that*] you intend to ſit as quietly there as if you were at Whitehall. For your Majeſty well knows that your greateſt ſtrength is in the hearts and affections of thoſe perſons who have been the ſevereſt aſſertors of the publick liberties, and ſo beſides their duty and loyalty to your perſon, are in love with your inclinations to peace and juſtice, and value their own intereſts upon the preſervation of your rights. Theſe your Majeſty will not loſe by any act which may beget juſt fears in them; neither can there be ſo cunning a way found out to aſſiſt thoſe who wiſh not well to your Majeſty, (if any ſuch there be) as by giving the leaſt hint to your people that you rely upon any thing but the ſtrength of your laws, and their obedience. *A.D.* 1642.

YOUR Majeſty will pardon me that, in theſe publick dangers, I can have ſo particular a care of myſelf, as to remember your Majeſty to burn theſe papers, and to vouchſafe me to tranſcribe any thing with your own royal hand out of them that you think fit for your ſervice, without communicating it to any other eye.

GOD always aſſiſt your Majeſty!

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed,*
"Mine to the King to Newmarket."

## *Sir* HENRY DE VIC *to the Lord* FALKLAND.

I HOPE by this time the expreſs I deſpatched to Dunkirk with this governour's letters unto Gavarelli, will have been with you, and given your Honour an account both of what was done there in conſequence of them, and in what ſtate he found all things in that port, which might have reference to his Majeſty's ſervice.

CONCERNING the printer that did publiſh here the pretended Iriſh Manifeſt, I ſpake firſt unto theſe Miniſters, and then to the Governour himſelf, of the little ſatisfaction I was like to receive therein from the Privy Council. I am promiſed by both, they will ſee I ſhall have juſtice done, and the ſaid printer puniſhed according to his demerits. This the Governour aſſured me of in the audience I had of him upon Wedneſday noon; at which time alſo, taking leave of him, and wiſhing his journey proſperous, he told me that he had left ſpecial order with ſuch officers of the ſecretaryſhip as ſtayed behind, to deſpatch an expreſs unto him, upon any occaſion of buſineſs I ſhould have with him, wherein his Majeſty was concerned.

I AM told from a good hand, which hath it from the Iriſh themſelves, that this Governour (in conformity to what he profeſſed of his intentions for the punctual obſervation on his part of the treaties between the two crowns) hath ſent Don Diego de la Torze to O Neile, to forbid him going into Ireland: Which the Iriſh take here extremely to heart, and give out that the Spaniards are more their enemies, than the Engliſh.

*Bruſſels, this 22d March* 1642.

*An Original.*

*A.D.*1642.

*Mr.* RICHARD BROWNE *to one of the Secretaries of State.*

*Right Honourable,*

UPON receipt of letters of 22d current from St. Malo's, giving me notice that there were divers Iriſhmen about that town, waiting the opportunity of ſome paſſage into Ireland; I reſolved with myſelf to go and ſpeak with Monsr. le Prince, to ſee if poſſibly there might be ſome courſe taken, to prevent the further tranſportation of men or ammunition into Ireland. I told Monsr. le Prince what had formerly paſſed from ſeveral ports in Britany, and from Rochel; that his Majeſty had taken notice of it, and at ſeveral times given me expreſs order to uſe the beſt means I could to hinder any ſupply might poſſibly be ſent from hence to thoſe in Ireland, whom his Majeſty had ſo often and ſo publickly declared to be in open rebellion againſt him. Monsr. le Prince did avow that divers officers of a caſhiered regiment, and ſome commanders who had the King's leave and paſs were indeed gone; but that more than they were gone, he had not taken any notice. I told him, it was much wondered at, that in a time when they ſeem to have ſo much uſe of ſoldiers, they would caſhier a regiment, and ſuffer ſo many officers to go out of France; to which his Highneſs could make me no ſatisfactory anſwer. But falling into ſome particular diſcourſe of the ſtate of our Engliſh affairs, of the Parliament-proceedings, of the Papiſts' hard uſage, and of her Majeſty's journey into Holland, wherein he ſpent no ſmall time; at laſt he concluded with great expreſſions of affection to his Majeſty, aſſuring me that nothing ſhould lie in his way, wherein he would not uſe his beſt endeavours to fulfil his Majeſty's deſires: And therefore wiſhed me to ſpeak with Monsr. le Chancellier and Monsr. Bouthillier; who being, as he ſaid, joined with him in Commiſſion, he could do nothing without them: But that after I had ſpoken with them, if I would come to him again, he would ſee what order might be taken in this buſineſs.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

So praying, &c.

*Paris,* $\frac{11}{21}$ *March* 164$\frac{1}{2}$.

*An Original.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lord Keeper.*

C. R.

RIGHT truſty, and well-beloved Counſellor, we greet you well. We have ſigned a Commiſſion for giving our Royal aſſent for paſſing the bill for raiſing £ 400, 000. for the neceſſary defence of our Kingdom of Ireland. As for the bill ſent unto us, entitled, An Act for the clearing and vindicating of the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, and the reſt; albeit we are well pleaſed to paſs an act for the clearing of them all according to our gracious promiſe, yet we are not by that promiſe, nor otherwiſe, obliged to lay any imputation on ourſelf, or to clear them in words that may reflect upon our honour. Wherefore, our command is, that you make known to our Parliament, that, if they ſhall paſs a bill for the freeing and clearing the Lord Kimbolton and the reſt, in ſuch words and terms as may be ſtrong for them, and yet not reflect upon us, we will readily give our Royal Aſſent thereunto. Given at our Court at York the 21ſt of March 1641.

*A Copy; endorſed by Sec. Nicholas.*

*The*

A.D. 1642.

*The Lord* FALKLAND *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Sweetheart,*

THE Lords ſent to us to day to deſire that we would make haſte to proceed with the charges of my Lord of Canterbury and the other delinquents accuſed before them. Among the reſt the judges were named, in particular judge Berkly. And Mr. Peard then named you, as having been in that chair, and ſo fitteſt to attend that buſineſs, both to inform us and be employed by us. He added that he doubted not but you were very perfect in it: For though you were ſometimes at a Committee in the mornings, yet the afternoons he ſuppoſed you ſpent about that, becauſe you were never in the Houſe. To this I replied, that in the charge againſt judge Berkly (which was to precede the reſt, becauſe he ſtands committed and none of the reſt, and the Lords had once ſet him a day for his trial, and we had deferred it,) you were not engaged by the Houſe, but reſerved for thoſe judges whoſe charge you had yourſelf carried up. I told them, that you had this good while great inclinations to the ſtone, ſo that if you ſat above an hour or two at a time, it put you to much pain; which had made you attend the Houſe ſo ſeldom, and yet allowed you to be at a Committee ſometimes, which ſits but a little at a time; and which had carried you now for a turn into the country, to try how air and riding would mend you. Mr. Hunt replied, that having been in that chair, you would be neceſſary as well to judge Berkly's buſineſs as to that of the Chequer judges; and Mr. Morley fell again upon you for not waiting upon the Houſe and yet attending the Dover Committee ſo duly; and ſaid the Houſe was not to take notice of any man's being out of the town, who had not leave to go, and ſo moved (which was ordered accordingly) that the Houſe ſhould order you to attend to-morrow morning. I thought fit to let you know it, that you may riſe at three of the clock to-morrow, and be here time enough, if you pleaſe. You know I never take upon me to counſel; nor will add any more, than that I am,

*Sweetheart, your moſt affectionate*

*humble Servant,*

*March 23d.*

FALKLAND.

THE Houſe ſits very early in the morning to-morrow, and no more in the afternoon.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

*Mr.* WILLIAM AYLESBURY *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Brother,*

I DARE hardly write to you, becauſe I know not whether you dare receive a letter from Rome. But if the liberty of a traveller may be allowed me to viſit this place, I hope it will be thought no fault in you to correſpond with one ſo nearly allied to you, whereſoever he be. And therefore I not only venture to preſent my ſervice to you and my deareſt ſiſter, but to deſire you to ſpare ſo much time from your buſineſs, as to let me hear from you. We have news here weekly from England; but whether

*A.D.*1642. truly related, or no, I know not; and therefore would be exceeding glad to have a ſhort relation from you how things ſtand now at home and in Ireland; where, notwithſtanding the great rebellion talked of, I hope to end my travels. The laſt week we came from Naples; where we met with an Engliſh Franciſcan Friar, called Father Morton; who uſed us exceeding civilly, and has a great mind to go into England to accuſe Secretary Windebank of greater matters than the Parliament ever laid to his charge. I aſſure you, the diſcourſe he makes of him is very good ſport; and in theſe ſad times I could wiſh you had him amongſt you to make you merry. At Rome there are graver Gentlemen; but I underſtand nothing of them but their civility, which is as much as can be imagined. Indeed from the higheſt to the loweſt they are all ſo. The other day we were with the Cardinal Franceſco Barberino, the Pope's Nephew, and had a long audience of him, but not a word of England, though I ſought all I could to put him into that diſcourſe, of which he is very well informed, and at other times liberal enough. For Sir Walter Pye having been with him ſome days before, all his diſcourſe was to perſuade him that the troubles of England and Ireland have never been fomented by any of the Pope's Miniſters; and that they all wiſhed the flouriſhing eſtate of our country. Beſides, he made particular mention to him of Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Hollis, Lord Kimbolton, and ſome others. I am now ſettled; and ſhall be able to entertain you weekly with news, if you dare receive it. I pray preſent my humble ſervice to my Lord of Falkland, who I hear has been [*made*] Secretary. In what condition ſoever, if where I am he can find any commands to lay upon me, I ſhall ſerve him moſt faithfully; and ever remain,

*Your moſt humble Servant,*

*and affectionate Brother,*

*Rome, March 29th.* 1642.

W. AYLESBURY.

*An Original.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to the Lord* FALKLAND.

*My Lord,*

HIS Majeſty, much bewailing the loſs of Sir Simon Harcourt, lately ſlain in his ſervice in Ireland, and being deſirous that his poſterity ſhould hereafter find what a value his Majeſty did ſet on his perſon and ſervices, hath commanded me to ſignify his pleaſure to your Lordſhip, That you forthwith in his Majeſty's name acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that he is graciouſly pleaſed, as well in memory of the acceptable ſervices done by Sir Simon Harcourt againſt the Rebels in Ireland, as for the encouragement of others to deſerve well in that employment and ſervice, to confer the lands belonging to the perſon before whoſe caſtle he was ſlain, upon Sir Simon Harcourt's widow and children, in ſuch manner as the Parliament ſhall conceive to be moſt for the Honour of Sir Simon Harcourt's memory, and the good of his poſterity. Which being all I have at preſent in command from his Majeſty to your Lordſhip, I reſt

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

EDW. NICHOLAS.

*York,* 10 *April* 1641.

*An Original.*

*A.D.*1642.

*The Earl of* ORMONDE *to Sir* ROBERT POYNTZ.

*Sir*,

IN a late encounter * I had with the Rebels, it pleaſed God to give me the victory, the greateſt we have yet had. I loſt not above 60 men, and ſlew of them about 700. They were at leaſt 6000, and I not above 2400 foot, and ſome 400 horſe. Our horſe led on by Sir Thomas Lucas, a gallant man, firſt broke them. On their part were moſt of the conſiderable men that are of my kindred here; ſo that I truſt God hath bleſt me with this occaſion to take from all men the means to traduce me. I make no doubt but you have heard of this before; but ſo many falſe reports go from hence, that ſtayed men give no credit to the tythe of them. This I write is in brief the tenth. We have, beyond any thing that could be expected, preſerved ourſelves 'till now, and leſſened the enemy much in reputation, but little in ſtrength; their numbers being to them burthenſome, and occaſion of confuſion. If they get arms, ammunition and order, the war may laſt longer than any man alive. Nor let men deceive themſelves with an opinion that the people are cowardly; for it is the want of theſe forenamed things that makes them ſeem ſo. If we were largely and ſpeedily provided, that we might go roundly on this ſummer, we might perhaps bring them to that low condition, that it would be hard for them ever to raiſe themſelves to a conſiderable head again. But if on the one part the ſupplies come ſparingly, and on the other ſide the Rebels be put into order, and univerſal deſpair of pardon, all that we have yet done will but teach them how to deal with us. I know not what reaſons other men may have to deſire the continuance of this war; but for me, I had rather truſt to my rents than entertainments. God ſend an end to the diſtractions there! otherwiſe, we are never like to ſee an end of our's here. I reſt

*Your affectionate*

*Nephew and Servant*,

*Dublin*, 15*th May* 1642.

ORMONDE OSSORY.

*Copia vera.*
William Kidley.

*Sir* HENRY DE VIC *to the Lord* FALKLAND.

*Right Honourable*,

* * * \

*A.D.*1642. jealouſy that he doth continue in his former purpoſe to go into Ireland, which hath made me write to the Governour of Dunkirk to ſtay him, if he ſhall repair to that port for his tranſportation. Upon a more exact inquiry of his perſon, (I mean, of ô Neile's,) I am informed that he is not bald, only hath ſomething a high forehead, and wears his hair longer than ordinary. The reſt agrees with the deſcription I have already ſent of him to your Honour.

*Bruſſels, this* $\frac{31}{21}$ *of May* 1642.

*An Original.*

## *The Lord* PAGET *to the Honourable Houſe of Parliament.* *

IT may ſeem ſtrange that I, who with all zeal and earneſtneſs have proſecuted ever ſince the beginning of this Parliament the Reformation of the diſorders in Church and Commonwealth, ſhould now, in a time of ſo great diſtraction, deſert the cauſe. Moſt true it is, that my ends were the common good, and that [*as long as*] it was proſecuted, I was ready to lay down my life and fortune. But when I found a preparation of arms againſt the King under the ſhadow of loyalty, I rather reſolved to obey a good conſcience than particular ends; and now am in my way to his Majeſty, where I will throw myſelf down at his feet, and will die a loving ſubject.

*June* 17. 1642.

*A Copy. It ſeems to be in the hand of Mr. Walker, afterwards Sir Edward.*

## *The Lord* HERBERT *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Mr. Hyde,*

THIS morning I received your letter, and in it ſuch aſſurances of your affection, that the ſatisfaction I receive thereby is greater than theſe lines can manifeſt to you. And though in point of time and opportunity you have advanced me, by which I remain your debtor, my returns upon all occaſions ſhall prove equivalent to other men's obligations. Upon the reading of your letter I went immediately to my Father, who prevented me by communicating your letter to me; the which himſelf he intended to have anſwered, but the ſtraitneſs of the time would not permit him. Inſtead of which he commanded me to give you a very hearty thanks for the love you bear him, and care you have of him; and to let you know that as ſoon as he returns from Hatfield, (for thither he goes this morning,) he will write unto you himſelf. As for the buſineſs concerning Dr. Clayton, he told me that he wonders how any ſuch falſe information ſhould be given to his Majeſty, he having never entertained the leaſt thought of preferring him to that place. But I told him that I apprehended that his Majeſty did expect my Lord Say to prevail ſo far by the intereſt which he had with him (for the better propagation of thoſe tenets wherein he differs from him) to have excluded all Divines from the execution of that authority. And if herein I have injured his Majeſty, I humbly beg his pardon, which I hope

* *This is the Superſcription; and the letter is ſaid to have been ſent while he was on his journey to York, together with the declaration of the Lords there to ſupport his Majeſty's right againſt the new ordinance of the Militia.* *See* Hiſt. Rebell. B. 5.

I ſhall

I ſhall obtain, in regard I intended ſo well. But he told me, that whatſo- *A.D.* 1642.
ever my Lord Say aimed at, [that] himſelf aimed at nothing but the ſervice and peculiar ſatisfaction of the King: And commanded me to aſſure you that, though he had pitched upon Sir Nathaniel Brent, (not without ſome particular engagements) yet ſeeing he doth now underſtand his Majeſty's inclination, he will abſolutely diſengage himſelf from the former, and prefer either Mansfield or Fell, and give the King juſt reaſon to be well pleaſed with his election in this particular, and with all his proceedings in general. To which effect he hath written a letter to his Majeſty, and appointed me to ſend it to my Brother William, that he might deliver it; which I adviſed him to do, that his Majeſty might perceive his being there was not diſpleaſing to him. He told me, he deſired no man but yourſelf ſhould know of it, and that you would be preſent at the reading and delivery of it, and likewiſe, if it be poſſible, keep it ſecret, leſt mad men and fools ſhould talk too much of it, and ſome over-officious perſon take upon him the procuring of that which flowed naturally from his own inclination. If my coming may be diſpenſed withal, I am ſure that in all things that concern my Father I am better able to ſerve his Majeſty at this preſent, than any other perſon that is about him; having by my application to him wrought a very eaſy paſſage for the entertainment of all reaſonable deſigns. Pray let him hear from you, who will ever remain, and deſerve the name of, Sir,

*Your faithful and affectionate Servant,*

*June* 25. 1642. P. HERBERT.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

## *The Earl of* PEMBROKE *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Maſter Hyde,*

I HAD anſwered your letter before this, if I had not gone out of the town the day I received it; but now I cannot but let you know, that of late I have been very unfortunate in thoſe relations which have been made to his Majeſty concerning me, and eſpecially in this buſineſs of my Vice-Chancellor. For I proteſt to God I did never ſo much as think of that man; but truly I muſt let you know, I did intimate ſomewhat of it to Sir Nathaniel Brent concerning the place. But finding that his Majeſty is pleaſed to nominate two for it, I ſhall not fail to put one of them in it. And I hope time and my dutiful actions, with the help of my good friends, may one day make me ſo happy as to be reſtored to his Majeſty's good opinion of me; but, howſoever, it ſhall work nothing in me but my heartieſt prayers for him. Well; I may err in my judgment, but truly nothing in this world ſhall ever make me fail in my duty to my King. I muſt not forget to give you thanks for your faithful friendſhip to me: And although you and I have heretofore differed in our ways, yet I doubt not but at the laſt we ſhall both meet in one, and that, I dare boldly ſay, it ſhall be in duty and zeal to our gracious King, to whom I will ever live and die a faithful ſervant; and reſt

*Your moſt aſſured Friend,*

*The Cockpit, this 30th of June,* 1642. PEMBROKE *and* MONT.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

*A.D.* 1642.

*The Lord* HERBERT *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Mr. Hyde,*

I RECEIVED your letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt, where I find much more honour conferred upon me by his Majeſty, than my condition of weakneſs and indiſpoſition will permit me at this time to merit. For pure neceſſity compels me (together with Mayarn's directions) to drink the waters at Tunbridge for a month, there being no other cure for the appendix of my diſeaſe. Sir, ſcruple of honour is the ſole impediment that detains my Father from waiting upon his Majeſty, and not any inclination either to their deſigns or proceedings; which he will manifeſt to the world by retiring on Monday next into the country. And I am moſt confident, if he be well plied there by ſome diſcreet perſon, authoriſed by his Majeſty, he will be both bold and active in giving publick aſſurances of his faith and loyalty to his ſervice. And I do with confidence aſſure you, if the King in perſon come into thoſe parts, he may eaſily make my Father an inſtrument of his own heart. This I write, becauſe I know he intends not to return any more to London. And he bid me tell you, if the King would declare unto him by any body the depth of his deſires, he would undertake they ſhould be granted, or elſe he would forſake the Parliament. And for the former demands of the Houſes, he did in particular to me inveigh againſt them, as things diſhonourable to the King's dignity to condeſcend unto. In ſhort, he will do any thing but come abruptly to the King. Therefore, pray find out ſome way for him to make good his profeſſions; and let me ſpeedily have ſome anſwer of this; for my Father expects you ſhould impart this to the King, and ſend me word what impreſſion it makes. We hear the King intends to come into Wiltſhire; if he doth, my Father will wait on him, and I am certain, if his ſervice may be acceptable, never part from him, 'till he ſee him placed in his throne of dignity. My Lord of Powys is gone this day into Wales; by whom I have written as effectually as I can to thoſe which have relation to me; and ſhall think myſelf moſt happy, if they may further his Majeſty's ſervice. Reſerve the commiſſion of array, if you can, and let it not be diſpoſed of. For I am confident, if a prudent perſon be ſent with it after my Father hath been awhile in the country, he himſelf will execute it. I am the unfortunateſt man in the world not to be able to appear in this ſervice. Pray let me be rightly underſtood by his Majeſty, and preſerved in your eſteem; for I ſhall ever appear

*Your hearty and humble Servant,*

*London, Auguſt 4th.* 1642.

P. HERBERT.

DIRECT, I beſeech you, your letters to me ſtill to Markham; and aſſure yourſelf theſe are but general profeſſions of my Father's. The opportunity, in regard of his will and the place he is in will extend them into particular demonſtrations. I have got £ 500. If I could tell how, I would ſend it to his Majeſty. I cannot for my life turn it into gold.

*An Original.*

*Mr.*

*A.D.* 1642.

*Mr.* BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Sir,*

THOUGH it be my misfortune (I am confident without juſt cauſe) to be in disfavour, and notwithſtanding my diſtance from you at this time; yet I take the boldneſs to preſent, with my ſervice, a few lines to you, concerning a near friend of mine, Mr. Bulſtrode of the Inner Temple, my Uncle; who is deſirous to ſucceed Mr. Platt in the place of Judge of one of the circuits of South Wales. And Mr. Platt being very infirm, and unable to travel, but willing to pleaſure my Uncle, is ready to reſign his place, if my Uncle may be his ſucceſſor. I confeſs, I doubt it will prove very unſeaſonable to trouble you, or any other friend, about this buſineſs at this time: But importunity hath prevailed with me to acquaint you with it. And if any thing might be done by my Lord Keeper, or any other way, to effect this, it would be a very great favour to my friend and to me. If you will be pleaſed to direct a few words to be left at the Paltzgrave's Head, a tavern near Temple-Bar, it will be ſent unto me into the country, from whence I am newly come hither; and finding the buſineſs here ſuch as I have no ſkill in, I am returning home; and ſhall ever remain

*Your moſt affectionate Friend*
*to ſerve you*

*Temple, Aug.* 4. 1642.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Hyde.*

*The Lord* HERBERT *to Mr.* HYDE.

*Mr. Hyde,*

I HAVE ſince my laſt had a diſcourſe with my Father, where his directions to me are better digeſted into particulars; whereby you may likewiſe better diſcern the manner whereby he would expreſs his fervent zeal to the King's ſervice. He ſays that he himſelf, together with the intereſt which by his power he hath in ſome other well-affected Lords, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to propoſe ſuch propoſitions as might aſſure them the preſervation of parliaments, laws, liberties, and religion, that then he would declare himſelf, in caſe his Majeſty were not reſtored to all his rights and prerogatives, an enemy to all the oppoſers of it. This he commanded me to aſſure you again, and to deſire you, my Lord Falkland, and Sir John Culpeper, would find ſome way to give a publick ſecurity of the King's intentions; whereby he might manifeſt himſelf in a more peculiar manner in the King's ſervice. Pray, neglect not to ſend ſuch an anſwer to this, that my Father may be confirmed of the King's reality and truth; for it will come to him very opportunely to Ramsbury. And beſides the expreſs which I would have you ſend unto him there, pray let me receive an anſwer of this, that I may ſhew it him. My Father has a great inclination to make Pinke Vice-Chancellor, if the King do approve of it; if not, I beſeech you let him recommend any but Fell. They are here very much diſturbed at the conſtancy of Goring's unconſtancy; and yet it is ſome conſolation to them, when they think he will make good his character to the laſt. They begin to own great apprehen-

*A.D.* 1642. sions. The sea will have spies upon it to land the Queen at London, rather than Portsmouth, whither the Parliament have sent field-pieces and pieces of artillery, and likewise order to my Lord Warwick to block it up by sea. My Lord Bedford is going into Somersetshire with seven troops of horse. And if the King come to Portsmouth, they say they will meet him with their army. I have acquainted you with what I hear, though I believe from a better hand you receive better intelligence. Pray, let my Brother William know that out of my own money I have sent him fifty pounds by Mr. Rotterel, and that as soon as I can receive what is due to him from my Father, he shall receive it. I am going to Tunbridge; and if you write, Markham will convey your letter. If I were able to go so far as Monmouthshire myself, I know I could serve the King there better than by my letters, though I hope they will not be unuseful to his service. I am, while I live,

*Your faithful and humble Servant,*

*London, Aug. 5th.*

P. HERBERT.

*An Original.*

*The Lord* HERBERT *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Mr. Hyde,*

PERHAPS the continual progress you are in by your attendance upon his Majesty, is the reason that my letter in answer to your's never came to your hands; for so I find by that which you writ to Markham. But let me confirm you how tender I am, and will ever be, in breaking such a correspondence; besides the tie of your affection, by which I am obliged to give you a particular account of all that concerns me. And as for myself, I protest before God, I had long before this been waiting upon his Majesty, had my health permitted me. Therefore I hope so unfeigned an excuse shall not any ways blemish my integrity to his prosperity. And I hope you will not suffer my not coming to be imputed either to policy or conversion. My Father told me, he liked the King's demands, but that it was impossible to make the Houses do so: Which makes me hope he will speedily come to the King. I cannot assure you of it; but I will endeavour it with my soul. If there be a means to preserve him without coming, you must be the man. And I assure you, if the love he bears you could more oblige you than your affection to him and the family, though you had an aversion to him, it would work much upon you. Pray, let me not suffer because I am not able to come; it were a hard case if I should. I assure you, I will be with you as soon as I can, without danger of keeping my chamber when I come. Remember me to my Brother William, and pray tell him Pointdexter is out of danger. They go on here with levying of men and horse; unto which my Father doth not contribute a horse. They are going to make a declaration why they cannot condescend to the King's demands. I beseech you, believe I will remain 'till death

*Your faithful Friend*

*and humble Servant,*

*An Original, without a Date.*

P. HERBERT.

*The*

*A.D.* 1643.

*The Lord* HERBERT *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Mr. Hyde,*

GIVE me leave, I beſeech you, to put you in my mind, that the obligations you have formerly conferred on me ſhall live perpetually in my memory, until I am able to make you a return anſwerable to my affection and reſentment. In the mean while, let my debts be increaſed by protecting, which ſhall be only for a very few days. For my Father is now ſettling his eſtate upon me, and ratifying the articles of marriage, which is not yet done, but will be very ſuddenly. By which means I ſhall bring a fortune as well as a life to lay at the King's feet. I hope you will not let the affection which you have ever born my Father periſh at this time; nor let his paſſion provoke you ſo far as in juſtice and reaſon you might reſent it. For it muſt now have an ill influence upon the whole family, and more particularly upon him, who will ever declare himſelf, Sir,

*Your faithful and humble Servant,*

*An Original, without a Date.*

P. HERBERT.

*The Meſſage* which the Lords would have ſent to the King, if the Commons would have joined, and the City ſuffered.*

THE preamble takes notice of a proteſtation in print lately taken by the King when he received the communion, with much comfort that thereby he expreſſes a reſolution not to introduce Popery, and to maintain the Proteſtant Religion; laments the miſeries of theſe times, whereby they have been hindered from giving any anſwer to the King's meſſage of the 12th of April, that they now do it to prevent making England a field of blood as Ireland is.

THE Anſwer:

1. THEY will give the King an account of thoſe monies of his they have received; the greateſt part of which hath been laid out for his children according to his own eſtabliſhment. What remains ſhall be paid him; and he ſhall receive all his revenues hereafter. His caſtles, forts and navy to be put into ſuch hands as ſhall protect his Majeſty and his people, according to their deſire in their third article.
2. FOR the reſtitution of ſuch members who have been turned out for adhering to his Majeſty, they will give his Majeſty all poſſible ſatisfaction with regard to the Privileges of Parliament according to the late Proteſtation.
3. FOR adjourning the Parliament to another place, theſe cities having been ever loyal to his Majeſty and his predeceſſors, as in their late Petition they have expreſſed, the Houſes will give his Majeſty what ſatisfaction he ſhall deſire to confirm that belief in him.

* *For the meſſage of April 12th 1643. to which this was intended as an anſwer, ſee* Hiſt. Reb. B. 7.

*A.D.* 1643.

THEIR Petition:

1. THAT all armies may be disbanded which have been lately raiſed; and in order to that, a ceſſation of arms.
2. THAT Religion and Church-government may be eſtabliſhed according to the deſire of both Houſes, by the advice of ſuch an aſſembly of Divines as his Majeſty ſhall approve of.
3. THAT his caſtles, forts, and navy may be put into ſuch hands as may protect the King and his people, and the Militia ſo ſettled by Act of Parliament.
4. THAT Recuſants may be tried by law, and laws made for the ſuppreſſion of Popery.
5. THAT all Delinquents which were proſecuted by the Houſe of Commons before the 1ſt of January 1641. may be tried by Parliament.
6. A general pardon and act of oblivion.

IF any thing herein be doubtful, that his Majeſty will appoint whom he ſhall think fit to treat with a Committee of both Houſes to ſettle theſe differences.

*In the ſame hand with that of Lord Paget's Letter, a little above.*

## *The* PRINCE ELECTOR *to Mr.* JOHN PYM.

*Sir,*

BEING informed by my ſervants, how much your good offices have of late augmented my former obligations for the affection you bear towards my affairs, I cannot omit to give you this teſtimony of my thankful ſenſe of it; which is the only [*one*] my preſent condition ſuffers me to diſpoſe of, until its amendment may furniſh me with opportunity and power to ſhew it more effectually. And as I am ſorry that my ill fortune makes me continue burthenſome to the State of England in its preſent neceſſities, ſo it would be an infinite ſatisfaction to me, if I might deſerve and ſupply its bounty towards me by ſome effectual endeavours for its aſſured proſperity; which to obtain, I doubt not but you will conſtantly make uſe of your beſt parts and induſtry; wherein I deſire you to let me ſtill have a ſhare, ſo far as may contribute to the re-ſettlement of the Proteſtant Cauſe, and my juſt intereſts which depend of it. And I ſhall ever ſtudy the means how to procure myſelf really

*Your moſt affectionate*

*Hague, the* 11 *of June* 1643. *and obliged Friend.*

*A Copy.*

## *The Earl of* STAMFORD *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, my moſt gracious Sovereign,*

ACCEPT, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty, theſe few lines from your poor beleaguered ſubject now incloſed by the fortune of war within the walls of Exeter; which place, I proteſt before the living God, I only keep for your Majeſty, and for the preſervation of the peace of this whole Kingdom, as intruſted by your Majeſty's high Court of Parliament. That is my unfeigned intention, as I ſhall anſwer it at the dreadful day of judgment. And I am confident that, were not your ſacred ears charmed with

the

the voices of thoſe old ſerpents, whoſe intentions and purpoſes are only de- *A.D.1643.*
ſtruction to your Majeſty and theſe your poor diſtreſſed Kingdoms, as in former times they did with their concerts to your dear Father of bleſſed memory, by their ſubtle, damnable and jeſuitical practices, to the overthrow of Germany. I mean, Sire, the Earl of Briſtol, and the now Archbiſhop of York, with the reſt of their cabal, who heretofore were ſo loathſome to your Majeſty's preſence, as a dog's vomit. I have obſerved, Sire, that ſince their return to your Majeſty's favour, nothing hath been wrought but diſcomforts to your Majeſty, ruin and deſolation to your people; which, upon my ſoul, is their only deſign. Sire, I took the boldneſs to beſeech your Majeſty to look about you, in the infancy of theſe unhappy proceedings, that it was not then too late to keep the axe from the root. What miſeries, maſſacres and deſolations have happened ſince that time, your Majeſty's own eyes have been witneſs in too great a meaſure. As for mine own particular, thoſe that ſtile themſelves my greateſt enemies, I am confident, cannot but report unto your Majeſty, how I have comported myſelf ſince I came into this employment; how much of the blood of your ſubjects I have prevented to be ſhed, when I had the opportunity to have purſued my victories; how many brave houſes and counties I have ſecured and preſerved from plunder and deſtruction; how many families of all degrees have ſlept quietly and without diſturbance. I truſt in God, theſe are motives to aſſure your Majeſty, that I endeavoured nothing more than the ſecurity and tranquillity of your people, the preſervation of your laws, and the liberty of your ſubjects; all which I hope ſhall make ſuch an impreſſion of belief in your Majeſty, that I ſhall do nothing in this employment but what ſhall be done to the honour of God and as a true and loyal ſubject to your Majeſty. As for theſe forementioned perſons, give me leave, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to remember an Italian proverb; and I ſhall beſeech your Majeſty to make uſe of it; for it was the ſaying of your Majeſty's true and loyal ſervant, and my moſt dear Father, the Earl of Exeter, now with God, that *Gazzone tornato non feu Maie bono*. And I am confident upon my ſalvation, (for I am not in a condition at this preſent to tell dreams or to make fictions, for I am every hour of the day and night expoſed to the hazard of my life, more than uſual when this poor Kingdom enjoyed the bleſſing of peace;) ſo that now, Sire, you may credit me as I expreſs it. Tear your heart, Sire, from the counſels of theſe caterpillars; and yet there is time enough, by the bleſſing of God, to make yourſelf a happy and a glorious Prince, your diſtreſſed miſerable people comfortable in their own poſſeſſions, and your poſterity bleſſed to eternity. And ſo I beſeech the Lord of Heaven to protect and guide your Majeſty to be directed by the light of your Majeſty's beſt council, the Parliament, and to truſt them. And if they fail your Majeſty to give you good and wholeſome advice, let ſuch periſh with their poſterities. And ſo I beſeech the Lord of Heaven to give you and your people the bleſſing of peace.

*Sire,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt loyal*

*and obedient Subject,*

*Exeter, this 4th of Auguſt,* 1643.

STAMFORD.

*An Original.*

*A.D.*1643.

*An Abſtract, or the frame or heads of a Grant and Conveyance made by his Majeſty for the ſecuring of the payment and diſcharge of divers debts and ſums of Money lent, and which hereafter ſhall be lent to his Majeſty, or ſecured, or which hereafter ſhall be ſecured for his Majeſty's uſe and ſervice.*

THAT his Majeſty by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, and under the Seal of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, do grant unto the Lord Dunſmore, Lord Capel, Mr. Richard Spencer, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, Sir William Walter, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Sir Thomas Fanſhaw and Sir Edward Alford, their heirs and aſſigns, the new Foreſt in Com. Southton. and the Park adjoining to it, the Foreſt of Sherwood and Park of Beſkwood in Com. Nott. and the Foreſt, Park and Chace of Claringdon, *alias* Clardon, *alias* Claredon, and Bowood Park in Com. Wilts. or into whatſoever other counties the ſame do extend or lie in; and all manors, parks, lands, tenements and hereditaments known by the names of New Foreſt, Park, Sherwood-Foreſt, Beſkwood-Park, Claringdon-Park or Bowood-Park, or lying within thoſe places, foreſts, or parks, or any of them, and all manors, meſſuages, lands, &c. to the ſaid foreſts, parks and premiſſes belonging or appertaining, or known taken or reputed as part or member of them, or any of them.

ALL mines and quarries.

ALL the deer; and all woods, underwoods, timber and trees in or upon the ſame.

AND all pales, poſts, and fences including the ſame, or within, upon, or about the ſame.

AND all the reverſions and remainders expectant upon any grant or demiſe of the ſame, or of the herbage or pawnage of them, and all rents and profits reſerved upon any demiſe or grant.

THE grant to be as ample as the ſame are or have come to his Majeſty by any means whatſoever, and of all waifs and ſtrays within the ſame.

THE tenure to be by fealty in common ſoccage, as of Eaſt Greenwich, without any rent.

A COVENANT from the King to do any act for diſ-afforeſtation of the premiſſes, upon demand of the Patentees, and a clauſe for the Patentees to hold and enjoy them free from the laws, juriſdiction, regards and limits of the foreſt, and a liberty to be granted to the Patentees either to hold the premiſſes imparked or incloſed, and ſtored with deer, and with the liberty and privilege of park and chace; or elſe, at their pleaſure to diſpark and cut down or grub up trees or woods, and to plough up and convert to tillage and paſture, and to let or ſell all, or any part, at their pleaſure.

A GRANT and covenant from his Majeſty to make any further grant or aſſurance for clearing of any doubts or queſtions that ſhall ariſe concerning the title, as council of the Patentees ſhall adviſe, and to that purpoſe to give his Royal aſſent to any Act of Parliament, if any ſhall be preſented unto him.

A *non obſtante* that the premiſſes are foreſts, and with other uſual *non obſtante*'s.

Another

Another Deed to be made to this effect. *A.D.* 1643.

His Majeſty reciting that divers of his ſubjects in the time of this war, and when his own revenues were withheld from him, did furniſh him with divers ſums of money by loan, or giving credit for his occaſions, and that he is to make further uſe of the affections of his good ſubjects in the like kind; which as he ſhall take for an acceptable ſervice from them, ſo he holds himſelf bound in honour and juſtice to provide for their ſatisfaction and indemnity:

And reciting further the grant abovementioned, which he intends as a ſecurity for £ 50,000. and not above, and particularly of the debts and ſums of money mentioned, or hereafter to be inſerted in the ſchedule annexed to this deed, may now by this deed be pleaſed to declare that truſt and purpoſe of that grant, and his intent and agreement, that in caſe he ſhall not before the end of two years pay all the debts and ſums of money lent or to be lent unto him, and in the ſchedule mentioned or hereafter to be inſerted, with conſideration after for £ 100. for a year from the times of the loan 'till the times of payment; and alſo diſcharge all the debts and ſums of money ſecured or hereafter to be ſecured for him, and mentioned alſo, or hereafter to be inſerted in the ſaid ſchedule, and ſave and keep harmleſs and indemnified the perſons bound or engaged for the ſame, their heirs, executors and adminiſtrators of and from their engagements, and from all damage loſs or expences which they ſhall ſuſtain or be put to by reaſon of the ſame: Then the Patentees to ſtand ſeized in truſt for themſelves and other the creditors and perſons bound, and to take the poſſeſſion of the foreſts and lands granted, and hold them diſafforeſted and free from the law and juriſdiction of foreſt, according to the extent of the grant, and to let and ſet or make ſales of them, or of any timber upon them, and diſpoſe of the profits or monies ariſing by ſales, in payment and diſcharge of the ſaid debts, damages, coſts, expences and engagements.

That his Majeſty likewiſe covenant and agree that in ſuch caſe he will cauſe the poſſeſſion to be delivered to the Patentees, and do any act for eſtabliſhing it, or for diſafforeſting, or for further aſſurance or making good any ſales, by giving his Royal Aſſent to an Act of Parliament, or by any other way as ſhall be deſired.

But if his Majeſty pay the debts lent him, and damages, before the end of two years, and likewiſe diſcharge the monies ſecured, and ſave harmleſs the perſons bound and engaged, then the Patentees to ſtand ſeized in truſt for his Majeſty, and to reconvey and diſpoſe of the premiſſes as his Majeſty ſhall direct.

And that, 'till there be a failure of his Majeſty's part, his Majeſty to uſe and poſſeſs the premiſſes not cutting down timber-trees, or making waſte in the premiſſes, notwithſtanding the grant, or any thing therein contained. And in caſe an overplus of land or money ſhall remain after the debts, damages, coſts, expences and engagements ſhall be paid, freed and diſcharged, and all allowances and payments made which are to be paid and allowed by his Majeſty's intention and agreement herein declared, the ſame ſhall be in his Majeſty's diſpoſing.

And for direction of a courſe how other debts, ſums of money and engagements ſhall hereafter be inſerted into the ſaid ſchedule, his Majeſty to declare and agree that the ſame ſhall be inſerted in the preſence of the Commiſſioners for his treaſury for the time being, or any three or more of them,

*A.D.* 1643. (whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be one,) or of the Lord Treaſurer of England for the time being, and their names ſubſcribed, teſtifying the ſame upon his warrant, under his ſign manual firſt given to him or them for the doing thereof; and that ſuch debts, ſums of money and engagements as ſhall be ſo inſerted, ſhall be and are to be ſecured, paid, ſatisfied and diſcharged by the grant beforementioned, and out of the profits or upon ſale of the premiſſes, as if they had been inſerted into the ſchedule before the date of theſe preſents.

AND for the better encouragement, eaſe, and ſafety of the Patentees, in the undertaking, performance, and execution of the truſt and agreement herein declared, his Majeſty to declare and agree further, that the Patentees, their heirs and aſſigns, ſhall not be queſtioned, impeached, or charged, upon any pretence of ſelling or letting the premiſſes or any part of them at under-value, or that they might have raiſed or made a greater or better profit of them, ſo as their ſales, letting or diſpoſing of them be made *bonâ fide*, and without fraud. And further, that the Patentees, in the firſt place, and before any of the debts, damages, ſums of money or engagements before or in the ſaid ſchedules mentioned or hereafter to be inſerted, as aforeſaid, ſhall be paid and diſcharged, ſhall out of the profits of the premiſſes, or monies ariſing by ſales, pay or retain to themſelves, and be allowed upon account, all ſuch coſts and expences whatſoever in ſuits of law, paſſing conveyances and otherwiſe, as they ſhall ſuſtain, or be put to, in or about the execution of this truſt, or defending or making good their title, eſtate, and intereſt in the premiſſes granted, or intended to be granted, to them, as aforeſaid.

HIS Majeſty likewiſe to give warrant hereby to his Commiſſioners for his Treaſury, the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellor, and Under-Treaſurer, and Barons of the Exchequer, his Auditors, and other his officers for the time being, to give allowances accordingly.

A DUPLICATE to be made of this deed, and likewiſe of the ſchedule to be annexed, and both parts to paſs under the Great Seal, and likewiſe under the hands and ſeals of all the Patentees, with a ſhort declaration of their's, teſtifying their aſſent and agreement to the grant beforementioned, and to the truſt herein declared. And one part to remain with his Majeſty's officers; the other for the Patentees, and other the creditors and perſons engaged, where they ſhall agree to depoſit it. Signed CHARLES R.

To our truſty and well-beloved our Commiſſioners for our Treaſury.

OUR will and pleaſure is, that you our Commiſſioners for our Treaſury or any three or more of you, whereof our Chancellor of our Exchequer to be one, do peruſe and conſider of this abſtract, and likewiſe the ſchedule of debts annexed to it, and that you do certify your opinions touching the contract therein propounded, and the reality of the debts and engagements mentioned in the ſchedule, to the end that upon your certificate, direction may be given by us for preparing books accordingly: Letting you hereby know that we hold ourſelves bound in honour and juſtice to provide for the ſatisfaction and indemnity of thoſe that have furniſhed, or ſhall furniſh, us with money or credit in our occaſions in theſe times; and that our pleaſure is, that the New Foreſt and Parks adjoining to it, Sherwood-Foreſt, and Beſkwood-Park, Clarendon-Park, and Bowood-Park ſhall be conveyed and ſtand charged for their ſecurity.

*Then*

A.D. 1643.

*Then follows the ſchedule referred to; whereby it appears that the principal perſons that ſtood engaged for the ſeveral debts, were the Patentees named in the firſt clauſe of the abſtract, and that by far the greater number of the creditors were tradeſmen or other inhabitants of Oxford, Abingdon, and Wallingford; alſo, that the total amount of the bond-debts at that time (A. D. 1643.) which were to be provided for by this ſecurity, was* £. 11, 199. 1. 6.

*A Copy; endorſed by Lord Clarendon;*
"The abſtract of the ſecurity from his "Majeſty."

## *Sir* WILLIAM WALLER* *to Sir* RALPH HOPTON.

*Sir,*

THE experience I have had of your worth and the happineſs I have enjoyed in your friendſhip are wounding conſiderations to me when I look upon this preſent diſtance between us. Certainly, my affections to you are ſo unchangeable, that hoſtility itſelf cannot violate my friendſhip to your perſon. But I muſt be true to the cauſe wherein I ſerve. The old limitation, *uſque ad aras*, holds ſtill; and where my conſcience is intereſted, all other obligations are ſwallowed up. I ſhould moſt gladly wait upon you, according to your deſire, but that I look upon you as engaged in that party beyond the poſſibility of a retreat, and conſequently uncapable of being wrought upon by any perſuaſions. And I know the conference could never be ſo cloſe between us, but that it would take wind, and receive a conſtruction to my diſhonour. That great God who is the ſearcher of my heart, knows with what a ſad ſenſe I go on upon this ſervice, and with what a perfect hatred I deteſt this war without an enemy. But I look upon it as ſent from God; and that is enough to ſilence all paſſion in me. The God of Heaven in his good time ſend us the bleſſing of peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it! We are both upon the ſtage, and muſt act ſuch parts as are aſſigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without perſonal animoſities. Whatſoever the iſſue be, I ſhall never wittingly [. . . . . .]

## *The Marquis of* ORMOND *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Sir,*

ACCORDING to his Majeſty's command, and by virtue of his commiſſion, a ceſſation of arms is concluded on here, from ſuch time and upon ſuch terms, as by the printed articles ſent in the deſpatch from the Lords Juſtices and Council will appear. And that his Majeſty may receive clear ſatisfaction in the whole carriage of this buſineſs, I have herewith ſent true copies of all the papers that paſſed between me and thoſe that

* *This is the laſt of ſix polite letters, all rough draughts without dates, written in the ſame hand, and on the ſame paper. They appear moſt of them to have been ſent from the chief Commander of the Parliament-Forces in the Weſt to Sir Ralph Hopton, whoſe name is written on the back of the paper in the ſame hand. The five firſt are ſhorter than this, and relate to the exchange of priſoners. The Editor has ventured to attribute this to Sir William Waller; who certainly commanded in the Weſt when theſe Letters were written, which muſt have been ſo early as in the year* 1643. *for in Auguſt that year Sir Ralph Hopton was created a Lord. He at firſt was about to give it to the Earl of Eſſex, it being written in his genteel, moderate and candid manner. But that Earl did not appear in the Weſt 'till the middle of the following year.*

*A.D.*1643. treated with me: All which being compared with his Majeſty's directions and ſuch intimations as I have had of his pleaſure, I truſt he will graciouſly receive my endeavours towards the accompliſhment thereof, conſidering the diſadvantages whereon I treated, and the many difficulties I was forced to ſtruggle with, before I could bring this weighty affair to the end it hath now received: Which I now mention only to excuſe the time ſpent in it. And now that it is brought to this paſs, I hold it my duty humbly to mind his Majeſty, that by this ceſſation he hath only gained ſome time to provide for the ſecurity and ſettlement of his intereſts in this Kingdom, which without ſuch a reſpite would in all probability have run very great and preſent hazards; whereunto they will be again reduced, except ſuch uſe be made of this time by keeping ſtill on foot ſome reaſonable ſtrength, as that his Majeſty be not neceſſitated to terms of diſadvantage at the end of the year, as undoubtedly he will be if order be not taken for clearing the paſſage betwixt this and thoſe parts of England from whence this city and other places have been and would be ſupplied with proviſions, if they could come with ſafety, and for ſending over victual and cloaths for the ſuſtenance and relief of the men neceſſarily to be kept in important garriſons. For the contribution promiſed by the Iriſh will not be ſufficient, conſidering that we now ſpend upon the credit of it before it comes, and that we ſhall be forced out of it to content ſuch officers and ſoldiers as muſt be reduced. The Lords Juſtices and Council hold it fit that copies of the papers that paſſed in this treaty ſhould be printed here for the ſatisfaction of divers that ſeem to believe that there was no more deſired from the Iriſh than appears to be gained from them in the articles. And this reſolution they have taken before his Majeſty's pleaſure is therein known; becauſe the prejudice that may ariſe to his ſervice here by ſuch miſapprehenſions, can admit of no delay.

SINCE my laſt I received this incloſed anſwer from General Major Monro to my letter ſent to him touching the ſending hither of the Earl of Antrim, according to his Majeſty's commands which he received from himſelf before the ſending of my letter to him, and, as I believe, before there was any pretence of contrary directions from his General or the Parliament. His Majeſty will receive a letter, or you will, to be imparted to him, laying down the neceſſity of continuing this Parliament here; which, as the caſe yet ſtands in this Kingdom I conceive to be moſt requiſite. For by continuing it on foot infinite ſatisfaction will be given to his Proteſtant ſubjects; and it is ſtill in his power to diſſolve it, if it ſhall not concur with his pleaſure.

THIS is all I have now time to write, or do venture to ſend, as the coaſt is now infeſted: Which, together with the contrariety of the winds, hath delayed the ſending this deſpatch ſo timely as the importance of it required. I reſt

*Your moſt affectionate*

*humble Servant,*

*Dublin*, 28 *Sept.* 1643.

ORMONDE.

I SEND you herewith a copy of an inſtrument ſigned by ſuch as aſſiſted me in the treaty, importing their approbation of the concluding it upon the articles now ſent you in print.

*The*

A.D. 1643.

*The Sum of the Buſineſs delivered to* MONSIEUR D' HARCOURT *at his firſt coming to* Oxford.

HIS Majeſty about five years ſince having cauſed a Liturgy to be prepared and ſent into Scotland for reducing the order of divine ſervice in that Kingdom, according to the practice of the Church of England, which they ſeemed, at his Majeſty's being there not long before, to be more willing and deſirous to receive; ſome perſons of that Kingdom taking advantage of ſome ſmall variations in that book from the other uſed here, (which in truth were made out of a deſire to comply with thoſe exceptions which were moſt known againſt it) produced thoſe diſorders (upon a pretence that his Majeſty intended to introduce Popery*) and at laſt that Covenant, by which that nation was firſt led into arms: What proceeded thereupon, His Majeſty's expedition in perſon to Berwick, the Covenanters drawing their army to the borders, their petitioning his Majeſty, the agreement there made, and thereupon the diſbanding his Majeſty's forces, their retreat to Edinburgh, and their promiſe of a total diſbanding too, are matters publick and notorious to moſt men.

HIS Majeſty's army was no ſooner diſbanded according to promiſe, but new ſcruples and diſputes were raiſed in Scotland, and agents employed from the Schiſmatical party in England (of which the Lord Say and the Lord Mandevile, now Earl of Mancheſter and ſome other perſons ſince dead were the chief) to ſtir up and inflame that people againſt the articles agreed on at Berwick, and to invite them into this Kingdom, ſo that inſtead of that ſettlement his Majeſty expected there, by the beginning of the next ſummer there was a formed army under the command of their General Leſley ready to march into this Kingdom, which about the month of September following it did. The circumſtances of its entrance, and its progreſs through the northern counties to the edge of Yorkſhire, His Majeſty calling all the Peers of England to attend him at York, his reſolution there to call a Parliament, (having no means to pay and ſupport his army, and the very affections of the ſoldiers being ſo poiſoned that they had no inclination to fight,) and thereupon the concluding a ceſſation of arms with the Scots for ſome days, are ſo well known that there needs no enlargement, except it be deſired to any particular point.

THE Parliament aſſembled on the 3d of November, which is now within few days of three years ſince, at the opening of which his Majeſty committed the whole ſtate of affairs to that Council, and offered a free concurrence in any acts which ſhould be thought neceſſary for redreſs of whatſoever was grievous or for the growing benefit of the ſubject. That which ſeemed and in truth was of greateſt importance was the withdrawing the Scotch forces out of the Kingdom, and the diſbanding the army raiſed by the King, the charge of both which (and the two Houſes undertook to defray the charge of both) amounted to no leſs than £80,000. the week; ſo that Commiſſioners were ſent from the Scotch army to London to treat about all buſineſs which they would underſtand might have reference to them. And by this means thoſe perſons being employed as their Commiſſioners, who had kept their correſpondence here before their coming in, they who

* *This Parentheſis is inſerted by the King, in his own Hand-writing.*

*A.D.*1643. had brought them hither had the opportunity of conference and framing deſigns to each other's advantage.

The firſt was the removing thoſe perſons of credit and truſt about his Majeſty who were like to croſs the general aims of the one, and the particular ambitions of the other, and theſe men muſt be declaimed againſt to the two Houſes by the Commiſſioners as incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, and thereupon and other general imputations, accuſed by the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon, and ſo removed from his Majeſty and committed to priſon. And in this proceeding there was a double end, the one to be rid of thoſe they feared, the other, by this new and extravagant way of deſtroying men, to ſtrike that terror into all men, that ſeeing no rule obſerved, by which innocence might appear and be vindicated, every man might think himſelf in danger, and ſo either apply himſelf to the power he ſaw ſo prevalent, or at leaſt not preſume to oppoſe what he could not give himſelf leave to like. And this proved of ſuch ſovereign uſe, that in a very ſhort time ſuch of the members of both houſes, who were guilty of thoſe things, which theſe powerful men called crimes (juſtly or unjuſtly) betook themſelves abſolutely to their protection, and ſerved them in all the offices both of action and opinion that they were directed to.

The ſecond deſign was to bring thoſe perſons into place and power about his Majeſty who had principally for that end contrived theſe miſchiefs, and to that purpoſe overtures are made to his Majeſty that if ſuch and ſuch might be preferred to his Council and other offices, a ſpeedy end ſhould be put to all troubles, and a courſe ſettled to repair his Majeſty in his revenue; to pay his debts, and to eſtabliſh that greatneſs and power was due to him; upon theſe promiſes, and his Majeſty well ſeeing the perſons propoſed to him were able to do much miſchief, divers of thoſe were admitted to Council and offices, and others promiſed, who have been ſince chief framers and promoters of this rebellion, and all the ill which hath followed.

The third deſign was, ſince the two houſes had undertaken the whole buſineſs of the Kingdom, and therefore in all probability his Majeſty would in moſt caſes be adviſed by them, to provide that their party there might maſter all contrary opinions, and purſue thoſe directions which conduced to the end agreed on; to this purpoſe, for the Lords' houſe (beſides examining all acts of the Council-Table, whereby the Counſellors concerned might for fear apply themſelves to them) they endeavour to remove all the biſhops (being 24) from any voice or ſuffrage in thoſe councils, which they had enjoyed from the firſt beginning of Parliaments, and to which they had an equal right by the law and conſtitution of the Kingdom with any Peer of the realm. For the Houſe of Commons, beſides ſecuring themſelves of thoſe, whom it was in their power to make delinquents by promiſing them favour and protection, they uſed all means upon doubtful and queſtionable elections to put out as many as they could whoſe opinions they liked not, and whoſe affections they doubted, and in their rooms brought in mean and obſcure perſons both in birth and fortune, who were notoriouſly known to be diſaffected to the government of the church and ſtate.

In theſe ſtreights his Majeſty quickly found himſelf, his ſervants frighted from their affection and duty, his Exchequer empty, two armies in the bowels of the Kingdom; the one invading him, the other (though raiſed by himſelf) paid by thoſe whom he could not truſt, and therefore probably at their devotion; the actions of his whole reign narrowly and maliciouſly ſifted,

sifted, and himself and his own honour shot at and wounded through the sides of his ministers and servants trusted by him, though at that time there were all specious shews of reverence and obedience to his Royal Person. And therefore he resolved by doing his part to shew his people how much it was in their own power to be happy, and so pressed both Houses to prepare such laws as should be thought of most advantage to the subject, and to ease them of that vast and insupportable burthen of maintaining the two armies. *A.D.*1643.

ALL laws which were prepared and brought to him (contrary to the former course of making a session, or receiving the least advantage to himself) his Majesty freely passed, and whoever knows the constitution of this Kingdom will find a greater access of grace and favour to the subject in those, than in all the acts of any one if not of all the Kings of England before; amongst these there is one, for the continuance of the present Parliament, which his Majesty was induced to pass upon these reasons: There being great sums of money to be raised for the payment of the two armies, and a very great sum before they could be disbanded, the two houses alledged that they were for the procuring so vast supplies to engage both the credit of their whole body, and their several personal securities; that the body being dissoluble at his Majesty's pleasure, (as by the law and constitution of the Kingdom it is) their publick undertaking would be invalid, and no man would hazard his private fortune under such an engagement; that if his Majesty dissolved the Parliament before it were secured, must infallibly undo him: Hereupon his Majesty desiring to be rid of the present mischiefs of the two armies, conceiving the like could not succeed, consented that the present Parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by Act of Parliament, that is, not without their consent; from this Act, though there be no addition of power granted to them, other than to continue together, all the disservice to his Majesty, and all the distraction in the Kingdom hath proceeded.

AFTER his Majesty had fully satisfied the desires of both Houses here, and seeing the armies still kept undisbanded, he took his progress towards Scotland according to his promise formerly made, having first consented to an act of pardon or oblivion of all acts concerning or depending upon that commotion, which his Majesty the rather did, that those within this Kingdom whom he knew to be guilty of that Rebellion, being secured from the punishment due to it, might not be invited to further mischief.

A LITTLE before his Majesty's return from Scotland into the Kingdom, the Rebellion in Ireland brake out, which though his Majesty doth not charge to be immediately contrived by those here, yet he may well suspect to proceed from the sharp and bitter invectives made in both Houses by the principal persons of that party against that nation, and some passionate expressions of a purpose to root out all the Roman Catholicks out of all his dominions; by which means and the visible contempt of his Majesty's power the ill-affected in Ireland had opportunity to work that mischief there which otherwise probably they would not have been able to have done.

AND instead of that assistance which his Majesty had reason to expect at his return from Scotland from the two Houses towards the quenching that Rebellion; he finds great calumnies and scandals raised upon himself, and his Royal Consort the Queen, insinuations and infusions being made into the minds of the people, that it was kindled not without his privity, and by the instigation of the Queen (the Rebels calling themselves, as they alledged, the

*A.D.*1643. Queen's army) which how ridiculous ſoever it was, to all ſober men, ſerved their turn, to ſtir up the people to mutiny and diſeſteem of his Majeſty, and to countenance the bold and undutiful actions they every day committed.

His Majeſty finding all this miſchief to proceed from a few men whom he could prove to be guilty of the higheſt crime againſt his Majeſty accuſed ſix of the principal of them of High Treaſon, in the ſame manner as accuſations had been made in former Parliaments upon like caſes, offering to proceed againſt them by the known laws of the land; hereupon they reſiſt his Majeſty with that boldneſs in the behalf of theſe men, that his Majeſty was compelled for the ſafety of his perſon to withdraw himſelf from London, the circumſtances of that commotion being very notorious; inſomuch that the members of both Houſes whoſe duty and loyalty to his Majeſty was well known, were aſſaulted, and by force of rude tumults driven and kept from being preſent at thoſe conſultations, which tumults were continually drawn down by the ſeditious party in both Houſes, as often as any thing was propoſed by them, and rejected by the ſoberer and major part, and continued with all the circumſtances of diſorder and violence, till by driving away many of the members, and frighting others, they at laſt compaſſed ſuch determinations as were ſuitable to their end. By this means they got the bill (which had been once before thrown out, and by the courſe of Parliaments ought not to have been again offered this ſeſſion) to paſs the Houſe of Peers, for the taking away the votes of Biſhops (having firſt by force driven and kept them from being preſent:) By this means they got the ordinance concerning the Militia to paſs the Houſe of Peers, after it had been three ſeveral times rejected; and by this means they have oppoſed all overtures and inclinations to peace, when his Majeſty hath either invited the two Houſes, or they ſeemed willing to treat with him.

Having thus brought things within their own abſolute command, they pretend to think themſelves (who had only power to do hurt) to be in danger, ſeem to apprehend the coming in of foreign forces to invade this realm, the inſurrection of the Roman Catholicks within the realm, and whatſoever elſe (how ſenſeleſs ſoever) would with moſt probability make impreſſion upon the fears and weakneſs of the people.

Hereupon they propoſe to his Majeſty to put all the Militia of the Kingdom, (a power inherent in the Crown) and all the great offices of State into the hands of ſuch Perſons as themſelves ſhould nominate, the which he no ſooner denied, upon reaſons not only of his unqueſtionable right, but of the evident and demonſtrable benefit of the ſubject, but they immediately (having driven away the major part of both houſes by force, and then cenſuring and expelling them for being abſent) aſſume that power to themſelves, and execute it in all counties throughout the Kingdom, making ſuch commanders as they think fitteſt for their purpoſes. And then to procure obedience from the people, they publiſh in their ſolemn declarations which they appoint to be read in churches, That his Majeſty hath no negative voice (his greateſt, unqueſtionable,and moſt ſovereign, and inſeparable prerogative;) and therefore preſume to make laws without him, to compel the ſubjects to ſubmit to what taxes and impoſitions they pleaſe to lay upon them, and to diſpenſe with thoſe laws which require obedience to his Majeſty: They ſeize upon all the forts and caſtles of the Kingdom, and put garriſons into them, diſpoſe of all his Majeſty's arms and ammunition according to their own pleaſure. And when his Majeſty viſited his town of Hull, where a Magazine

was

was kept of his own arms and munition, he was ſcornfully denied to be let in, and by force kept from thence, by a Governour put into that command without and againſt his Majeſty's conſent. And, laſtly, they ſeize upon his ſhips and all his Royal navy and diſpoſe them under the command of the Earl of Warwick, and raiſe a great army of horſe and foot under the Earl of Eſſex, with whom they took, and forced all people under their power to take, a proteſtation to live and die. And all this before any forces raiſed by his Majeſty or any other provocation from him, than the having received ſo many injuries and indignities at their hands. *A.D.* 1643.

It is here to be obſerved, that had all the members of both Houſes been preſent at theſe reſolutions, and no ſhew of force or violence to lead them, they have not in the leaſt degree power or authority to meddle in the particulars before mentioned: The whole Militia of the Kingdom, the raiſing or diſpoſing of forces by ſea, or land, the commanding the forts and caſtles of the Kingdom, and the making war and peace, being ſo inſeparably the *Jura Regalia*, by the laws and conſtitution of the Kingdom, that whoſoever preſumes upon what pretence ſoever without his Majeſty's expreſs commiſſion to meddle therewith is guilty of High Treaſon; all which is ſo known and undoubted a truth, that no Parliament, from the beginning to this, ever pretended the leaſt privilege or juriſdiction therein.

His Majeſty being in this condition applied himſelf by the help of thoſe who out of duty and loyalty were ſolicitous in his ſervice, all his own Revenue being likewiſe ſeized by the direction of the two houſes, to raiſe an army for his defence; but firſt ſent a meſſage to them to know what they would have, and deſired to treat with them; this was with all imaginable inſolence and ſcorn rejected, and their army directed ſpeedily to march againſt his Majeſty. Hereupon his Majeſty ſo haſtened his levies, that within leſs than two months through all thoſe difficulties and wants of men, arms, money, and ammunition, he met their great army in the field, fought with them, and after marched with his army within few miles of London, and then again offered to treat with them, as he hath ſince often done, and as often been refuſed by them, the rude multitude of Browniſts and Anabaptiſts always tumultuouſly oppoſing all overtures of peace and accommodation.

Since this time they have uſurped the ſovereign power, in raiſing armies by land, and ſetting out fleets to ſea, they have forced his Majeſty's ſubjects to contribute to, and aſſiſt their odious Rebellion contrary to their allegiance, and ſuch who have refuſed to ſubmit to their treaſonable commands have been plundered, impriſoned, and murdered by them. They have forbid all his Majeſty's ſubjects and ſervants to repair to him, and ſeized upon both their Majeſties' revenues, and the eſtates of all thoſe who continue loyal to him: They have broke up both their Majeſties' houſes, and taken and ſold the goods belonging to them: They have aſſaulted the Queen's Majeſty's perſon, and endeavoured to murder her, and ſhe being preſerved from that traiterous attempt, they have ſince accuſed her of High Treaſon, for aſſiſting his Majeſty: They have in their own names ſent agents into foreign parts to negotiate for them: Call themſelves States, and have taken the ſhips of Princes in alliance with his Majeſty upon pretence that they brought ſupplies of arms to him.

They have put all the indignities, affronts, and reproaches upon the Miniſters of Princes in alliance with his Majeſty without reſpect to the law of nations, or the particular pacts and contracts made by his Majeſty with

*A.D.* 1643. them, thereby to render his Majeſty in diſeſteem with his allies, particularly they have with great inſolence and ſcorn violated the ſolemn contract made by his Majeſty with the Crown of France upon his marriage with the Queen's Majeſty. And to confound the whole government and adminiſtration of the civil juſtice of the Kingdom, they have counterfeited the Great Seal of England (an act of High Treaſon by the letter of the law.) And that all doors may be ſhut againſt a poſſible peace, they have impriſoned his Majeſty's meſſenger ſent to them in that errand, and have ordered if any man ſhall come from his Majeſty without a paſs from them, he ſhall be proceeded againſt as a ſpy.

They have ſuppreſſed and impriſoned all the orthodox, learned Clergy of the Kingdom, and in their rooms have ſubſtituted and introduced a new ſchiſmatical, factious preſbytery, which taking the boldneſs of inveighing againſt the perſons of both their Majeſties infuſe into the hearts of the people a hatred and contempt of monarchy itſelf, and incenſe them againſt the profeſſion and profeſſors of any religion, but what themſelves teach and preach to them, and to that purpoſe have convened (without his Majeſty's authority, and expreſsly againſt his conſent) an aſſembly of ſeditious clergymen, ſuch who in time of peace fled this Kingdom for their ſchiſm and faction, and are now brought together (with the help of this rebellious army) to deſtroy the government of the Church, and to introduce ſome monſtrous diſcipline to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity itſelf.

They have with great importunity and promiſes invited his Majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland to aſſiſt them in this Rebellion, and to that purpoſe have made large offers to them of large territories within this Kingdom, and have ſo far prevailed with them, that, contrary to the duty of ſubjects, and the act of pacification made this Parliament between the two Kingdoms, a garriſon is put by them into his Majeſty's town of Berwick, and endeavours uſed to raiſe an army in that Kingdom to invade this.

Before this Rebellion began, and ſince it was raiſed (after thoſe many and weighty acts of grace paſſed) nothing hath been denied to the two Houſes by his Majeſty which they could under the leaſt colour of right aſk, nor any thing aſked by him which by the law of the land was not undoubtedly due to him: on the other ſide, upon any overture of treaty, nothing hath been demanded of his Majeſty by them, but what is apparently unjuſt in itſelf, derogatory to the Crown, and deſtructive to the ſettled and compoſed government of the Kingdom. And yet all this is done under pretence of the authority of the two Houſes of Parliament, whereas it is known to all men, that the members of that Council are driven from thence, (and being together have no pretence as aforeſaid to do theſe things:) That of the houſe of Peers conſiſting of above 100. there are not remaining there above 10. and of the houſe of Commons not the 5th part, and thoſe mean, unknown, and untruſted perſons to, or by the Kingdom, who are made inſtruments by the City of London, which in truth oppoſes itſelf againſt the whole Kingdom to continue this Rebellion, and to alter the whole frame of government both in church and State. And therefore as his Majeſty doth not allow them for his high Court of Parliament, called thither by his writ to adviſe him about the great affairs of the Kingdom, but as an aſſembly of conſpirators and traitors (backed by that rebellious city) rebelling againſt him, and undermining monarchy itſelf; ſo he hopes that all Princes in alliance with

with him will out of juſtice, honour and generoſity, look upon them under no other notion or conſideration. *A.D.* 1643.

*There muſt be added a ſhort account of the laſt treaty, how and why it brake off.* *

*Corrected in ſeveral Places by the King, and endorſed, by Lord Clarendon, as above.*

## *The Lord* GORING † *to her* MAJESTY.

*Madam,*

BY Madam de Greſey's favour I hope this may have better ſucceſs than divers others that I have ſent from the Hague, Bruſſels and this place; to which I have not as yet had any one anſwer; for I hear they have been all intercepted. I have had one from your Majeſty only, which was to have found me at the Hague; wherein your Majeſty much commends the Count of Harcourt's proceeding, whereof I made uſe to his Lady here; where it comes to me from the beſt hands near this Queen, that Monſieur d' Harcourt in his perſon is not well uſed by your Majeſty; and that the ſenſe thereof here much retards ſome expreſſions of kindneſſes from hence, which otherwiſe I ſhould have found for your ſervice before this time. Madam d' Harcourt vows to me, and promiſeth ſo to declare it, that the Count her huſband writes to her quite the contrary, and that his complaint is only of the Parliament. I beſeech your Majeſty clear this point to him there, and ſend me ſomewhat hither for my directions to that purpoſe. For now your buſineſs begins to take for the better ſince my rencontre with the Cardinal, by the Queen's private order, in his cloſe Cabinet; where he gave me all aſſurance that words could teſtify, of real and ſpeedy aſſiſtance from hence, ſo far as this their ‡ would permit, having ſo great weights upon them by reaſon of their late loſſes in Germany, and diſorders elſewhere; which is no feigned thing. He there told me that Monſieur d' Harcourt was a perſon your Majeſty nominated; who had expreſs order to receive his inſtructions from you, and to treat with the Parliament accordingly, and no otherwiſe: By which means if ought could have been effected, he was of opinion [*he*] would have beſt ſerved your Majeſty, and ſooneſt effected it. But if that cannot be, whereof he expects little fruits, he moſt ſeriouſly proteſted that the Queen's reſolution was ſuch, as nothing in her power ſhould be wanting to ſerve your Majeſty withal in arms or money, to their uttermoſt. For he vowed, the like care and paſſion he never ſaw. And as for his part, he with ſolemn aſſeverations again and again profeſſed the ſame. All which, Madam, with all the reſt concerning your Majeſty's ſervice within my commiſſion and reach, I have at this inſtant by the way of Havre de Grace, written to my Lord Digby at large, things changing daily, as yeſterday moſt of all by the news of the Swedes invading the King of Denmark's country with ſo puiſſant an army, and taking him ſo unprovided; [*which*] is likely to ſit ſore upon him. By which news though the Swedes (great friends to France) have the advantage, yet their leaving thoſe parts of France adjoining to Germany ſo naked, will be a ſore moleſtation and danger to France at this time, when they are elſe ſo cloſe laid to on all ſides.

* *Theſe words are ſubjoined by the King.*
† *He was created Earl of Norwich the 28th of Nov. following.*
‡ *MS.*

*A.D.* 1643. Beſides, Lorrain hath ſent hither to mediate his peace; which is hearkened unto, but with no very quick ears, conſidering this uncertainty. Bavier alſo, that great wheel, treats for a neutrality. Of all which within a few days more my Lord Digby ſhall have a full account. For though theſe be far off in place, it will have a great operation upon our affairs. For the time, before to-morrow night I doubt not but to find ſomewhat upon the particulars what I may expect here; ſince they do abſolutely renounce the league offenſive and defenſive, and will not be known if any ſuch propoſition [*were*] made by the Count d' Harcourt in England: Whereof I was very glad, and would not ſeem to know any thing of it, though I had a little before received all the propoſitions both on the one ſide and the other. For their diſclaiming any ſuch thing leaves his Majeſty in ſo good condition, as I doubt not now but one way or other to ſee this buſineſs work to his content; that being over which was like to give cauſe of the greateſt obſtruction to this treaty. For to put off all our old clothes before we were ſure of new, I confeſs, Madam, I liked it not, neither for honour nor ſafety. The Cardinal told me, that by Monſieur Greſey and Wat Montagu, both, a more ſtrict league was offered here; which when Monſieur d' Harcourt in return moved to his Majeſty (not calling it defenſive and offenſive) it was ſo coolly received by his Majeſty, as ſince they thought it not fit further to inſiſt upon it, but ſhould then expect ſuch a return as we ſhould ſee this Crown had deſerved from us by the aid and ſupply we ſhould receive from them for our re-eſtabliſhment, which they would ſolely intend. But, Madam, the true reaſon why they fly off from touching on the league offenſive and defenſive, is, as I find by a private intelligence, the high demands of his Majeſty thereupon; though to me neither the Queen, nor the Cardinal, nor Secretary will take the leaſt notice, nor I to them. I much wonder why they ſhould ſo much ſtartle at theſe demands; for ſhould his Majeſty have done leſs, he ſhould only in the loan of the monies and payment of the ſoldiers after landing, have come ſhort of that which the league defenſive already obligeth them unto. And thus ſtands your buſineſs now fairer by far than I could have hoped for when I deſpatched Captain Lanien; whoſe return I paſſionately attend, or ſome other, by whom I may know how to ſteer my courſe. Let me, Madam, but know what it is you moſt inſiſt upon; which in my poor opinion muſt be the loan of monies, or, at worſt, their credit to back our's, in caſe we can borrow 5 or 600,000. crowns; whereof I am put in good hope, if that may be procured; and withal, that, according to our principal article in our treaty, whereof I remembered them, they [*will*] immediately and openly declare againſt the Parliament and Scotland's proceedings, as enemies to this Crown as well as his Majeſty, in caſe they do not inſtantly return to their obedience. Uſe but this Count Harcourt well in his perſon, give me my directions punctually with conſtant information how you proceed with him, and let my merchants be well uſed that come ſo roundly over to you with all kind of arms and ammunition, and then, my life upon it! your Majeſty's buſineſs ſhall not ſuffer on this ſide, how knotty or * ſoever. Here was not any of that powder ready that La. Bivier brought the ſhips for, nor any ſuch thing thought on that I can find. But nevertheleſs he ſhall bring both powder and other

* *MS.*

arms

arms with him in good quantities; as much more ſhall accompany or follow him from hence from Robin, a great French merchant. And all this, Madam, beſides 20,000 muſkets, 5000 pair of piſtols, 6000 ſwords, and 4000 carabins from Dunkirk, and 2000 barrels of powder; for which Mr. Sandys, a moſt faithful, careful and induſtrious ſervant of his Majeſty, and others, have ſent to Sir Henry de Vic for his paſſport, as his laſt letter ſignifies to me; beſides divers others now preparing ſhips there to trade in the weſt, as they alſo do for Holland; where now I have ſignified to my Lord Digby, his Majeſty may have what ſtrong ſhips he pleaſe, as ſhall better appear by the propoſitions themſelves. I humbly pray your Majeſty, that notice may be taken of Sir Henry de Vic's great ſervice on this ſide, which he deſerves right well; or ſay, I abuſe you. The account of your Majeſty's jewels ſhall come with my other packet; one hundred and twenty thouſand Gilders were returned to Webſter out of France, which did no more than pay uſe, and what was formerly owing. About as much more was taken up upon the two pendant diamonds, four pendant pearls and other pearls, for paying of the Yorkſhire arms, as will appear upon account coming to you; by which your Majeſty will find there remain unpawned only your two table pendants with the [. . . . .] to them, and your rubies of the chain yet in Sir William Boſwell's hands. But there will ſtill be 2 or £ 3000. ſterling due to Webſter. Towards payment of the next uſe there will be about £ 8000. due by bond from the Yorkſhire Gentlemen, of all which your Majeſty ſhall have the particulars. It is yet believed your Majeſty will come hither, though with child; I hope you will not conceal it from me. My Lady Stanhope (a true deſerver of your Majeſty) writes me word all is in diſorder there; I humbly beg orders therein. Be pleaſed, Madam, to preſent me as you beſt know I am, to my ſacred Maſter, to whom I have preſumed to write the other way. This muſt come incloſed in a little room by Madam Greſey's proviſion. I moſt humbly beg again and again that your Majeſty will pardon him, that beyond all is hourly more and more,

*A.D.* 1644.

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's all-obliged,*

*vowed and obedient Servant,*

*Paris, Jan.* 15. 1644.

GORING.

*A Copy, endorſed by Lord Clarendon;*
"Lord Norwich's Letter to the Queen, intercepted
"and made the argument of the quarrel to him."

## INSTRUCTIONS *to* RANDAL *Earl of* ANTRIM, *given at our Court at* Oxford *the twentieth Day of January* 1643.

CHARLES R.

YOUR firſt work after your coming into Ireland muſt be to perſuade our Catholick ſubjects there to lend us ten thouſand men, well armed, to be tranſported hither unto England with all poſſible expedition; whereby we may be the better enabled to reſiſt the Scotch invaſion. You are likewiſe to ſolicit them for the loan of ammunition and artillery for ſuch an army, as alſo of ſhips to tranſport the ſame.

*A.D.* 1644. In caſe that their agents ſhall contain themſelves within [*ſuch*] reaſonable bounds in their demands as we can with juſtice, prudence or conſcience condeſcend unto, we make no queſtion but they will then very freely afford us the aid deſired.

But in caſe they ſhall inſiſt upon ſuch things as we cannot, without great inconveniences and danger to the whole frame of our other affairs, grant; and that their agents ſhall, contrary to our reſolutions (if reaſon will content them) part unſatisfied, ſo as that you ſhall find difficulty to obtain by their conſent the aſſiſtance deſired; you are then, upon the ſtock of your own intereſt, and of ſuch others as ſhall be faithful unto us, and be willing to engage themſelves in our ſervice, to endeavour, by virtue of your commiſſion to that purpoſe, to draw as many as you can to take ſervice under you, and to tranſport them over unto us here under your command; and for ſo doing we ſhall give you all aſſiſtance poſſible by ſhipping to be ſent from out ports of England for that purpoſe. You are alſo, in that caſe, to endeavour the procuring underhand upon credit, we aſſiſting you with the beſt ſecurity we can, ſuch quantities of arms and ammunition as ſhall be neceſſary for the arming and ſetting forth ſuch men as you ſhall be able to draw unto your party. For that purpoſe you are further to perſuade our Catholick ſubjects to lend for our ſervice 2000 men well armed, to be tranſported by yourſelf, if your other ſervice can permit you the time, or, if not, by your brother, into the iſlands of Scotland and the Highlands; where you are to excite your party to riſe with you to fall upon the Marquis of Argyle's country; wherein we make no doubt but you will find ready aſſiſtance from the Earl of Seaforth and Sir James M' Donald, the ſaid Earl being joint juſticiary with you, and Sir James colonel of our forces under you, for the tranſporting of the ſaid two thouſand [*men*] into the iſlands, as alſo of thoſe who ſhall conjoin with them there, into Scotland. You are to ſolicit our Catholick ſubjects for ſhipping, as alſo to provide what flat-bottomed boats may be; and we ſhall likewiſe aſſiſt you from our ports with what ſhipping we can in this buſineſs of the iſlands and highlands. You or your brother are to hold frequent and careful correſpondency with the Earl of Montroſe, our Lieutenant General of all our forces in Scotland; who will advertiſe and adviſe in the ways and times of proceeding, as may beſt correſpond with the motions and undertakings of the reſt of our party there. You are likewiſe to treat with Monro, and to ſee whether you can draw him over, with the forces under his command, unto our ſervice: In which caſe, we ſhall make good unto him what you in your diſcretion ſhall agree with him for, ſo far forth as to make the ſaid Monro an Earl of Scotland, and to grant him a penſion of £ 2000. ſterling *per annum*.

*A Copy.*

### *Lady* Ranelagh *to Sir* Edward Hyde.

*Sir*,

If a particular neceſſity may juſtify a particular boldneſs, I cannot but hope a general neceſſity will procure your pardon for a particular boldneſs, that is taken up in order to the remove of that neceſſity. And indeed, when I conſider that gallant man, to whom you were a friend, and remember how paſſionate he was for the peace of this Kingdom, and think how impoſſible it is, that there ſhould be a friendſhip where there is not

ſome

ſome agreement in humours and opinions; I cannot but hope you had an agreement with him in thoſe inclinations that carried him on ſo ſtrongly to endeavour the peace and preſervation of his country. If my hope deceives me not, I am confident my undertaking will not. That aſſures me, you may now have peace at an eaſier rate than ever you yourſelves offered for it; (whilſt we had the bleſſing of his life;) for now, one meſſage ſent by the King to the Parliament, by the name of a Parliament, for a treaty, will beget one without queſtion; and that will as unqueſtionably beget a peace. For we have learnt at laſt that it is an eaſier thing to be weary of the government we have, than to mend ourſelves by a change, * that our own diſorders have brought us into this middle, that we muſt either ſubmit to one, or be tyranniſed over by hundreds. We confeſs the choice eaſy, and wiſh we were but, by one ſuch meſſage, as I have mentioned, put into a capacity of making it. And thoſe that did with the greateſt violence pull themſelves from under the King's government, when they looked upon it in compariſon with Queen Elizabeth's, would with as much greedineſs crouch to it, now they are able to compare it experimentally with Sir Henry Vane's. Since my return, I am aſſured by perſons very credible in that point, that his Majeſty owning them for what he himſelf made them at firſt, and has called them ſince they raiſed war againſt him, will be ſo far from confirming their Great Seal, and their other extravagancies, that it is the diſcreteſt way he has to overthrow them all. And this I muſt ſay, that ſuch a meſſage is longed for by thoſe that wiſh peace and the King's happineſs, and feared by thoſe that deſire the continuance of the war. The double defeat the Scots have given our expectations here, firſt in not ſending propoſitions to his Majeſty upon their coming in, and next in not having gotten Newcaſtle for appearing before it, has brought us to a hearkening temper; if the leiſure God gives you by them would but bring you into an offering one, all might yet be compoſed. And methinks, what I have informed my ſiſter, and what ſhe will inform you, of the poſture the Prince Elector's affairs ſtand in here, ſhould be a motive to haſten away this meſſage. Beſides, the forces on this ſide and the Scotch army will not ſit ſtill long; the time of the year calls them abroad, and makes them able to do miſchief by but going abroad: For the ſummer's war muſt aſcertain the winter's famine. And all this may be prevented by your calling a company of people by the ſame name you have given them all this while to no purpoſe, and refuſe to give them now it cannot be given but to ſo many happy purpoſes. They aſk, If they be no Parliament, why you ſend to treat with them? Why you do not only ſend them the offer of a Pardon? It is a debaſing of the King's mercy to give it them in a way that they themſelves have not † enough to aſk it. If they be ſuch uncoloured traitors as they muſt needs be, if they be not a Parliament, where are the Houſes, whereof you call yourſelves members, if they be not they? And if they be, will you rather undo the Kingdom than call them ſo? Either, I beſeech you, ſtop their mouths from theſe diſcourſes by the deſired meſſage, or give your ſervants here ſomething to anſwer them. Indeed, the ſticking at this point has done the greateſt ſervice that themſelves could have wiſhed. For it ſeems to juſtify all the fears and jealouſies they have ſo long raved out, of the King's intentions

*A.D.* 1644.

* *Blank in MS.* † *Blank in MS.*

*A.D.* 1644. to nullify the Parliament. It gives them the hearts of the Citizens, and conſequently their monies, and ſo all things neceſſary to maintain a war, 'till this Kingdom be reduced to a poverty, that will make it's abſolute government leſs conſiderable than it's moſt limited one can be, in the condition wherein it yet is. Now I muſt beg you would believe all this is ſpoken to my Lord Falkland's friend, from one that was to him, and is to you, upon his ſcore,

*A very faithful*

*March the* 3*d.*

*humble Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, endorſed thus by Sir Edward,* "Lady Rane-"lagh to me, after the death of my Lord Falkland."

## *The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

I AM ſo ſenſible of your earneſt expectation of a return to your commands, that I would not ſtay the bearer ſo long time as I ſhould ſpend in tranſcribing the other letter, which otherwiſe I ſhould have written myſelf. My Lord, I doubt you will ſuppoſe that there is ſome plot contrived between me and the Parliament at London, (which ſome private injuries conceived by me might occaſion,) and that new things came to ſuch perfection, as that we have begun to act the deſigns. But I adjudge myſelf the unworthieſt villain in the world if there were any thing either directly or indirectly, until I deſired Sir Thomas Wharton to prepare thoſe whom he thought fit for the receipt of the motion that firſt was to paſs your Lordſhip's hands, and then his Majeſty's approbation. Neither did I think of this, 'till I ſaw that there was no living in Ireland for any but Papiſts; and that his Majeſty was yet ſo deluded by theſe people, that his confidence of their integrity induced him to leave us in their powers, who, we know, intend our extirpation, and reſolve to be no longer obedient to his Majeſty, than he ſhall permit them to do what may conduce to that end. Wherefore, I confeſs that I ſhall decline any employment that may engage me to join with them; chooſing rather to leave all I have, and fight for bread in the low countries. I did omit in my other letter to give your Lordſhip an account of Captain Steers's journey into England; which truly was partly to vindicate me from thoſe aſperſions laboured to be faſtened on me by my Lord of Corke, (and not by my Lord of Muskerry, as I am informed,) and alſo to ſatisfy my friends there of the ground of our proceedings here, which I deſired they would favour before his Majeſty, and aſſiſt by all the ways and means they could.

IF the carriage of this buſineſs ſo without your Lordſhip's directions have forfeited me in your Lordſhip's good opinion, I will not inſiſt upon my juſtification. But I hope it will mitigate the fault, that there was great likelyhood our ruin might have been inevitable if we had ſo done; firſt, becauſe the Iriſh might get notice of it, and ſo prevent us; and next, becauſe we ſaw no danger in delaying the ſending of our letters, ſeeing there went a man (of whoſe honeſty Sir Thomas Wharton gave us great aſſurance) to acquaint

acquaint your Lordſhip, and thoſe who might be in danger, with it. Where- *A.D.*1644.
upon I hope your Lordſhip will pardon that omiſſion in,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble*

*and moſt affectionate Servant,*

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original; without a date, but mentioned in the Endorſement as received 4th Auguſt* 1644.

## *Sir* THOMAS WHARTON *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*My Lord,*

I DID yeſterday by my ſervant Edmund Tounſon acquaint your Lordſhip with my reſolutions of going into England, and as much of this buſineſs by word of mouth as I could make his dulneſs capable of receiving; and likewiſe as much light of it by writing, as the hazard of interception (for fear of the preventing the deſign by the Iriſh, who are at this inſtant deviliſhly jealous) would allow me. For fear that ſhould miſcarry, I will again repeat that which in the tie of friendſhip I think myſelf obliged to, having received ſo many extraordinary obligations from your Lordſhip. That you would be pleaſed to look back, and conſider what you have done to the Rebels, and they to you; and if you have not been the man in the world they have ſhewed the moſt hatred to; and that juſtly, as being the perſon has given them moſt of prejudice. And then think, whether they have not ſtill the ſame inclinations, and will make it appear, when their intereſt will allow it them. This ſaid, that which I ſhall humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, is, that if any command ſhould come from the King, as it is reported there is, (obtained certainly by thoſe that more conſider their own particulars than either the King's honour or advantage) that your Lordſhip ſhould join with the Iriſh againſt the Proteſtants in this Kingdom, (for that is directly the caſe) that you would be pleaſed awhile to pauſe upon it, and not undertake ſuch an action, 'till you find it really to be for the King's ſervice (for I am ſure your own inclinations are againſt it.) And if upon ſerious weighing of it you find it not to be a ſervice, but a diſſervice, to him, then think whether it be not your duty to God, your King, your Religion, your Honour, your wife and children's preſent ſafety and future happineſs, not to obey any ſuch commands, but inform his Majeſty of the prejudice it would bring him; and taking the advantage of this riſe which is now given to your Lordſhip from hence, humbly to adviſe him rather to think of an accommodation with his Parliament in England to ſubdue theſe Rebels, than, by giving them any countenance or aſſiſtance, to bring ruin upon himſelf, Religion, and Kingdoms. And how glorious an act this will be, for your Lordſhip to be the obtainer of, how agreeing to your own diſpoſition and affections, and how effectual it may be towards the making of peace in England, which I ſo well know has always been your Lordſhip's diſpoſition to further, I leave to your own imagination. This I am ſure of, it will be that will make your integrity, honeſty, and gallantry (in ſpight of all calumny) appear as clearly to the world, as it has done to me, that have the honour ſo perfectly well to know you.

*A.D.* 1644. I AM now employed to the Parliament about this buſineſs, with the like deſires to them to endeavour an accommodation with the King, as your Lordſhip is deſired to be a means of procuring from the King to them; that ſo unanimouſly we may agree together there, and proſecute the buſineſs here. God give a good ſucceſs to ſo noble and juſt deſigns! I ſhall, beſides the general letter I carry to that purpoſe, particularly acquaint the moſt conſiderable, how your Lordſhip was not informed of this affair before it was put in execution, by reaſon of time, interception, and ſo preventing it.* And if I may receive any commands from your Lordſhip at London, wherein I may really ſerve you, I ſhall uſe all the endeavours both in myſelf and friends to effect them. For I do ſeriouſly, and, it may be, now publickly profeſs to the world, that I have received more obligations and true friendſhips from your Lordſhip than from any man living. And if I do not always ſerve you and your's, let me be accounted an ungrateful creature; which is as bad a thing as you ſhould wiſh me, if in that kind I ſhould deſerve it.

THE Great God Almighty bleſs your Lordſhip, [*and*] make you a happy inſtrument of advancing his Glory, in being a means that the true Proteſtant Religion may be profeſſed in this Kingdom in purity, and the profeſſors of it live in ſecurity! That you may have the inward ſatisfaction of ſo glorious a work here, and the perpetual comfort of it hereafter, this has been, is, and ſhall be the conſtant daily prayer of

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt obliged and moſt real*

*faithful Servant to the end,*

*Corke, this 19th of July* 1644.

THO. WHARTON.

I AM juſt now going to Kinſale to take ſhipping; if your Lordſhip will allow me the contentment of your commands either by meſſage or letter, let it be ſent to my Brother's houſe in Clerkenwell; and ſee what will follow.

### *The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

WHEN the officers of theſe ſmall forces remaining here, and the poor Proteſtant Engliſh of theſe parts began to obſerve and take notice with how great expreſſions of malice and calumny, many of the adverſe Iriſh party did begin to inveigh againſt the terms and conditions which his Majeſty hath been pleaſed (as it is given out amongſt them) to condeſcend unto, in anſwer to their propoſitions it was thought very eſſential and pertinent to the ſafety and preſervation of his Majeſty's intereſt and preſent being, to inquire and make further ſcrutiny into the buſineſs. And having found by infallible intelligence that his Majeſty hath not only been extremely deluded by the ſecret inſinuations of the ſaid adverſe party, but alſo much miſguided by the ſiniſter perſwaſions of thoſe at court, who too greatly favour their deſigns, and that a peace is likely to be concluded upon ſuch conditions as muſt of neceſſity prove deſtructive to his Majeſty's intereſt and to all his Proteſtant ſubjects, who, when they ſhall be joined with the Iriſh

* *MS.*

and

and engaged in a war againſt the Scots ſhall be left (at the perfection of their work) clearly at the devotion of thoſe who firmly and ſteadfaſtly reſolve, that they will attempt of no other conditions of peace, than ſuch as may entitle them to their own deſire; as, namely, an exemption from the government of the Engliſh, a full poſſeſſion of all the power and ſtrength of the Kingdom, by the erection of a new Militia to conſiſt of their own trained bands, and chiefly an abſolute freedom and liberty of Religion with the enjoyment not only of the public exerciſe thereof, but of all Church and Church-livings which they pretend unto, wherein if they ſhall fail (albeit they may peradventure ſeemingly yield unto the preſent conditions vouchſafed by his Majeſty which we hope are of another nature) they have then reſolved not only to break forth into a new inſurrection, but alſo to draw in, and ſubmit themſelves to a foreign Prince and Power, to which purpoſe ſeveral agents of theirs are employed to ſeveral States, more eſpecially one Doctor Dreyer into Italy, where by the correſpondence and intereſt of their Clergy he is to receive one hundred thouſand pounds now ready for him, and much more expected, with ſundry propoſitions of arms and ammunition. When I ſay we had entered into a conſideration of theſe things, and received certain knowledge of the real truth thereof (by ſuch means as it pleaſed God to bleſs us withal) we accounted it our duty to God, our King, nation and religion to uſe our utmoſt, and beſt endeavours (how weak ſoever) to prevent the effect of their premeditated miſchief; and finding that, when a peace ſhall be concluded, and the Engliſh and Iriſh joined in one body, it will be impoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve his own intereſt, or the lives and eſtates of his Proteſtant ſubjects from being totally ſubjected to the diſpoſure of the Iriſh, we have, for ſo good ends (as are before propoſed) reſolved not only to put ourſelves into a preſent poſture of defence and ſafeguard in the beſt manner we may, but alſo to free ourſelves from all treacherous deſigns of their's, which we are aſſured they have prepared in the deck for us, by removing from amongſt us ſuch as we account juſtly pernicious and dangerous to our ſafeties, and by taking up a conſtant reſolution not to join with or adhere unto their party in any action whatſoever, but on the contrary to ſtand upon our own defence againſt them; wherein we are humbly to beſeech your Lordſhip to enter into conſideration whether it will not conduce moſt to the advancement of religion, the honour of his Majeſty, and the ſafety of his good ſubjects, that the like reſolution be taken by your Lordſhip for all other parts of the Kingdom under your Lordſhip's command, ſo we ſhall humbly deſire and wait for the ſignification of your Lordſhip's pleaſure, direction and advice how we may beſt comport ourſelves in this courſe for the end beforementioned. In attendance whereon I remain

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,*

*Cork*, 23 *July* 1644. INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

### *Lord* INCHIQUIN *to Colonel* BARRY.

*Sir,*

I RECEIVED your's late laſt night, and although that barbarous paſſage is a thing we are not guilty of, yet it is true that we have turned the meaner ſort of people out of this town, which, before we had ſo done, was altogether in the power, and (for the moſt part) in the will of the inhabitants

*A.D.* 1644. bitants to give into the enemy's hands, but we have ſtill left as many as we can think ourſelves able to maſter; and thoſe that are gone out, have not a pennyworth of any thing but proviſion, taken from them; and I dare boldly ſay that upon ſuch an occaſion there were never people uſed with ſo much civility by officers and ſoldiers as they were, which will find eaſy belief from all indifferent perſons that ſhall know how much theſe people bent their endeavours to betray us and our garriſons into the hands of the Iriſh abroad, with whom we well know that his Majeſty has yet concluded no peace, and who we find no way deſirous of it, but upon ſuch terms as that they may have the power left in their hands to extinguiſh the Proteſtant Religion, extirpate the Engliſh nation, and deprive his Majeſty of his whole intereſt in this Kingdom, whenſoever he ſhall oppoſe them therein; the performance whereof their former carriage gives us good cauſe to expect. For we ſaw the articles of ceſſation daily violated, our quarters, contrary to them, taken from us, our fourth ſheaf injuriouſly detained, payment denied of the money due unto us upon unimaginable pretences, the places which we had deſerted poſſeſt by them with a high hand, though it be contrary to the articles, the people who were of our quarters the 15th of September and paid us contribution, countenanced by them to deny us, under pretence that before the ſaid 15th day they had promiſed ſome of their party to be on their ſide. And when complaint was made of all theſe particulars, their ſupreme council would not ſo much as afford my agent an anſwer from themſelves, but ſent me only the anſwer of the parties intereſted in doing theſe wrongs, unto which they would not admit my agent to reply, but made that a decree according to the law of the Medes and Perſians. Then let all the world judge whether we can look for any fair dealing at theſe perſons' hands, or whether theſe men be ſo faithful ſubjects to his ſacred Majeſty, who have ſo little regarded the performance of their faith to him; and who have not only denied aſſiſtance unto him, till they had gained their own deſires, but with all ſtrictneſs have oppoſed the advancement of his ſervice by giving impediment to thoſe that laboured to carry men to his aſſiſtance. Sir, theſe are inducements enough to be on our guard for the preſent; and I can aſſure you that I have certain information that they will by one means or other find a way to be rid of all the Proteſtants. And in good faith I am moſt certainly told that there is no hope for me in particular, to have any benefit or content amongſt them, except I become one of them in all ways; which I do the rather believe to be truth, becauſe my own brother did very lately deal falſely with me, for having gained him a rich widow by giving her a good jointure out of my eſtate, he did to draw me thereunto promiſe me the loan of ſome money which he brought ſo far as Limerick, pretending that he would have brought it to me, but there he ſaid he was adviſed not to lend it, for that it would be ill taken by the Supreme Council; whereupon he comes and makes an excuſe unto me, making me believe that he would deſire the Council's leave, and that having obtained that, he would ſend it; but I find that now he perceives that there is no peace concluded, he has altered his reſolution, ſuppoſing that he ſhall have all my eſtate to himſelf. But I hope it will be all taken from him; for (as it ſhould ſeem by an examination ſent in my Lord's letter,) Sir Thomas Wharton, ſuppoſing that my brother had been giving me intelligence (when he was ſoliciting me to make a jointure to his wife, and I him thereupon to lend me money) told a ſervant of his ſomething to that purpoſe, which the

ſervant

ſervant told my Lord Lieutenant, and which I hope will receive credit to his prejudice in recompenſe of his falſehood. We have given notice of all things unto his Majeſty, and deſire to be aſſiſted againſt the deſign of thoſe enemies of our's, who under pretence of faithfulneſs to him, do ſtrangely delude him; but for our parts we do not mean to violate any of the articles, until we have received his Majeſty's or the Lord Lieutenant's directions, or that by the attempts of our enemies we be diſobliged to the performance of them. This will give you as much light as the bearer's haſte will permit me to write at this time, but you ſhall hereafter ſee that we have good grounds for what we do, except we ſhould all reſolve to become Papiſts ourſelves, and by advancing that Religion to extinguiſh the other, which were unreaſonable to expect at our hands, and which can never be aſſented unto by *A.D.* 1644.

*Your affectionate Kinſman*

*and Servant,*

*Cork, ult. July* 1644.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

*The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

I HAVE thus long deferred to give an account of your Lordſhip's of the 6th of this inſtant, in hope to have had the aſſiſtance of the Council of this Province in making anſwer thereunto; but I find the former breaches of faith by the Iriſh, and their preſent expreſſions of unparalleled malice towards us, hath occaſioned thoſe who are remote from me to reſolve of not adventuring themſelves in the hands of their enemies, eſpecially where they find no perſon of quality on whoſe ſafe conduct they may rely; and therefore I muſt adventure to make your Lordſhip ſuch a return, as may in my apprehenſion ſuit beſt with the general ſenſe of the Council here.

AND firſt, where your Lordſhip is pleaſed to call Captain Booth's demands of hoſtage ſtrange, I muſt acknowledge myſelf to have been privy to the advice given him, that in caſe he came into any of the Parliament ſhips, and was by them ſuffered to go thither, he ſhould not adventure on ſhore without aſſurance for his ſafeguard; conceiving that his only being aboard the fleet might be held a ſufficient ground for his committal.

TO the three particulars of mine of the 25th of Auguſt, your Lordſhip is pleaſed to return me anſwer, that for the firſt you are ſorry for thoſe neceſſities that enforce me to interleague with the Parliament fleet, and that your Lordſhip hath no ſuch neceſſities upon you, which I am very confident of, and that no part of his Majeſty's dominions hath had thoſe conſtant neceſſities renewed and multiplied upon them, as I have in theſe parts ſuſtained, nor hath ſuffered for many injuries unrepaired; yet I ſhall give teſtimony to the world, that neither thoſe neceſſities, fear of danger, or hope of advantage, have occaſioned my interleaguing with the Parliament ſhipping, but the apparent practice of the Iriſh Papiſts to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, (which I am able to demonſtrate and convince them of, if it were to any purpoſe to accuſe them of any thing) is the only impulſive neceſſity that enforces me to accept, and ſeek that aſſiſtance by which I have not obliged myſelf to do any thing againſt his Majeſty: Albeit I have received from the adventurers an earneſt of their charitable inclination, to preſerve the poor

*A.D.*1644. afflicted Proteſtants from that ruin which the unſatiable malice of their enemies would involve them in.

To the ſecond; your Lordſhip is pleaſed to be a ſtranger to thoſe conditions which they account themſelves aſſured of; but I am certain all the world diſcerns whereunto their endeavours tend, and your Lordſhip cannot but in your depth of judgment evidently foreſee, that if they fail to accompliſh their ends at this preſent they will but uſe ſo much of (the virtue) patience, as may ſerve to give them a better opportunity to compaſs their ends; but as to his Majeſty's giving them encouragement to hope for ſuch exorbitant demands, his juſt and pious zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, and the profeſſors thereof are too evident to the world to give grounds for any ſuch ſcandal to be raiſed on him. If the folly and malice of theſe people were not ſo great to boaſt of a grant, whereof it were a heavier crime to aſperſe his Majeſty to have condeſcended, though thoſe men would have had the world believe him to have been the patron of their late horrid rebellion. But as we are confidently of opinion that his Majeſty hath been always averſe from yielding to their deſires, (which are not leſs diſhonourable to himſelf than deſtructive to his people,) ſo we are well aſſured that he can never be drawn to give up his own intereſt, and the lives and fortunes of his Proteſtant ſubjects into the hands of thoſe enemies to God, his Majeſty, and the religion his Majeſty profeſſeth, but by the wrongful information of ſuch as having ſo great affection to his enemies and intereſt in his favour ſhall ſeduce and abuſe his gracious inclination to his good ſubjects into a belief that the only expedient for thoſe ſo commendable ends his Majeſty propoſeth, is the ſpeedy concluſion of a peace with the Iriſh, which it is obvious to every eye cannot be effected with any the leaſt advantage to his Majeſty. And this will be beſt diſcerned by examining wherein they can be uſeful to him, which when your Lordſhip has taken into conſideration and weighed with the honour and profit that his Majeſty may ſurely expect by aſſiſting his Proteſtant ſubjects againſt them, I hope you be of our opinion.

The laſt being your Lordſhip's exception to the covenant, I have formerly replied unto you by Mr. Roch, and ſhall now add that thoſe who have voluntarily engaged themſelves by it, (even the moſt zealous embracers of it) have not intention of lifting up a hand againſt his ſacred Majeſty, but on the contrary his Majeſty may be ever aſſured of their faithful endeavours to execute his royal commands, if he be not miſguided to poſtpone them to Rebels and Papiſts, which we cannot believe he will ever do: And therefore we ſcruple not to declare that we will never ſubmit to any agreement to be made with them until it ſhall pleaſe God to ſettle an accommodation between his Majeſty and his Parliament of England; that ſo whatſoever conditions we ſhall pitch upon here, may be ſecured unto us in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſts may not at pleaſure ſeize and extirpate us. And ſeeing it is impoſſible for us to ſubſiſt having thus long laboured under continual wants, and been denied right by the Iriſh, and hardly countenanced or heard in our complaints againſt them, we have tied ourſelves to ceaſe from hoſtility only to the firſt of next month, by which time we hope your Lordſhip will return us the effects of our humble deſires, in giving us aſſurance that you intend not to make any peace or further ceſſation with the Iriſh than what you have already concluded, and that you will be pleaſed to protect us againſt them, which as it will certainly conduce to God's glory, and his Majeſty's

Majeſty's advantage, with your own eternal honour, ſo will it oblige all here to be what I have ever been *A.D.* 1644.

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate*

*and moſt humble Servant,*

*Cork, 19th Sept.* 1644.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Earl of* ANTRIM.

*Antrim,*

I HAVE ever been very ſenſible of your hearty affections for my ſervice: And now I find the fruits of them likely to prove ſo much to the advantage of my affairs, by thoſe forces which you have cauſed to be landed in the Highlands of Scotland, that it challenges from me very particular thanks. And as you have done this, ſo I make no doubt but, if you ſhall find it to be requiſite for my ſervice, you will not neglect going thither in perſon, as on my part I ſhall take care to give you aſſurance that I am

*Your conſtant Friend,*

*From Chard this 27 Sept.* 1644.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

## *Mr.* RICHARD KEMP *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,*

I RECEIVED by the hands of your Majeſty's Commiſſioner Leonard Calvert, Eſq; your Majeſty's commiſſion directed to Sir William Berkley, Knt. your Majeſty's Governor of Virginia, or to the preſent Governor, for the ſeizing of all London ſhips, and all Londoners' eſtates within the colony; being at that time in the abſence of Sir William Berkley according to the preſcribed rule in your Majeſty's commiſſion for the government by the Council here elected Governor.

I FOUND the difficulties unreſiſtable for the effecting of your Majeſty's commands at preſent; the country being in no poſture either of offence or defence, for want of fortification and ammunition, and the people in general deſperate through wants, rather inclined to pillage and plundering with hopes of a back from the Londoners againſt your Majeſty's good ſubjects than conformable to any authority. Soon after the arrival of your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, when the buſineſs was then a ſecret, ſurmiſes and whiſperings were ſpread abroad from uncertain authors that your Majeſty had given commiſſion for a Papiſt to be Governor, reflecting on the perſon of Mr. Leonard Calvert your Majeſty's Commiſſioner with many ſcandalous inferences tending to aſperſing your Majeſty with diſaffection to religion, which I forthwith endeavoured to vindicate by proclamation, and by viſiting the counties, threatening the law againſt all in authority, that ſhould ſuffer the authors, or divulgers of any ſuch monſtrous untruths to paſs with impunity.

I ENTERED into conſideration of the deplorable eſtate of the colony as far different in terms at preſent from what might be apprehended at the date of the commiſſion, as the higheſt proſperity to the greateſt miſery, being overlaid at our backs, and daily preyed upon by a wakeful enemy, working

*A.D.* 1644. upon the advantage of every bush and tree. And at such a time to provoke an enemy in all advantages and means powerful, with a party too inclinable to them, I conceived it no less in effect than the guilt of surrendering your Majesty's undoubted right to this colony to the claim of pretenders, or of giving up your Majesty's good subjects to be grinded between the Londoners and the savages.

Yet in a matter of so great weight as your Majesty's high commands imported, I trusted not my own judgment, nor would I build upon the assured knowledge I had of the state of the country; but I first communicated your Majesty's commands to the council who gave their opinions that it was neither safe to attempt nor possible to effect; yet I did not there desist, but with the consent of your Majesty's Commissioner I advised with the assembly, and the rather in respect of the various and sinister rumours of something, they knew not what, in agitation, which fed dangerous misconstructions and distractions, whose answer with the reasons thereunto moving I humbly present to your Majesty together with that concerning a custom house to be erected here. Thus in all humility I have tendered to your Majesty the miserable state of your distressed colony, daily bleeding and hourly pressed with wants and wounds, and the impossibility from thence of executing your Majesty's commands, humbly praying your Majesty's wonted clemency for suspension until further pleasure known. In the mean time submitting my life and fortunes at the feet of your most sacred Majesty,

*Your Majesty's*

*most obedient Vassal,*

*An Original*; * *endorsed by Lord Clarendon.*

Rich. Kemp.

*Father* Hartegan *to the Lords and Confederate Council of* Catholicks *in* Ireland.

*My Lords,*

THE multitude of my affairs last week hath hindered me from giving you an account thereof, which in substance is this. Monday last being the 21st instant I visited the Secretary of State, to recommend the prosecution of my affairs to him, and let him know what hopeful answers his eminence gave me on Friday before. This noble Lord wished me to take courage, and that the State was very favourably pleased to give me content; he added that the Lord Nuncio was a little before with him, soliciting for me, which he did efficaciously. One thing he moved that the Secretary could not like, to wit, our Queen's going into Ireland, which the Secretary holds would be the undoing of Ireland 'till your affairs were in a better case. About dinner time the Nuncio sent to me desiring I should repair to his Palace. I went; he told me he visited Monsr. de Chavigni, one of the Ministers of State, and a great friend to Cardinal Mazarini; he was Secretary of State 'till the Queen's reign began, and found him well inclined to further our affairs, and that he liked of a motion that he made to him which was this, that if France did but give Ireland yearly 120 thousand crowns towards the war, which is as much as

* *Without a Date; but, as appears from some papers attending it, it was sent at the end of this or the beginning of the next year.*

they

they give to our Queen, the Iriſh Confederates would undergo to entertain the Queen in Ireland, and turn the money into the war's buſineſs; but he durſt not venture to give his word for it, and deſired the noble men to confer with me of it, therefore the Lord Nuncio entreated me to viſit Monſr. de Chavigni, and let him know what I thought of the motion, and inform him further of our affairs. As I came to him, I found he did reliſh the motion, and would be glad I ſhould be of opinion that you would accept the ſame, and undergo to be at all charges for the Queen and her family. I anſwered him, though you were in great want of means, you wanted not good will, and that without any obligation from France, you would give freely what you had to her Majeſty when ſhe pleaſed to paſs into Ireland; that if France deſired to ſettle her affairs, rid themſelves of her Court, and oblige Ireland, they ſhould needs give us a greater ſum yearly, or a conſiderable ſum once; that if ſhe went into Ireland upon the propoſed terms, ſhe and her confederates would expect to receive the 120 thouſand crowns, and would ſay it was her penſion, and ſhould needs receive more from Ireland, which had been a heavy burthen to that exhauſted nation. I repreſented unto him that 200 thouſand crowns out of hand, with a ſtore of arms and ammunition, and promiſe of yearly ſuccour, would do your affairs, and preſſed this ſo far upon him, as he promiſed faithfully to ſolicit the Cardinal to look to us. Tueſday I went to the Hovarr, in hope to ſalute our Queen, but ſhe went to make her devotions to the Feuillants on St. Cecilia's day. As I came into the Preſence-Chamber, the Lord Montagu, and the Lord Arundel Warder, being told who I was, came forthwith to ſalute me, and told me they were to come to viſit me at my lodging. We had many diſcourſes to my praiſe, and of the means of advancing the Catholick cauſe; and [*they*] ſaid I was the only man that might work with our Queen and the Court of France, and choſen by God to do the work; with other expreſſions full of urbanity. The Lord Montagu ſaid to me in the ear, I ſhould needs write to your Lordſhips you ſhould not truſt moſt of the Engliſh even the very Catholicks who have more national than religious thoughts; before we departed, it was reſolved that next day their Lordſhips, Sir Kenelm, Father Clerk an Engliſh Jeſuit, Mr. Fitton an Engliſh Prieſt, Dr. Floud a Phyſician, and five more, as a repreſentative body of the Catholicks of England, ſhould meet at my lodging at three in the afternoon to diſcuſs ſome things concerning the Catholick cauſe. About night Colonel Fitz Williams came to entreat me with earneſtneſs to ſpeak to the Queen, and deſire her to call back the Lord Goring, and ſaid that the noble man was loſt; and if I did help him to recover he would ſerve my nation; I promiſed I would work his coming back on Wedneſday morning; the Lady Banbury deſired me to come to her; as I came ſhe demanded for God's ſake to work the Lord Goring's calling back, which I promiſed to do. Then falling upon Sir Kenelm's deputation to Rome, ſhe acquainted me of moſt of the Engliſhmen's diſguſt of Sir Kenelm, and the little [*deſire*] they had his employment ſhould ſpeed. Sir Kenelm is a noble man of great abilities, but little happy in his enterpriſes, and much envied by others; his inconſtancy in religion hath cauſed an ill opinion of his intentions. About noon I viſited the Lord Jermyn, and had an hour's conference with him. Truly the noble man hath a good will, and however he ſhewed himſelf heretofore, he will prove your friend, before our Queen depart this Kingdom. I dare ſay he ſhould be ſooner truſted than many Catholicks of his nation. After him I ſaluted our

*A.D.* 1644.

A.D. 1644. Queen, and had as good as a quarter of an hour's diſcourſe with her; among other things I aſked her to call back the Lord Goring and keep him about her perſon, ſhe promiſed me ſhe would and permitted me to write as much to him, 'till herſelf did write to him. After her maſs, which I heard, the Lord Jermyn, the Lord Wilmot, who was accuſed to have intended to betray and deliver the Prince of Wales to the Parliament; but in lieu of any trial, the King gave him letters of commendation to our Queen, and wiſhed him travel over ſeas, (ſtrange dealings!) I am not acquainted with the noble man, but I hear he wiſhes not our nation well. After dinner the Lord Jermyn came many rooms to conduct me; when I intended to retire to my Lodging, where the Catholicks were to meet. As ſoon as I was come to my chamber, when the Lord Montagu, Lord Arundel and the reſt expect the Jeſuits, one more came in to reſolve of many things: All ſhould be very long to be written, but all tending to your good and ſervice. On Thurſday the Lord Nuncio called to me, and viſited Prince de Conde for my affairs, and ſaid he found him moſt favourably inclined to us. Then I told him very many paſſages of my conference with the Lord Jermyn and our Queen; for which he gave God many thanks, as the Queen herſelf gave me infinite thanks. I dined this day at the Lady Banbury's, who entreated me to write this day to the Lord Goring to give him ſome comfort. Friday I wrote to the Lord Goring. Afternoon the Lord Montagu came to tell me the Lady Banbury took it ill that the Lord Vaus her huſband was not invited to aſſiſt at the laſt meeting held in my lodging, and deſired I ſhould next day in my lodging be pleaſed that he, the Lord Vaus, and the Lord Arundel ſhould come to a conference; which was agreed on. Saturday Morning the Lady Banbury deſired my company, and I came to her, ſhe told me the E. of Arundel departed hence for Italy with ſome diſguſt of Sir Kenelm, and that as he was known and powerful in Italy, ſhould of all likelyhood croſs Sir Kenelm's negotiation, and many other ſuch things. In the afternoon the three Lords came, and [*it*] was reſolved among us every one ſhould ſpeak earneſtly to our Queen in the behalf of the Catholicks of Ireland, which indeed they have done. This Sunday morning I aſſiſted at our Queen's dinner, before which there paſſed a little diſcourſe betwixt her Majeſty, the Lord Montagu, Sir Kenelm and me; after dinner the Lord Montagu had half an hour's diſcourſe to her about your affairs, and then I came to an audience which continued at leaſt three quarters of an hour, and gave her in writing, what I delivered by mouth; all which was greatly to her liking: I ſhewed her how I might work the ſettling of the affairs in Ireland; how of neceſſity every one ought to judge that the King's deſires are to content the Confederate Catholicks; that of neceſſity ſhe muſt ſolicit her deſires to content you to get ſuccour for you, chiefly what was promiſed before her arrival there, and was ſuſpended for her arrival, and ſuch other important things in our diſcourſe. Falling upon Ormond, ſhe ſaid plainly it was hardly to believe, truſt, or rely upon any Iriſhman that is a Proteſtant; for every Iriſhman that goes to church proceeds againſt conſcience, and knows to betray God. Of Inchiquin, that miſerable knave, ſhe ſaid he hath ſhamefully and wickedly declined his country and his King's party. Of Clanrickard ſhe ſaid that he had ſome things of Eſſex his Brother-in-law; otherwiſe he ſhould be for the Catholicks which are known to be faithful to the King, whereof no man doubts now: ſhe promiſed me upon her royal word, ſhe would ſerve you in this Court; now ſhe is at liberty greater than before;

before; ſhe ſaid, the State deſires not ſhe ſhould go any where from France, and wiſhed me to come and ſee her once this week. After ſhe had ſpoken to the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarini of my affairs, and ſaid when ſhe was invited to come for France, it was promiſed her ſhe ſhould have ſuccour for the King, and that the King writes weekly to her preſſing the performance of what was promiſed her, therefore ſhe cannot but ſolicit for his Majeſty immediately to make good her promiſe to him, as ſhe departed, and make England know ſhe hath ſome power in France; but nevertheleſs ſhe would ſolicit for my affairs moſt earneſtly. As ſhe was going to evening-ſong and ſermon, the Lord Jermyn aſked the Lord Montagu what was his opinion of my abilities, and of what family I was, and whether I had a great ſtroke in the Confederate affairs; that he found me an able under-ſtanding man, and ſuch other things he added. This day I received from Doctor Dower from Rome a letter that you wrote to the Nuncio's Progin by him, dated the 14th of June laſt, 6 months old. Father Henry Plunkett is now a month in Flanders, and wrote not one word to me, nor ſent me any deſpatch he hath. Our King's affairs are low brought; methinks God reſerves his rethroning to the Iriſh nation. Father Wadding writes, he hath a conſiderable ſuccour for you; Father Bourke hath another; and never believe me unleſs you get a good one from hence within a little time: you do not imagine what you loſt by not writing. We ſhould needs know a little paſſages, reſolutions, and things that paſs daily with you in Dublin, Ulſter and in Cork; and you ſhould write the words uttered by Ormond, Clanrickard, and Inchiquin, even when they are at table, at victuals, or in converſation: but I fear ſome are too favourable to them. *A.D.* 1644.

*I am, my Lords, your's and Ireland's*

*faithful Miniſter and Servant,*

M. Ô HARTEGAN.

*Paris, 27th Nov.* 1644.

*A Copy; endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

INSTRUCTIONS *for our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, the Duke of* RICHMOND *and* LENOS, *and the Earl of* SOUTHAMPTON, *employed by us to* London, *with our Anſwer to the Propoſitions, ſent us from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament at* Weſtminſter.

CHARLES R.

YOU ſhall deliver the anſwer now ſent by us to the late propoſitions to the Lords at Weſtminſter; and as ſoon as you can after the reception thereof, you ſhall deſire ſafe conducts for ſuch meſſengers as you ſhall from time to time find fit to ſend to us, whereby we may receive an account of your ſervice.

You ſhall earneſtly deſire a treaty to be had at ſome convenient place (London, if poſſibly) between any perſons appointed by that ſide with perſons to be appointed by us, upon all matters which may conduce to the ſettling a firm and happy peace within this Kingdom; the perſons on both ſides to be qualified with ample powers for the concluding a peace. And if you find they will not conſent to a treaty without firſt knowing what propoſitions ſhall be made by us, (upon which the treaty is to be, as well as

*A.D.* 1644. upon their's,) you ſhall then let them know that they ſhall very ſhortly receive ſuch propoſitions; or, that they ſhall be the ſame propoſitions which were formerly made by us, and accepted by them at the laſt treaty.

If you find that they are either reſolved not to treat with any but ourſelf, and then by perſons limited and unqualified to conclude, you ſhall declare that, ſince it is evident that much time muſt be ſpent in conſidering and debating all propoſitions, we are willing for the avoiding further effuſion of blood and devaſtation of the Kingdom, that all forces be forthwith diſbanded, and we ourſelf will come to Weſtminſter, if we may have ſecurity for our freedom, honour and ſafety; and you ſhall treat and conclude with them of ſuch ſecurity; which we conceive muſt be,

1. By reſtoring the revenue, forces and navy to us.
2. By declaring effectually againſt tumults, &c.
3. By readmitting all members ſequeſtered or removed from either Houſe ſince theſe troubles.
4. By the oaths of all thoſe in whoſe hands the Militia at this time is, and of the members of both Houſes, and all conſiderable men in the city.
5. By the oaths or other obligations from the commiſſioners for Scotland.

The which being done, we will freely refer all differences to a full debate in Parliament; and will immediately diſband our armies. This inſtruction, in point of time, to be left to your diſcretion, whether they agree to a treaty, or not.

If they ſhall refuſe to treat at all, being only deſired to treat with Commiſſioners, you ſhall then let them know that we are willing to treat with them ourſelf.

If you ſee cauſe, you ſhall propoſe to them, that a certain number of perſons may be appointed to conſider of a fit way to put an end to the preſent troubles, and to repreſent the ſame to both parties, to be conſidered of.

If they ſhall decline any treaty with you, but deſire to haſten you out of the town with a bare anſwer to our meſſage, you ſhall let them know that you are commanded by your inſtructions to move them for a ceſſation of arms; and to that purpoſe, that Commiſſioners may meet on both ſides to debate and agree upon articles for ſuch a ceſſation. And if neither treaty nor ceſſation will be admitted, you ſhall in our name deſire them, that there may be ſome conſideration (by perſons to meet on both ſides,) how the war may be managed with leſs devaſtation to the Kingdom; and that on neither ſide there may be any interruption given to the manuring and ſowing the earth; whereby it may pleaſe God not to add an unavoidable famine to the other calamities. And you ſhall uſe your own diſcretion in preſſing one or both parts of this inſtruction, at ſuch time after the delivery of our meſſage as you ſhall think moſt ſeaſonable; either before or after you receive any anſwer to it.

You ſhall uſe your beſt ſkill to let the independents know that we are willing to grant them our pardon, and to take them into our gracious protection, and to preſerve them from any apprehenſion or cenſure in the liberty of their conſcience in matters indifferent; and you ſhall let the principal and powerful perſons of that party know, that we ſhall be very ſenſible and ready

ready to reward any ſervices they ſhall do us in perſuading that party to adhere to us. *A.D.*1644.

You ſhall freely viſit and receive viſits either ſingle or together from any perſons you think fit, according to your diſcretion; and you ſhall in our name promiſe favours and rewards to any whom you ſhall diſcern to be able and find to be willing to advance a peace that is agreeable to our juſtice, honour and conſcience.

You ſhall uſe your beſt ſkill to inform the Scots' Commiſſioners of the deſigns which have been laid to deſtroy us and our poſterity, and of the intention totally to diſſolve and root up monarchy itſelf, and to make them ſenſible what influence that would have upon them and that our native Kingdom; and therefore to ſtir them up to preſs ſuch a peace, as we can with honour and conſcience conſent to; or elſe, to declare themſelves in ſuch manner, that it may be evident to the world that they will not be made inſtruments of the ruin of us and our poſterity.

You ſhall uſe your beſt ſkill and diligence to inform yourſelves what perſons of quality and intereſt in our city of London are well affected to us, and what power they have in that city; and to let them know we ſhall be ready to acknowledge and requite their affections; and if you find any money may be procured from them, or by their means for our ſervice, you ſhall deviſe by what means the ſame may be beſt conveyed to us; and you ſhall inform yourſelves how the affections of that city generally are to us.

You ſhall viſit ſuch priſoners of quality as are in cuſtody for their affection to our ſervice; and you ſhall let them know (who are ſoldiers) that we are extremely ſenſible of their ſufferings, and will uſe all poſſible and ſpeedy means to procure their liberty. And you ſhall ſend ſome perſons in your names to viſit the inferior priſoners: And if you ſhall there receive any money to our uſe, you ſhall diſtribute a fit proportion thereof for the relief of thoſe inferior priſoners.

You ſhall ſend us frequent advertiſements of your obſervations, and of any particulars you think neceſſary for us to add to your inſtructions; and you ſhall let us hear from you before you take any reſolution to return from thence, that you may receive our immediate direction concerning the ſame before you begin your journey; and you ſhall inſiſt upon this, if they preſs your ſudden coming away.

You ſhall obſerve ſuch further inſtructions and directions as you ſhall from time to time receive from us; and you ſhall preſs the matter of theſe ſeveral inſtructions, and whatever elſe you find conducing to our ſervice, with the beſt reaſons you can. For all which this ſhall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Oxon. this 13th day of December 1644.

*By his Majeſty's Command,*

EDW. NICHOLAS.

*An Original* in Sec. Nicholas's Hand; ſigned and endorſed by the King.*

*Some Obſervations and Memorials touching the* HOTHAMS,

THAT if Sir John Hotham could have been aſſured of the King and Queen's pardon for what he had done or ſaid in Parliament, and received into their grace and favour, he might have been made a faithful and

* *The rough Draught is in Lord Clarendon's Hand.*

 ſerviceable

A.D.1644. ſerviceable perſon to them; the denying of which (or at leaſt anſwering it coldly) was a great motive to his undertaking that employment at Hull.

After that Sir John had undertaken that employment for Hull he had ſome occaſion that detained him at London; ſo that upon notice of the Lord of New-Caſtle being gone thither, young Hotham was ſent down to ſhew to the townſmen his father's authority from the Parliament, and to draw forces into the town.

As ſoon as young Hotham came into the country he immediately drew into the town of Hull three or four hundred of the trained bands, and the day that he entered with them into the town, there was the greateſt ſight that ever had been ſeen or heard of, the water flowing into the market place, ſo that no man could paſs there; which was taken for a ſtrange omen, and proved not only fatal to the Father and Son, but even to the Kingdom.

That Sir John Hotham, when he departed from London, gave aſſurance to ſome of his neareſt friends, that he would not deny the King entrance into Hull, and ſurely had not done it, but that he was informed by ſome perſon near the King, in caſe he permitted his Majeſty entrance, he would loſe his head; and it is conceived the ſame perſon did moſt prompt the King to go to Hull.

That when the news was brought to London, that the King had a deſign to go to Hull, ſome of Sir John Hotham's friends moved in the Houſe of Commons that they would declare whether they intended by the order granted to Sir John, that he ſhould deny the King entrance, in caſe he came to Hull; but the motion was ſhuffled off, and the Houſe made no expreſſion in the point; ſo that if the King had entered by force, Sir John might have borne the denial upon his own ſhoulders.

The Earl of Newcaſtle had not been long with his forces in Yorkſhire, where there began a treaty between him and young Hotham; whom together with his Father they ſought to draw to the King's party. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, a great friend of young Hotham's, was the mover between him and the Earl; and this was ſooner laid hold on, in that the Lord Fairfax was now made a General for the Parliament of the forces of Yorkſhire, and ſome other adjacent counties; which diſcontented old Hotham; and though the Son had as much as in reaſon he could expect, (and more than fell to his ſhare) being made Lieutenant General to Fairfax, yet he was not well pleaſed, thinking himſelf not ſo abſolute as before for his Father keeping Hull, he commanded in chief in that field, and ranged the country without controul, but this treaty ripened but ſlowly, in reſpect the Hothams were cautious of being engaged too far, having an eye at the inclination of the Scots; who if they appeared for the Parliament they conceived would ballance the buſineſs on that ſide, yet ſurely this treaty much blunted young Hotham's activeneſs and (is conceived) retarded his march to Thornton bridge; by which means General Goring paſſed ſafely with the great convoy, without which the Lord Newcaſtle's army, at the preſent, could not have ſubſiſted for want of ammunition, and arms.

The Queen's coming to Bridlington had brought ſuch a magazine of arms and ammunition, my Lord of Newcaſtle's army began to be very formidable, and young Hotham having retired himſelf (and thoſe forces which belonged to him and his Father) from the Lord Fairfax, and being then at Beverly, began to have freſh motions of treating; and thereupon makes a

journey

journey for one night to the Earl at Bridlington, upon colour and pre- *A.D.* 1644.
tences of the exchange of priſoners; there he demanded his Father to be made a Viſcount, and himſelf a Baron, that they might have twenty thouſand pounds in money, and a Patent to the Father to be Governor of Hull during his life; all which, as it would have been granted, ſo probably accepted, but that in this nick of time, Sir John received ſome aſſurance of the Scots coming into England, and that young Hotham (by his alliance and friendſhip with the Wrays) was choſen General of Lincolnſhire; yet both parties made this advantage by the treaty, that as the Lord Newcaſtle forbore to come near Hull and Beverly, where the Hothams' eſtate laid and which was their prime quarters, ſo young Hotham though he had above a thouſand horſe and dragoons did not interrupt the Lord Newcaſtle's march from Bridlington; which might eaſily have been done, his army being overcharged with baggage, and the ſeaſon ſo tempeſtuous that his forces were very much diſperſed: Immediately after this young Hotham goes to be General for the Parliament in Lincolnſhire; ſo that the treaty was off the hinge, till ſuch time as he was laid hold on at Nottingham by Cromwell, which the Father did ſo much reſent as he did not only write to the cloſe committee in a menacing ſtyle for his Son's enlargement, but was otherwiſe ſo paſſionate in words and deportment that it gave the Parliament a great ſuſpicion of him. Beſides, he had with too much confidence been tampering with the Captain of a Parliament ſhip that laid at Hull, who had given ſome private informations againſt him; ſo that the Parliament began immediately to contrive for his ſurpriſal. In the interim young Hotham breaks looſe from Cromwell, and comes to Hull where the Father and Son think it very opportune to renew the treaty with my Lord Newcaſtle; and thereupon Sir John writes that letter, which was after (at the battle of York) taken in my Lord's cabinet, and coſt both the Hothams their heads, being the greateſt evidence againſt them, eſpecially the Father. And though this was applied to their deſtruction, there was no poſitive engagement to quit the Parliament, though without doubt they had now not only inclination, but reſolution to do it, but ſteered themſelves with ſo much cautiouſneſs and ſelf ends, as it could not carry a bleſſing along with it. For if they had immediately declared for the King, queſtionleſs they might have maſtered Hull by their own power; or at leaſt they might have had that from my Lord of Newcaſtle would have prevented their being ſurprized; but they thought to linger out the treaty not only for the better accompliſhing their own demands, but that they might more clearly diſcern which way the buſineſs of Reading would incline, being then upon the criſis.

YOUNG Hotham, whilſt he was reſtrained at Nottingham, ſends his ſervant to the Queen then at Newcaſtle, (I know not whether he wrote or ſent a meſſage) but he makes great profeſſions of his ſervice to the King, and deſires the Queen to apply her forces for his enlargement. This ſervant whom he truſted and employed to the Queen, was not only a ſon to one of his Father's tenants, but child to his nurſe that gave him ſuck; and yet this fellow afterwards came to be the principal witneſs againſt him.

THE townſmen of Hull having received inſtructions from the cloſe committee to ſeize upon Sir John Hotham, firſt ſurpriſe the caſtle and blockhouſes, then go to take Sir John in his own houſe; but he having ſome intelligence, eſcapes out of the town, thinking to go to his own houſe nine miles from Hull, which was fortified. In paſſing Beverly he was ſtopped

*A.D.* 1644. by the Boyntons, beat off his horſe, and after a barbarous uſage he was carried to Hull where his Son was already priſoner, being ſeized on by the townſmen. And it is moſt remarkable that he who had ſo much intereſt in thoſe parts, as none but himſelf could have put the town of Hull into that poſture againſt the King; found not ſo much as one man to lift a hand in his behalf. For which to give ſome reaſons ſo far as I can conjecture; that ſome of his principal officers were corrupted and bribed againſt him, the hearts of his ſoldiers much alienated by his being too ſtrait handed, and yet known to be rich in purſe; the townſmen though at firſt well-affected to the King's cauſe, yet ſo affrighted with the diſorders of the Lord of Newcaſtle's army, they would not think of coming under that power; Pelham a townſman and one of the Burgeſſes in Parliament, did much ſteer the inhabitants, and did not love Sir John; the ſeamen, who had a great influence in this as other maritime towns, found it ſtand with their intereſt and trade to ſtick to the Parliament, and therefore could not endure to hear of any change in their Governor; and laſtly, there being many of the preciſer clergy come thither for ſanctuary, they neither loved Sir John nor he them; of whom though he made uſe out of politic ends he did as much diſreliſh their humours and ways as any man living; and that they knew ſo well, as they did not only give all the information they knew againſt him to the Parliament, but underhand fomented all ſorts of people againſt him.

The Boyntons having thus ſeized upon Sir John at Beverley, ſent him immediately priſoner to Hull, conducted by his own troops; of which many had a particular relation to him, commanded by Legard his near kinſman, whom he had raiſed and put into that employment; and yet there was not ſo much as a motion for his enlargement and eſcape, or much reſentment for his ſuffering. Soon after this he and his Son are ſent in a ſhip to London; and at their firſt commitment the Son gives under his hand in writing to his Father a paper which clears the Father from being privy to thoſe treaties he had with Lord Newcaſtle; but apprehending afterwards, that this might prejudice his own cauſe, he requires the ſight of it; which after he got into his hand he tore it in pieces.

It fell to the Father's lot to be firſt brought to trial, who anſwered in blunt and in rough terms; being not only inclinable that way by nature, but more out of an apprehenſion his ſervices to the Parliament, did much exceed his tranſgreſſions; but the Son underſtanding his Father's deportment had done him ſome prejudice, (though he was not of a ſmoother nature) did at his trial demean himſelf with that ſubmiſſiveneſs and reſpect both to the Parliament and his judges at the council of war; that ſurely he had thereby gained friends to ſave his life, if his Father had been firſt executed; but as the buſineſs came to be managed, it advanced him nothing.

The Father had many powerful friends, as Sir Philip Stapleton and others of the Preſbyterian party, ſo divers of the independants his mortal enemies; he having uttered ſome ſpeeches againſt Cromwell and the independants in general, which much exaſperated the whole party; yet his friends thought, if his Son were firſt executed, they ſhould have power to ſave the Father; ſo that they firſt obtained his reprieve for ſome days, and then endeavoured all they could to bring on his Son's trial, which was ſo expedited that in few days the council of war had paſſed ſentence againſt him; and a time fixed for his execution. In the interim the reprieve for the Father being elapſed, he was carried to the Scaffold, and his friends not being

being able to get a ſecond reprieve from the Houſe of Commons, obtained it from the Lords which gave Sir John's enemies in the Houſe of Commons more power to ſtop all future reprieves and to preſs his execution. *A.D.* 1644.

As the Father's friends expedited the Son's trial, out of hopes to ſave the Father, ſo the Son endeavoured by all the means he could to have his Father executed, conceiving he might then ſave his own life; which it is probable he had, (not that he had more friends,) for when it came to queſtion in the Houſe of Commons whether the judgment of the council of war ſhould paſs againſt them, it was carried but by ſix voices againſt the Father, whereas there was not ſix perſons ſpoke for the Son; but that if the Father had been once executed, thoſe which had been his friends, would then have been as earneſt for ſaving the Son; whereas the Son being executed, the Father's enemies were never content 'till they had his blood alſo.

The ſecond reprieve for Sir John being obtained from the Lords, the day for the Son's execution approached, and he was brought to the Scaffold, where beginning to ſpeak ſharply againſt the Council of War and the Parliament, being interrupted, he died like a Roman; having been oftentimes heard to ſay (when he was in his greateſt proſperity) that he did not expect any good from the Parliament; States and Commonwealths never rewarding any man's merits but by death.

In the interim between Sir John's firſt and ſecond reprieve, he dreamed his Son and he changed wives, which ſome interpreted to be accompliſhed in that the Son was put into the coffin and buried in the grave which was made for the Father.

The time of the ſecond reprieve expired for the Father, his friends could not renew it; ſo that he was brought to the Scaffold and ſeemed to take his death with more patience than did the Son, having (as it is thought) even 'till his head was ſtruck off ſome hopes that his former ſervices to the Parliament would in concluſion have produced his pardon.

They were both convicted merely for treating with the enemy and having an intention to deliver up the town of Hull.

Sir John many years before his death, or that theſe troubles began, would often ſay he would never come upon a Scaffold to ſay good people take example by me, but would die with his piſtol in his hand; by which we ſee, Man purpoſeth, but it is God that diſpoſeth.

Sir John was a man of a good underſtanding and ingenuity, yet of a raſh and haſty nature, and ſo much wedded to his own humour, as his paſſion often over ballanced his judgment, and yet he was able to give good counſel, and advice, where his own intereſt was not concerned; he was valiant and a very good friend; and if his own particular intereſt had not been concerned would not have forſaken his friend for any adverſe fortune; he was a man that loved liberty, which was an occaſion to make him join at firſt with the Puritan party, to whom after he became nearer linked merely for his own intereſt and ſecurity; for in more than concerned the civil liberty he did not approve of their ways. Some of his moſt intimate friends who often moved him to quit the Parliament and come to the King, found him very inclinable, making proteſtation, that he did but expect a treaty, when if the King ſhould but offer that which was reaſonable and the Parliament not accept, he would deſert them.

And however the Son was more tampering and engaged in the treaty with the Lord Newcaſtle, ſurely the Father had more real affection to the

*A.D.* 1644. King's cauſe and peace of the Kingdom, for it appeared the Son blunted the Father's inclinations that way, and being a very politic and cunning man looked chiefly at that which ſtood moſt with his own particular intereſt; and upon that ſcore diverted his Father, who otherwiſe (as is believed) would more frankly have declared for the King. And yet I have heard his Father made this ingenuous confeſſion at his death, that it was ambition and covetouſneſs had been his ruin, and brought him to that end.

To conclude Sir John Hotham was the firſt man, who moved in the Houſe of Commons that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury might be charged with High Treaſon, and yet the perſon that ſuffered immediately before him upon the ſame ſtage.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon,*
"Sir Hugh Cholmley's Memorials." *

### *His* MAJESTY *to the Earl of* ANTRIM.

*Antrim,*

I NEED not repeat to you how acceptable your ſervices in the buſineſs of Scotland have been to me, nor how important to the welfare of my affairs the well ſeconding of that buſineſs is. But I have thought fit to ſend over this bearer Colonel Steward to Ormonde and to you, to ſolicit and negotiate the buſineſs of further ſupplies to be ſent over into Scotland; having alſo given directions into France concerning arms and ammunition for that ſervice; which I make no doubt will be ſo effectual as, if they come not time enough to be ſent thither; yet they will at leaſt to ſupply what you ſhall be able to procure in that Kingdom for the preſent ſervice; wherein I need no further conjure your utmoſt induſtry, than by the memory how much it concerns

*Your moſt aſſured*
*conſtant Friend,*

*Oxford, Jan.* 4. 1644.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

### *His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Nicholas,*

YOU (I meane, [*you*] and all your fellow Comiſſioners) having gon through with your three days taſke concerning Religion; I thinke it fitt (with my owen hand) to let you know, that I moſt fully approve of your proceedings; comending and giving you thankes for your conſtancy, dexterity, and, not a little, for your patience; and by this I ſee that I ſhall have contentment and honnor in and by the great truſt I have put upon you. Ther is one thing, that (by word of mouthe) at your departure I recomended to you; which (becauſe hitherto I fynde no mention of) I thinke not amiſs to name to you; it is, to try if the Rebelles will be content that all the treaty be layed open; I meane, that the diſagreing to one or more articles (on either ſide) hinder not the treating upon all the reſt; but, that all points of difference amongſt us may be fully ſeene; to the end that the certaine pryce of peace may be cleerly knowen. And certainly, this is the lykelieſt way to come at what all honneſt men deſyre; for I ſhall

* *It is accompanied by* "Memorials touching the Battle of York and the Siege of Scarborough," *too immaterial to be publiſhed.*

(and

(and I thinke every one will) give much more for a certainty, than ſo much as harken to but for a hope. And methinkes, if the Rebelles ſhall not conſent to this free dealing (when we deſire it) it will clearly appeare to all the world, that they are aſhamed to manifeſt theire intentions, and that we doe avow ours. So I reſt *A.D.1644.*

*Your aſſeured frend,*

*Oxford, 5 Feb.* 1644. CHARLES R.

*An Original, endorſed by Secretary Nicholas.*

*His* MAJESTY *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Nicholas,*

I RECEIVED yeſterday both of your letters (for I perceave by their marks that you have yet written no more) with the advertiſements from London, which, as you ſay, is worthy my notice; but without conſidering make this anſwer, that the juſt contrary concerning the new diſcovery of my Commiſſion * in a letter to the two Queens about the Iriſh Papiſts, is true. For indeed that Rogue Hartogen made ſuch a fooliſh propoſition, but it was flatly denied by me, and (if my memory much faile me not) my wief took occaſion upon ſome clauſe in my anſwer, whereby it ſeemed to her (in which ſhe was miſtaken) as if I thought ſhe had liked the propoſition, to diſclaime any parte in it (ſo farr from approbation) but only the tranſmitting of it to me, which certainly was not fit for her to refuſe. And this (with many other hanſome expreſſions of her affection to me, even to the ventring of being thought a Proteſtant in condemning the Iriſh proceedings) was, as I believe, in that letter, which Tho. Elliot delivered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9th of May laſt; for I am ſure the moſt of that letter was concerning the Iriſh buſineſs; and I know the reaſon why the Rebells have not printed it, is, becauſe it cleeres that point more than any of thoſe between us, which are publiſhed. That all this is true, and that the Rebells have all this under my wife's hand and mine, I command you to affirm poſitively in my name, upon all occaſions of this ſubject; but it is poſſible that all I mention to be, is not in that letter Tho. Elliot brought me, (though I am ſure moſt is) but then it is in ſome other. So you ſee cleerely the truth of this buſineſs: By which, if it be brought to light (which I command you to endeavour with all poſſible induſtry) I muſt have honnor; for where my own juſtifies me (which I am ſure my wife can produce) let the Rebells do what they will, I care not what Lyers can invente in this kinde. For what elſe remains unanſwered in your two letters I refer you to your Fellow Secretarie, and reſt

*Your moſt aſſured Friend,*

*Ragland, 9th Sept.* 1645. CHARLES R.

*This Letter was written with the King's own hand.*

† *Copia vera; ex. E. N.*

*Endorſed thus by S. Nicholas:* "R. 24°. 7bris 1645. His Majeſty's "Letter to Secretary Nicholas, that the Rebells have not printed ſome "Letters of his Majeſty's and the Queen's, which juſtify their Majeſties "in the buſineſs concerning Ireland."

* *By this cannot poſſibly be meant the Commiſſion to Lord Glamorgan, there not being the leaſt Suſpicion in England of any ſuch Commiſſion, 'till after the death of the titular Archbiſhop of Tuam, which happened before Sligo on the 17th of Oct. following the date of this letter. See Dr. Birch's Enquiry, &c. P.90.*

† *This is in S. Nicholas's Hand.*

*A.D.* 1644.

*The Lord* CULPEPER *to the Lord* DIGBY.

*My dear Lord,*

THE unexpected loſs of Briſtol hath plunged theſe parts into ſuch a deſperate gulf of deſpair, that all the good news in the world beyond our horizon cannot change our complection; otherwiſe your Lordſhip's diſpatch by Mr. Hollis would have been welcomed with bonfires, the importance of the Marquis of Montroſe's ſucceſſes being as great as his progreſs therein hath been full of miracles. Neither are our fears leſſened with relation to our friends, we apprehending the influence which this diſaſter will have upon Wales equally with what we feel. But, my Lord, neither you nor we ought to ſink too low under this misfortune, we are to look forwards and not upon that which is paſt cure; and if we find not the recovery of Briſtol nor the ſafety of the Weſt and Wales to be within our power, let us endeavour to get London inſtead of it, and the South and Eaſt of England in order to the Weſt. However your Lordſhip may interpret this gay ſally, I am ſeriouſly of opinion, that it is not only all we have left of the game, but that if we ſoberly and vigorouſly apply ourſelves to it, the attempt will not be deſperate. The deſign I propoſe is very familiar; to unite all the horſe and dragoons the King can get together, and with them to break through and join with the power of Scotland, and (that Kingdom being well ſettled) without looking upon mad Wales, to march directly to the South, where we ſhall fight againſt the bodies of men (a much eaſier taſk than to ſtruggle with ſuch innumerable neceſſities as we now meet with in every corner, whilſt we diſadvantageouſly ſcratch for molehills,) and for the reward of one day's good ſervice in the field, ſhall poſſeſs the richeſt party of this Kingdom. In this caſe the winning of one battle is like to give you London without a blow; but if that rebellious city ſhall then refuſe to ſubmit, the laying waſte of the adjacent parts firſt on the one ſide and then on the other, (which will be in the power of the victorious army) will quickly reduce them to reaſon. Whilſt theſe preparations ſhall be in the North, the like endeavour is to be had during the winter ſeaſon to bring ſtore of men from Ireland (if there be peace there as we certainly hear there is) to the Weſt and to Wales, and to obtain ſuccours from France (for which purpoſe fit agents are to be diſpatched to both places;) which forces will not only preſerve the remaining garriſons with us and you, (which otherwiſe muſt certainly be loſt the next ſpring if not ſooner) but will make ſuch a luſty diverſion as may facilitate the main work in the South. Neither muſt you omit to uſe all poſſible courtſhip to gain to you the Scotiſh army under Leſley and Calander. Their own intereſt (which they do nothing neglect) is now the ſame with the King's; which granted, your Lordſhip muſt pardon me if I again and again affirm the feat is to be done, if handſomely carried. If that ſucceeds you have all the North to friends (and that will be a good ſtep to your journey's end;) therefore give not over becauſe you have failed, nor reſt upon the curioſity of quaint diſtinctions nor the nicety of ſpiced-ſcruples. Remember that a Kingdom is at ſtake, and the preſent and all future ages will call them wiſe, and honeſt too, that ſhall preſerve it. So much for that. The next ingredient muſt be a ſevere and moſt ſtrict reformation in the diſcipline and manners of the army. Our courage is (to return your Lordſhip's own word) enerved by a lazy

lazy licentiouſneſs; and good men are ſo ſcandalized at the horrid impiety of our armies, that they will not believe that God can bleſs any cauſe in ſuch hands. All I ſhall ſay upon that ſubject, is, begin upon a new ſcore, and learn of my Lord Montroſe to be as conſcientious in protecting your friends, as terrible to your enemies, and ſubtle in taking all neuters for ſuch. Well; you will aſk me which end of this work you ſhall begin at; look upon the ſoul of the whole action, and us all (the King;) redouble the care of his perſon (I aſſure you theſe ſkipping jaunts make my heart ach;) lay the deſign for my Lord Goring to meet you at ſome fit rendezvous (perhaps Newark or Oxford is to be the place) with all his horſe and what foot he can mount; and then if Lord Montroſe be on the one ſide with his army, and the King on the other with ten thouſand horſe and dragoons (for joined with Lord Goring and thoſe of Newark, I conceive the number will be no leſs,) if you cannot meet, you have ill luck. As for theſe two weſtern counties, if Lord Goring ſtay until Fairfax advance with all his army, I give all our horſe for loſt, (they will be in a very Corniſh Mouſetrap,) and our garriſons will probably follow their fate; and if Maſſey only engage upon us with part of their forces, theſe horſe being not able to find ſubſiſtence in this angle without intolerable oppreſſion, will be ſuch an inſupportable burthen to this miſerably exhauſted county, that they will raiſe three times more enemies amongſt us, than Maſſey will bring with him. So that I muſt conclude, (and my Lord Goring hath expreſſed himſelf to be fully of this opinion,) that the beſt and ſafeſt way both for the preſerving of the horſe and of our remaining garriſons in the Weſt, is for them to break away with the firſt ſafe opportunity, and to leave our garriſons upon the defenſive, to which the winter will much contribute. But if theſe horſe (at the leaſt three thouſand) ſhould miſcarry here, both the hopes of his Majeſty's ſafe joining with the Lord Montroſe, as likewiſe of his ſucceſs if he were ſo joined, would be extremely weakened. And let the aſſiſtance of the Scots and Iriſh and French be what they will, without a very good body of horſe they will not be able to do the work. My Lord, I have vented my thoughts to you, which as they had their birth from ſome diſcourſe which fell from your Lordſhip at Cardiff, ſo I ſhall earneſtly deſire your Lordſhip to refine and improve theſe notions; whereby thoſe objections may be cured which otherwiſe would deſtroy the deſign, which I cannot willingly part with until your Lordſhip ſhall be ſatisfied that you have pitched upon a better; remembering, that to ſtand ſtill, and to go backwards, is all one to us, and that without ſomething extraordinary and reſolutely undertaken, the beſt that we can expect is but a reprieve until the next ſpring. The ſtrength and poſture of Lord Goring's forces, and the condition we are here in is referred to the relation of this bearer whom your Lordſhip is deſired to deſpatch back with all poſſible ſpeed to, &c.

*A.D.* 1645.

*Barnſtable, 18th Sept.* 1645.

*A rough Draught, corrected by himſelf.*

*The Lord* DIGBY *to the Earls of* LEVEN, *and* CALANDAR, &c.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

HIS Majeſty having fully conſidered his own preſent condition and that of his Kingdoms, and reflecting on the one ſide, how it hath

 pleaſed

*A.D.* 1645. pleaſed God to humble him in all thoſe things, wherein he might ſeem to rely upon his own ſtrength and power; (as is evident by his many late misfortunes within this Kingdom) and on the other, how in Scotland (from whence in all human underſtanding he had not the leaſt probable ground of expectation) he hath been pleaſed ſo miraculouſly to raiſe him, as that a ſingle perſon (the Marquis of Montroſe) engaged by generoſity in the moſt hopeleſs undertaking that ever was, hath not only reduced under his Majeſty's obedience almoſt all that Kingdom, but even obliged you here to forſake your hopes in this (at a time of leaſt reſiſtance) and to apply yourſelves to ſuccour your few remaining partakers there. As his Majeſty doth conſtantly acknowledge God's great juſtice in the one, and mercy in the other, ſo he cannot but think by effects ſo wonderful, that God doth, as it were, point out the ways of his providence, by which he means to reſtore his former bleſſings to theſe afflicted Kingdoms, or to leave thoſe inexcuſable, who having been in ſo great a meaſure the cauſe of their calamities, have now before their eyes ſo eaſy a meaſure to ſettle the peace of both nations, and to make their own the moſt happy and glorious one in the world. Towards which that nothing might be wanting on his Majeſty's part, nor you want any invitations of honour, conſcience, or intereſt thereunto; his Majeſty hath commanded me to make this addreſs unto you, in his name, well hoping that the gracious offers which ſhall herein be made you, may find you prepared by the former conſiderations, to thoughts and diſpoſitions more capable of them than hitherto you have been. You are deſired to take a ſerious and impartial view of your Sovereign's, your Country's, and your own ſad condition; him reduced to the greateſt extremities and hazards even of his Crown and poſterity, your country (if you return thither with that army) likely to be made the ſcene of bloodieſt civil wars and moſt deſperate calamity under heaven, and yourſelves the miſerableſt aſſembly of men living, fighting againſt your King and againſt your country; deſtroyed in your fortunes and beings at home, and altogether hopeleſs here; doing and ſuffering all this for their ſakes, who make it evident to all the world that they both hate and contemn you; and who prevailing by your aſſiſtance, it is manifeſt mean nothing more than the ſubverſion of monarchy itſelf, (which his Majeſty is yet confident you would not ſee deſtroyed) nor nothing leſs than the eſtabliſhment of God's worſhip in that way, for which you pretend to fight. This is a true face of things one way. Conſider but the reverſe in that which his Majeſty invites you to at this preſent; namely, a right underſtanding betwixt him and you, and thereupon a conjunction of your forces with his Majeſty's both in England and Scotland; here under his royal perſon, and there under his moſt fortunate General the Marquis of Montroſe for the procuring a happy peace in both Kingdoms. This courſe, my Lords, may afford you as cheerful and happy a proſpect as the other was ſad and fatal; thus you may ſee your Sovereign's crown firm and ſtill ſecured in that his antient, native and now again beloved Kingdom, and ſecure from any eminent hazards in this; your nation quiet, rich and united, happy in a moſt ſure and inviolable ſettlement of religion, laws and liberties, according to the fulleſt deſires of all good men; and yourſelves the happy perfecters of that work ſo gloriouſly begun and advanced by the Marquis of Montroſe, of redeeming your Sovereign from his greateſt extremities, and yourſelves from all former imputations

tations. My Lords, if it be not God's will for our ſins to deſtroy us all, and to blind thoſe whom he means to deſtroy, is it poſſible that we can neglect ſuch an opportunity as the very hand of God ſeems to ſtretch out unto us? in order to the making of a right uſe of which, what is there that can conſiſt with the honour and conſcience of a juſt and generous prince, that his Majeſty's tender and fatherly affections to his people will not induce him to do, to procure and ſecure their peace? Hath any man been miſled by pretence of religion, as if that were in danger; let every one among you that hath been acquainted either with his Majeſty's life or profeſſions, ſincerely examine his own heart, and faithfully inform his weak brother, whether he do not in his conſcience believe his Majeſty as zealous, as true, and as firm a Proteſtant, as any man that lives. I am confident there is not one noble perſon among you, that can pretend to know him, that will ſo groſſly forfeit his truth, as not to affirm it. Is there any that would pretend themſelves bound in conſcience to enforce the eſtabliſhment of the ſame Church Government here which is ſettled in Scotland? certainly, my Lords, they who juſtify their taking up arms againſt their King, to withſtand his impoſing upon them a Church Government againſt their conſciences, can ill pretend to juſtify their continuing in arms againſt him, becauſe he will not let them impoſe upon him, a Church Government againſt his conſcience. But perhaps, ſome there are that in prudence and policy conceive that the Church Government in Scotland cannot be ſecure and durable, whilſt a different one continues here. For aſſurance to theſe, his Majeſty doth promiſe that he will never endeavour to alter in Scotland the form of Church Government there eſtabliſhed; and doth farther aſſure that when ever the Government of the Church of England ſhall be ſettled in a national ſynod (to which rightly called his Majeſty is deſirous to refer eccleſiaſtical matters) he will not conſent that any thing be done there to the leaſt prejudice or diſturbance of the Church of Scotland. And as in eccleſiaſtical, ſo, for your entire ſatisfaction, alſo in things civil and temporal, there ſhall be nothing propoſed for the protection, liberty, honour and advantage of that nation, which good ſubjects can with reaſon aſk, or a good King with juſtice and honour grant, that his Majeſty will not moſt freely and graciouſly condeſcend unto; with this further aſſurance, that whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to make a ſettlement of the diſtractions of this Kingdom by Parliament, his Majeſty will take a ſpecial care that nothing be done to the prejudice of any of his gracious conceſſions and intentions for the happineſs and proſperity of that. And laſtly, if poſſibly any man's ſenſe of his preceding actions ſhall make him jealous that they may have taken too deep impreſſion in his Majeſty to be eaſily forgiven, and ſo prove an impediment to this happy accommodation; that he may cheerfully caſt away all fears, his Majeſty doth not only promiſe an act of oblivion, but all the particular engagements for ſecurity and indemnity that can be deviſed. But of this you have yourſelves in your own hands at this time the beſt ſecurity from a generous Prince; that is, the opportunity of deſerving ſo highly from his Majeſty as eaſily to blot out the memory of all former demerits. Theſe, my Lords, are the invitations of honour, conſcience and intereſt, which his Majeſty out of his paſſionate deſires of the good and tranquillity of all his dominions, and his particular affections for the honour and happineſs of that his antient and native Kingdom, hath commanded me to propoſe unto you; which if they have ſuch

*A.D.* 1645.

*A.D.*1645. effect upon you, as is wiſhed, you are then further deſired to appoint perſons and place where ſome of his Majeſty's miniſters may meet and confer with ſuch as you ſhall think fit to employ, about the fitteſt method and moſt honourable to yourſelves, of bringing theſe moſt ſincere overtures to a happy concluſion; and principally, to conſider how with the moſt expedition his Majeſty may come himſelf among you, and, having ſettled the affairs of that Kingdom, according to the hearts deſire of all good men of that nation, this Kingdom may alſo owe its peace and happineſs to the union and mediation of that; in the effecting of which bleſſed work if I may be but the meaneſt inſtrument, I ſhall date from that day the greateſt worldly bleſſing that can befall

*Your Lordſhip's*, &c.

G. D.

*A Copy, without a Date.*

## *Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs*,

I SHALL moſt willingly acquaint the Houſes of Parliament with your deſires touching a ſafe conduct for the Lords mentioned in your letter; and am exceeding glad to perceive in your Highneſs ſo ſerious a ſenſe of the evils and miſeries of theſe diſtreſſed Kingdoms, in which, after his Majeſty, you have ſo great an intereſt, which ſhall ever be as dear to us as our own. And I hope it ſhall appear to all the world, though we make uſe of war for neceſſity, yet we are not a people that delight in war, but next after the truth (which is much dearer to us than our lives) and our juſt rights and liberties, (which we reckon equal with our lives, our lives being but a ſhadow of death without them) we above all other things prefer peace; and it ſhall be your Highneſs's greateſt glory earneſtly to endeavour and mediate with his Majeſty for this, and God Almighty proſper, command, and create it for us: Which is the earneſt prayer of your Highneſs's moſt faithful

*and moſt humble Servant*,

*Bath*, 19*th Sept.* 1645.

T. FAIRFAX.

*An Original.*

## *A Member of Parliament at* London *to ſeveral Members of Parliament reſiding in the army.*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

DIGBY's letters taken at Sherburne have been read in the Houſe. There are contained in them notable diſcoveries, and of more conſequence than what was in the King's. It ſhews all negotiations with foreign States, and more particularly with thoſe of Holland, and concerning a treaty for a match with the Prince of Orange's Daughter for our Prince; and the underhand dealings of the ambaſſadors lately here, which were much ſuſpected, are now fully laid open; and the buſineſs of Ireland is clearly ſet down. And amongſt other letters there are ſome notable falſe and ſcandalous ones that paſſed between Jermyn and Digby; as, that the Scots' Commiſſioners ſhould make addreſſes to the Queen to intercede for peace, and that they would only expect to have the Preſbytery ſettled; and much more

of

of the like, which no man that knows our brethren, but muſt conceive [it] to be a mere fiction; as likewiſe [that] mention is made in ſome of thoſe letters of overtures made to draw the Scots to join with the King. One paſſage made us merry; which was in Digby's letter to the Queen; wherein he blamed the King for carrying his papers ſo looſe that he loſt them at Naſeby, and thanked God he had loſt none of his. The letters have matters of high importance and ſerious conſideration contained in them. They make out ſome matters we had ſtrong cauſe formerly to ſuſpect. You may gueſs at what I mean. Colonel Ireton and Major Solloway are choſen Burgeſſes at Appleby in Weſtmoreland. I received your letters by the meſſengers; but the poſt is not yet come. I am *A.D.* 1645.

*Your's*

D. P.

*London*, 4 *Nov.* 1645.

*A Copy, endorſed, as above, by Sir Thomas Fairfax.*

## INSTRUCTIONS *from the two Houſes to* STRICKLAND *their Agent in* Denmark.

THE confidence we have of your abilities and conſtant fidelity, induceth us again to employ you to the King of Denmark, to whom you are accordingly with all poſſible expedition and haſte to tranſport yourſelf: And being arrived where you ſhall hear of his abode, you are without any loſs of time to demand audience, and then in due manner to deliver our letters, the copies whereof (which ſhall be delivered unto you) might ſerve you for information of what affairs you have there to perform; but yet for your further and fuller direction and knowledge, you are to follow, and obſerve theſe enſuing inſtructions. It is not unknown unto you, how that King hath ſent again into this Kingdom Sir John Henderſon againſt our expectation, we having upon the former coming hither of the ſame perſon (after we diſmiſſed him out of priſon, only in conſideration of that King) deſired his Majeſty by our letters, to forbear hereafter the employment of him and ſuch others as were guilty of treaſon, as this Henderſon is, for having a long time borne arms, and by all ſorts and acts of hoſtility diſcovered his ill affections and traiterous mind, as well againſt his native country the Kingdom of Scotland, as this Crown of England. Which letters of our's having been put into your hands, ſafely to be ſent to his Majeſty, you will the eaſilier find out whether it hath been delivered or not; and finding that it was not, then you are to deliver the duplicate thereof you will receive to that end. Howſoever you are to aſſure that King, that not doubting of his royal good affection towards us, we alſo doubt not, but had he received our ſaid letters before he deſpatched Henderſon the ſecond time hither, or had he been informed by Henderſon himſelf in the truth of his firſt journey and behaviour, he would rather have forborn, than ſuffered this his ſecond ſending and coming over again; Henderſon knowing full well he could not be welcome, nor received here by what pretence, or quality ſoever he could colour and cover himſelf. And therefore out of our great reſpect towards that King, rather than puniſh and uſe him according to his demerits, we have willed him to make his repair back again without meddling with whatſoever that King may have commanded or given him order in. Yet all his diſſervices, notwithſtanding the great honour and devotion we have to that King, hath prevailed ſo much, that we have with due

*A.D.*1645. due reſpect received his royal letters; and upon due conſideration thereof, found good by you (expreſſly ſent for that purpoſe) to return our humble thanks unto his Majeſty for his royal letter of mediation, which as we will always with all honour and gratitude acknowledge, and remain conſtant in our eſteem of his princely merits and favours towards us, and in our affections and endeavours towards him, ſo do we hope and crave, that his Majeſty will likewiſe continue his wonted good affection towards us, and his laudable care for the preſervation of the mutual friendſhip betwixt the two nations on both ſides. And becauſe theſe Kingdoms of England and Scotland, are ſo united by their ſolemn league and covenant, that none without the other may enter into any treaty touching war or peace of either Kingdom, the ſaid realms have not long ſince jointly with one accord ſent ſome reaſonable propoſitions for a firm and ſolid peace, unto the King our Lord; of which though his Majeſty's old ill counſel (which hath ſo long miſled him) did then ſo much prevail that the deſired ſucceſs and expected acceptation did not enſue; yet nevertheleſs, ſince it hath pleaſed God ever ſince to give many apparent teſtimonies of his great mercies towards us, the ſaid two Kingdoms never receding from their lawful duty, and Chriſtian obedience, are reſolved and preparing again, ſome moſt reaſonable and equitable propoſitions to be ſent unto his ſaid Majeſty our King; whereby as we cannot but hope to reap the long and much deſired fruits of a perfect peace, ſo as the King's royal offer and office of mediation will be no way requiſite: So alſo ſhall it plainly appear both to that King and before all the Chriſtian world, that our ſole and whole aim hath always been, and is ſtill bent, to reeſtabliſh and ſettle theſe Kingdoms in an unfeigned true peace and tranquillity, our King in his royal throne, with all due honour, glory and proſperity, the church in the orthodox religion, the Parliaments in their fundamental principles, and all the ſubjects in their due and antient liberty, all according to the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of this Britiſh empire, and to the ſolemn national covenant mutually ſworn between the two Kingdoms. You are to give us ſpeedy advertiſement of your negotiation and of all that ſhall paſs betwixt that King his council and perſon. And alſo take order with Mr. Parker at Hamburgh, and others well affected in theſe parts, to give us from time to time conſtant advertiſement of what that King treats or doth, that they may not reflect on us.

*A Copy.*

### *Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Sir,*

YOUR Highneſs's deſire of a ſafe conduct for the two perſons whom you deſign to ſend to the King, I did, according to my duty and promiſe, faithfully repreſent unto the Parliament: But have not yet received their reſolution thereunto. What the occaſion may be of delay or ſuſpenſion therein, I may not take upon me to determine. Perhaps, finding what counſels ſtill prevail about his Majeſty, they may juſtly apprehend any ſuch addreſs to him would be fruitleſs, if not hurtful to the end you propoſe it: And yet being loath to anſwer any deſire from your Highneſs with a publick denial, may chooſe to ſuſpend, rather than give their reſolution. Whatever the reaſon be, I believe it juſt and neceſſary. And your Highneſs need not doubt of the Parliament's readineſs to grant any deſire of your's that may be for your own and the Kingdom's good, and eſpecially for ſo bleſſed a

purpoſe

purpoſe as a ſafe and juſt peace. But truly, I conceive it would be far more available to that end, more for the ſafety and welfare of your own perſon and family, and the joy of the ſubjects of this Kingdom, if your Highneſs would diſband what forces you have the command of in theſe parts, and go yourſelf in perſon to the Parliament; where your Highneſs need not doubt of ſafety and honourable reception; nor thoſe Lords and Gentlemen that are about you, and ſhall be forwarders of ſo good a reſolution, of favour anſwerable thereunto; beſides the benefit of the propoſitions laſt tendered to all thoſe that come in before the firſt of December. And for your ſoldiery, they ſhould have good conditions, as ſoldiers, from myſelf, and, no doubt, as ſubjects from the Parliament. If in this I might ſerve your Highneſs, I ſhould moſt readily give or be myſelf your ſafe conduct, and account it an honour and bleſſing from the hands of God, crowning all other the ſucceſſes he hath been pleaſed to give in this Kingdom's behalf, to the weak endeavours of A.D. 1645.

*Your Highneſs's moſt faithful*

*and humble Servant,*

*Nov.* 8. 1645.

T. FAIRFAX.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Fanſhaw.*

*Sir* RICHARD GREENVIL *to Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX.

*Sir,*

YOUR letter of the 8th of November to his Highneſs was ſo far from the anſwer he expected from you to his former meſſage, that it provoked him to more indignation than I have ſeen in him: And he commanded me to let you know, that he did not believe that his overture of engaging himſelf in the mediation of a bleſſed peace for this miſerable Kingdom, which he did and doth moſt earneſtly deſire to labour in, would have brought him ſuch a return as a temptation to quit his piety and loyalty to his Royal Father; whereby he ſhould juſtly render himſelf unworthy and incapable of the fruits of that peace he labours for. Neither can he imagine (he ſays) what act or action of his life hath given the leaſt encouragement to that odious importunity. If his former propoſitions may be conſented to, he hopes God will ſo bleſs his ſincere intention and deſires, as to make him a bleſſed inſtrument to preſerve this Kingdom from deſolation. But if that be rejected, he ſhall give the world no cauſe to believe that he can forfeit that honour and innocency which can only preſerve him in a capacity of doing that ſervice, when God in his good time ſhall incline their hearts to receive it. This is all I have in command from his Highneſs.

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon, endorſed by him,* "Sir Richard Greenvil "to Sir Tho. Fairfax, by the Prince's "Order."

*Prince* RUPERT's *Submiſſion to the* KING.

*Sir,*

I AM ſorry to underſtand by William Legg that your Majeſty hath not that ſatisfaction which I endeavoured to give your Majeſty in my laſt

*A.D.* 1645. letter, and conceived to have given your Majeſty therein. And now I freely acknowledge my errors, and humbly intreat your Majeſty to conſider me by my better and more laſting expreſſions of my zeal and affection, and to pardon what is done amiſs, and to accept it where it cannot err, which is in all humble duty and ſervice your Majeſty's, in which way be pleaſed to command and diſpoſe as you think fit,

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt faithful, obedient,*

*Nephew and humble Servant,*

*Woodſtock, 8 of Dec.* 1645. RUPERT.

*A Copy, by Secretary Nicholas's Clerk.*

## *Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*My deareſt Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I MUST acquaint you that the Duke of York, being put into the care of Sir George Ratcliffe, is to be conveyed by the Lord Aſtley to Beaumaris, from whence he is to go [*to*] Ireland, and there to ſtay in caſe the peace be made: If not, to go from thence to France. But we now hope the peace is not made, being fully ſatisfied of their baſe intentions, from the beginning, not to ſuccour us, and of their want of power to do it, if they had the deſire, by reaſon of the entertainment that is given them by Inchiquin, Coote, and the Scots; but moſt of all, for that it would impoſſibilitate the peace of England, which Ireland (being free for his Majeſty in honour to diſpoſe of) will bid ſo fair for the purchaſe of [it,] as we yet conceive [*it*] is not deſperate. And therefore, his Majeſty, after long debate, and a ſtrict ſurvey of his miſerable condition, hath thought this propoſition counſellable, that a meſſage be ſent to thoſe at Weſtminſter to this effect; That if he may have ſecurity from the upper Houſe, from the Scottiſh Commiſſioners and their army, from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council Men of London, and from Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army, for his ſafe being in London forty days, he will go thither in perſon, and endeavour to ſettle theſe diſtractions: But in caſe he cannot compoſe them in that time, that then he may be ſafely ſet down at Oxford, Newark, or Worceſter, his Majeſty making his choice of one of theſe places the day before the expiration of the time limited. The reaſons that invited his Majeſty to make choice of this advice, I ſuppoſe, were theſe. Firſt, his low condition in point of force, the ſtrange neceſſity he is brought into not being longer able to ſupply his table, the like wants being fallen upon all his party; the little [*hope*] he hath of being timely ſuccoured by the Earl of Montroſe, or any other; the certainty of being blocked up here or in any other place his Majeſty can now hie unto; which this propoſition will prevent, they not knowing what place his Majeſty will chooſe at the forty days end; and laſt, the great opportunity his Majeſty may give to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners at London to effect what is propoſed by them to the Cardinal Mazarin, and by him to the Queen of England; which is, that if the upper Houſe and lower Houſe at Weſtminſter ſhall refuſe to accept the Militia as it was offered at Uxbridge, a national ſynod of both Kingdoms for buſineſs,

buſineſs, religion, the temporary removal of five or ſix perſons from his Majeſty (whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Digby, and John Aſhburnham are three) and to give his Majeſty full ſatisfaction in all other particulars; that then the whole power of Scotland ſhall be joined for his Majeſty. If we conclude with them, the place his Majeſty muſt chooſe is Newark, the Scotiſh army being now before it. You ſeem to be confident that, if you might have leave, you would unite his Majeſty and the Scotiſh army; which when he read, he commanded me to let you know that he freely gives you leave to do your worſt. And his Majeſty believeth that you intend to make your way by Duke Hamilton. If ſo, it is ſuppoſed you will not think fit for him to go to Scilly. But what courſe ſoever you reſolve on in that particular, his Majeſty gives you full liberty to do as in your judgment you find neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice; always provided you deſtroy not the Church of England, to ſet up Presbytery. *A.D.* 1645.

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Laſtly, his Majeſty commanded me to tell you that he is in no little trouble to think of your going with Prince Charles; and believes it much better for his ſervice that you and Lord Hopton ſtay behind, hoping to find ſome way for you to get a paſs to come to him. Yet not being with you to debate it, he leaves it wholly to you; but with ſtrange earneſtneſs wiſheth your ſtay, if it may be without prejudice to the Prince. I ſuppoſe you will not want a good occaſion for it, if you treat with one. My deareſt Lord, uſe the very beſt means you can to ſtay: For upon my life, if you were here, we ſhould yet make a good peace, notwithſtanding we are at our laſt gaſp. Yet, if you muſt go, God's bleſſing fall upon your head, and upon the heads of all your's, in what part of the world ſoever you or they be! And whatever my lot ſhall be in this war (which is not imaginable to be leſs than ruin) I will fall your's with more love and fidelity than ever was born to you by mankind: And if it ſhall happen that I ſhall be ſo unfortunate as to outlive you, and that God doth favourably preſerve me in a condition to ſerve your poſterity, (which I cannot have ſo much preſumption as to expect) be confident I ſhall ſhew them how perfectly I loved you living, by the devotion I ſhall ſhew to your memory. And ſo, my deareſt Lord, farewell! I am body and ſoul your own

JO. ASHBURNHAM.

As I was going to cloſe this deſpatch, there is a meſſenger very happily arrived from the Lord Sinclair, who hath brought a letter to his Majeſty from him and David Leſlie; wherein they moſt earneſtly invite his Majeſty to come to their army, with great promiſes of ſecurity, and complaints againſt the Parliament. We reſolve (if they will not admit us at London) to drive that nail home.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I WOULD give all I am worth to have two hours diſcourſe with you.

*Oxford, 13th Dec.*

*A Copy by Mr. Edgman, Secretary to Lord Clarendon.*

*A.D.* 1645.

## REASONS *why his* MAJESTY *ſent to the two Houſes his Propoſitions of* December 26. 1645.

THE reaſons why his Majeſty thought good to ſend his Propoſitions of the 26th of December 1645 to London were, that

HIS Majeſty hath no army at all nor any forces but what are in his garriſons; no means or money either to ſatisfy or keep his officers, or to ſupply or pay his garriſons, but the contributions of the country, which being waſted by the ſoldiers of both ſides, and extremely diſaffected, are ready every day to riſe againſt his Majeſty's garriſons, as being not able any longer to undergo the heavy preſſures, which the neceſſities of his Majeſty's ſoldiers, and the avarice of his Majeſty's governors, daily puts upon them.

THAT his Majeſty having loſt Briſtol hath no means to be ſupplied from foreign parts with arms or munition, or materials for making of either, of which he begins already to be in want.

THERE is no means to raiſe any conſiderable forces for an army againſt the next ſpring, for that all Wales was loſt preſently after the loſs of Briſtol, and ſince that Monmouth and Hereford. Cheſter is in imminent danger to be likewiſe loſt; Newark and Belvoir Caſtle are beſieged and in danger.

IN the Weſt there are about 5 or 6000 horſe and foot, but there are ſo great diviſions amongſt the chief officers, and the Council that attend the Prince, as for want of conduct thoſe forces are ſo diſunited, and the country ſo diſaffected to them by reaſon of the ſoldiers rapine and oppreſſion, as the country riſes againſt them, whenſoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is ſo waſted as it cannot feed them when they lie together in a body.

BESIDES, the Corniſh will not be drawn further than Devonſhire. Exeter is ſo cloſe begirt, as very little or no proviſions can paſs into it, and it is not ſupplied for many months.

APSOM is poſſeſſed by Sir Thomas Fairfax's forces, and the King hath in Devon. now no port but Dartmouth and there are likewiſe forces marched thither to block it up.

THE ſiege of Plymouth is ſo weakly proſecuted for want of force, as they have lately relieved themſelves and burnt ſome of our quarters near it.

Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell have lately ſent into thoſe parts near 1500 of their beſt horſe, which ſhews that they are much too ſtrong for his Majeſty's forces in thoſe parts.

THE Weſtern horſe are drawing towards Oxon. and are to join with other forces which are to come from London under Colonel Rainsborough, and all that can be ſpared from Coventry, Warwick, Glouceſter, Northampton and out of Buckinghamſhire; (which it is believed will in all make no leſs than 8000 and 4000 horſe and dragoons) and are deſigned preſently to block up Oxon. at a diſtance.

DENNINGTON Caſtle is blockt up by forces that lie in Newbury and the country thereabouts.

THIS being his Majeſty's preſent condition in England; and there being no peace concluded in Ireland, nor any conſiderable forces poſſibly to be drawn from that Kingdom, in any time to aſſiſt his Majeſty;

THE

THE Marquis of Montroſe being ſtill in the Highlands or no nearer than Glaſcow, and in what condition his Majeſty is, not certainly aſſured, ſo as there is little hope of timely aid from him; *A.D.* 1645.

FROM France or Holland there comes nothing but fair and fruitleſs promiſes, they having not all this time afforded his Majeſty any conſiderable aſſiſtance, nor ſo much as publickly declared againſt thoſe at London:

UPON theſe conſiderations his Majeſty reſolved to ſend to London the ſaid propoſitions, which being as low as he can go with preſervation of his conſcience and honour, he doubts not but God will give a bleſſing to this his reſolution; and that, if his ſubjects do not hearken to the reaſon he offers, his allies will conſider how far his intereſt may concern their's.

*A Copy; Part of the Endorſement in Sec. Nicholas's Hand.*

## *The Lord* DIGBY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My dear Chancellor,*

I SEIZE with much joy this occaſion that flatters me with the hopes of conveying ſafe unto you, and by you unto the reſt of my friends there, an account of my adventures ſince you heard from me. Theſe incloſed papers will give you a very particular relation of all matters of fact. I make no queſtion but my unſucceſsfulneſs in that employment will give occaſion to my enemies to accuſe me of a great diſſervice to the King in having been the loſs of ſo many of his horſe; not in the conduct of them (for I apprehend not malice itſelf in that point) but in putting them upon ſo deſperate a deſign. This point I deſire you to clear by letting all with whom you ſhall find the objection, know, that although I was of opinion that the King himſelf ought to have ventured when he was at Welbeck the paſſage into Scotland, in caſe there had been a certainty of my Lord Montroſe's being on this ſide Forth, yet when that was once diverted, upon both my intelligence and advice, I had afterwards the leaſt ſhare of any man in the Council of adventuring any part of the King's horſe upon ſo hopeleſs a deſign as that of Scotland was, while we were doubtful of Montroſe's condition. But the northern horſe being diſguſted with Gerard, refuſed abſolutely to march back ſouthwards from Welbeck; and ſo, rather than they ſhould diſband, it was thought fit to try whether they would be engaged to adventure to Montroſe, who in all his letters had ſeemed much to reſent the neglect of him in not ſending him a ſupply of horſe, aſſuring that with the help but of a thouſand he could carry through his work. The propoſition being made to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, he at firſt point blank refuſed it, as an undertaking which had by Gerard and all the reſt been declared deſperate even with all the King's horſe; but upon ſecond thoughts finding that all the horſe would diſband, if they were drawn ſouthward, he and all the northern Gentlemen came to the King and told him, that if he would lay his commands upon me to take the charge, and to go along with them, they would adventure it, otherwiſe not. Whereupon I having declared my obedience to whatſoever the King ſhould impoſe upon me, his Majeſty commanded me poſitively to that charge, uſing, beſides his pleaſure, this argument to me; that, if I ſucceeded in it, I ſhould reap much honour, if not I could incur no prejudice by failing in that which was at firſt given for deſperate. And ſo at half an hour's warning, having (I proteſt to God) not dreamt of the matter before, I marched off from the rendezvous, with an

*A.D.*1645. addition only to the northern horſe of ſuch as would voluntarily chuſe to go with me, which proved to be a matter of 300: With which I made that progreſs, which you will find in the incloſed papers. But here, I am ſure you will wonder how I, holding that place I did near the King, and having the honour of ſo great a part in his truſts, eſpecially at a time when he had ſcarce either counſellor or penman about him, ſhould be put upon ſo extravagant and deſperate an employment. To this I muſt let you, and ſuch only as you ſhall think fit, know, that though I had no thought of the preſent action, yet the King and I had long before, (that is, ever ſince his affairs were made ſo deſperate by the loſs of Briſtol) concluded it moſt for his ſervice that I ſhould abſent myſelf from him for ſome time, in caſe I could find a fair and honourable pretence for it. I believe the accidents ſince befallen at Newark with P. Rupert and Gerard will have given you a light of ſome reaſons of my remove. The truth is, their violent deſigns were no ſecret to the Kingdom; and though in relation to my own particular, I had no reaſon to fear, if I might have owned my apprehenſions ſo far as to ſtand upon my guard in a place where I was ſo ſtrong in friends, yet in relation to his Majeſty's ſervice and ſafety I clearly ſaw it would be fatal to it, if by my ſtay there I ſhould give them and the reſt of the diſcontented party at Newark a colour to do that with a perſonal pretence againſt me, which I having removed by my abſence they durſt not do with any aſpect directly upon the King himſelf. Over and above theſe urging reaſons as to the time, upon the main of the King's condition and mine, I found the King likely to ſuffer much by my ſtay near him; the wearineſs of the war being ſo univerſal, and the deſpair of any improvement in his condition being ſo great in all about him, I found it almoſt every man's opinion that it were beſt for him to ſubmit, with the preſervation of ſome that had been faithful to him, to that which ere long he would be forced unto with the loſs of all his party; which being a kind of ſelf policy that I could never concur in and thoſe who had thoſe aims believing that my intereſt with the King might hinder their compaſſing them, it was made their buſineſs to publiſh that I was the only hinderer of peace, and that the King, as low as he was, might obtain a good one but for my animoſities. Finding this their deſign take and ſpread as it did, and that I was upon the brink of being looked upon as *publicus hoſtis*, and that ere long he muſt fight for me or unjuſtly abandon me, I cannot deny but it wrought upon me ſomewhat of more concernment in my own particular than I have ever yet been guilty of. But when I added to this the conſideration of the King my Maſter's firmneſs and conſtancy to thoſe reſolutions which I thought ſo virtuous and kingly, ſuch as could receive no addition by my confirming him in them; and when I found at the ſame time that my being with him robbed him of the praiſe of his generoſity, and that they attributed that to me for a vice in the procurement which was really a moſt inherent virtue in him, I thought it then high time to watch an opportunity of freeing his Majeſty from an attendant ſo pernicious to his honour and intereſts. And this, my deareſt friend, is as much as I think neceſſary to ſay unto you upon this ſubject, hoping that by your dextrous conveyance of it to his Highneſs the Prince of Wales, it will have the ſame impreſſion with him, which I cannot doubt of with you.

SINCE my coming out of England, I ſtaid a month for a wind in the Iſle of Man; which time I cannot think miſpent, having there received great

great civilities from my Lord of Derby, and had the means of a particular acquaintance with his noble Lady, whom I think one of the wiſeſt and generouſeſt perſons that I have known of her ſex. From thence I and my company were very ſecurely conveyed hither in a light frigate of his Lordſhip's; where I found all things in a great forwardneſs, the concluſion of which was expected in few days, and great forces (as was pretended) already in a readineſs for England, under the command of the Earl of Glamorgan, the Confederates great General and Favourite. But his Lordſhip being ſent for by my Lord Lieutenant and myſelf, to confer about the ways of diſpoſing thoſe aids moſt to the advantage of his Majeſty's ſervice, the buſineſs contained in the incloſed papers brake forth in ſuch manner as you will find there ſet down, and obliged me to that part in the King's vindication, which was thought could not ſo properly be performed by any as myſelf. You will find the whole buſineſs ſo fully ſtated in the tranſactions themſelves, which I ſend you, and in my letter to my Brother Secretary, that I ſhall need ſay no more upon the ſubject. Only let me ask you whether, according to the rules of policy, I have not carried my body ſwimmingly; who being before ſo irreconcileably hated by the Puritan Party, have thus ſeaſonably made myſelf as odious to the Papiſts? Well! my comfort is, that the very few honeſt men that are in the world will love me the better, and whilſt I do the part of a man of integrity and honour, I am willing to truſt God with the reſt. I muſt not conclude without telling you, that if I had been brought hither by far greater misfortunes, I could not have repined at any thing that had given me the happineſs of ſo particular a knowledge of, and friendſhip with the Marquis of Ormond, who (if I can judge at all of men) is not only the wiſeſt young man, but the moſt ſteady, generous, and virtuous perſon that I have ever known. I conjure you, as you love virtue, and as you love me, who have ſo little a ſhare of it, build carefully by your diligent application, upon thoſe grounds which I have laid for a friendſhip between you; for indeed I love him ſo much as I cannot be at reſt till we make up the triangle equal on all ſides to that perfection wherewith I am, *A.D.* 1645.

*Your's, &c.*

*Dublin, Jan. 5th.* 1645.

*An Original.*

## *The Marquis of* WORCESTER *(late Earl of* GLAMORGAN*) to the Earl of* CLARENDON. †

*My Lord Chancellor,*

FOR his Majeſty's better information, through your favour, and by the channel of your Lordſhip's underſtanding things rightly, give me leave to acquaint you with one chief key, wherewith to open the ſecret paſſages between his late Majeſty and myſelf in order to his ſervice; which was no other than a real expoſing of myſelf to any expence or difficulty, rather than his juſt deſign ſhould not take place; or, in taking effect, that his honour ſhould ſuffer. An effect, you may juſtly ſay, reliſhing more of a paſſionate and blind affection to his Majeſty's ſervice, than of diſcretion and care of

† *In the laſt paper Lord Digby having ſpoken of the proceedings againſt Lord Glamorgan relative to his Commiſſion to treat with the Iriſh Catholicks, it has been thought proper to place this Letter here, as being deciſive of the diſpute concerning the authenticity of that commiſſion.*

*A.D.*1645. myſelf. This made me take a reſolution that he ſhould have ſeemed angry with me at my return out of Ireland, until I had brought him into a poſture and power to own his commands, to make good his inſtructions, and to reward my faithfulneſs and zeal therein.

YOUR Lordſhip may well wonder, and the King too, at the amplitude of my commiſſion. But when you have underſtood the heigth of his Majeſty's deſign, you will ſoon be ſatisfied that nothing leſs could have made me capable to effect it; being that one army of ten thouſand men was to have come out of Ireland through North Wales; another, of a like number at leaſt under my command in chief, have expected my return in South Wales, which Sir Henry Gage was to have commanded as Lieutenant General; and a third ſhould have conſiſted of a matter of ſix thouſand men, two thouſand of which were to have been Liegois, commanded by Sir Francis Edmonds, two thouſand Lorrainers to have been commanded by Colonel Browne, and two thouſand of ſuch French, Engliſh, Scots and Iriſh as could be drawn out of Flanders and Holland. And the ſix thouſand were to have been, by the Prince of Orange's aſſiſtance, in the aſſociated counties; and the Governor of Lyne, couſin german to Major Bacon, Major of my own regiment, was to have delivered the town unto them.

THE maintenance of this army of foreigners was to have come from the Pope and ſuch Catholick Princes as he ſhould draw into it, having engaged to afford and procure £ 30,000. a month; out of which the foreign army was firſt to be provided for; and the remainder to be divided among other armies. And for this purpoſe had I power to treat with the Pope and Catholick Princes with particular advantages promiſed to Catholicks, for the quiet enjoying their Religion, without the penalties which the ſtatutes in force had power to inflict upon them. And my inſtructions for this purpoſe, and my powers to treat and conclude thereupon, were ſigned by the King under his pocket ſignet, with blanks for me to put in the names of Pope or Princes, to the end the King might have a ſtarting hole to deny the having given me ſuch commiſſions, if excepted againſt by his own ſubjects; leaving me as it were at ſtake, who for his Majeſty's ſake was willing to undergo it, truſting to his word alone.

IN like manner did I not ſtick upon having this commiſſion inrolled or aſſented unto by his Council, nor indeed the ſeal to be put unto it in an ordinary manner, but as Mr. Endymion Porter and I could perform it, with rollers and no ſcrew-preſs.

ONE thing I beſeech your Lordſhip to obſerve, that though I had power by it to erect a mint any where, and to diſpoſe of his Majeſty's revenues and delinquents' eſtates, yet I never did either to the value of a farthing, notwithſtanding my own neceſſities, acknowledging that the intention of thoſe powers given me, was to make uſe of them when the armies ſhould be afoot; which deſign being broken by my commitment in Ireland, I made no uſe of thoſe powers; and conſequently, repaying now whatever was diſburſed by any for patents of honour, as now I am contented to do, it will evidently appear that nothing hath ſtuck to my fingers in order to benefit or ſelf-intereſt; which I humbly ſubmit to his Majeſty's princely conſideration, and the management of my concerns therein to your Lordſhip's grave judgment, and to the care of me, which your Lordſhip was pleaſed to own was recommended unto you by the late King, my moſt gracious Maſter, of glorious memory: And the continuance thereof is moſt humbly implored and

begged

begged by me who am really and freely at your Lordſhip's diſpoſal, firſt, in order to his Majeſty's ſervice, and next to the approving myſelf, *A.D.*1645.

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt really affectionate*

*and moſt humble Servant,*

WORCESTER.

*June* 11. 1660.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My dear Lord,*

I HAVE received your Lordſhip's of the 9th by Sir Dudley Wyatt, by whom you will receive this; he being deſpatched within a week from the time that he came to Court. I wiſh you would follow that example, and deſpatch the meſſengers who come to you from hence, with half that expedition. We have as well as our diſcretion can ſerve weighed all the particulars in your deſpatch, and the inſtructions, to which fuller anſwers are committed to the bearer's memory, than can be put in writing. Yet I know my Lord Culpeper will ſay ſomewhat to you of the particulars, and ſo ſhall I; but firſt to your poſtſcript concerning the Princeſs at Exeter and the Governeſs.* Our good friend Sir Francis Wenman was wont ſceptically to ſay, that an unfortunate friend was as bad as an unfaithful; if this ſhall grow a ſober received apothegm and doctrine amongſt you, you had need chuſe all your confidents in a more proſperous climate than we inhabit. I'll be bold to ſay (let the ſucceſs be what it will) the Governeſs is as faultleſs in this buſineſs as you are; and hath been as punctual, as ſolicitous, and as impatient to obey the Queen's directions as ſhe could be to ſave her ſoul: but can you believe her able to act that whole part herſelf, without aſſiſtance, and what aſſiſtance could ſhe have? How, and when, ſhould ſhe have left Exeter, and whither ſhould ſhe then have gone? She had newly received the Queen's letter for that purpoſe, when the Prince was laſt at Exeter; which was about the end of September; ſhe then ſhewed it to me, and deſired my aſſiſtance; I durſt not communicate it, the ſeaſon being not then come, which was pointed at by the Queen for her remove; being then to be, when Exeter ſhould be in danger to be beſieged, which truly we had reaſon to believe would not have been 'till the winter ſhould be over. And it was no wonder, if they were not forward 'till there ſhould be an abſolute neceſſity to leave that place, where they had a complete ſubſiſtence, which nobody elſe had, and they could not expect in any other place in England. There was no more to be done, but to foreſee any danger that ſhould threaten us at ſuch a diſtance, that her remove might be provided for. Upon the advance of the enemy, which we had reaſon to believe our own forces (very little inferiour then in number) would give ſome interruption to, the Governeſs again called for help, but in that article of time, by the great induſtry and care of ſome of your friends, a rumour was raiſed that we were carrying the Prince into France, and a ſtrange mutiny like to be in ſeveral places upon it. At Exeter were meetings upon drawing up a declaration and a proteſtation againſt it, and againſt all who ſhould adviſe it; which had been done, if the Governor had not carefully and ſkilfully

* *Lady Dalkeith.*

*A.D.* 1645. [have] prevented it. In Cornwall, at the publick ſeſſions, a petition was framed and tendered to the bench (by the privity and advice of ſome of our friends at Court) by which the Prince ſhould be deſired to declare that no adverſe fortune ſhould compel him to depart the Kingdom, with many other excellent clauſes fit to accompany the other; this petition was likewiſe by H. Killigrew, and two or three more, ſuppreſſed. At the ſame time we received advertiſements from France that the Prince's coming over was hourly expected, to the great diſcomfort of all the King's friends; and that if, he ſhould come thither, he muſt of neceſſity be kept there, till the French King came to age; and hereupon, I aſſure you all the ſervants ſpoke big, and vowed great matters, if any ſuch thing were undertaken. Do you think now, in this conjuncture it had been fit to have removed the Princeſs from Exeter? believe it, if it had been done, all means for the Prince's own ſecurity, when he ſhould be preſſed, had been taken away. You cannot imagine the difficulties we have to ſtruggle with, in the ill humours and indiſpoſitions in the country and the Court, in the extreme wants and neceſſities we groan under, in the unaptneſs of moſt men for buſineſs, and in the envy and malice that attend thoſe few, who are compelled to tranſact that buſineſs. In a word, if the moſt important article of time were come, when the moſt neceſſary ſervice were to be performed, I proteſt to God, my Lord Culpeper and I cannot think upon ſix perſons, whoſe integrity and uprightneſs we can depend upon; and yet I hope, we ſhall do what becomes us with ſucceſs. The Governeſs had undoubtedly procured a paſs to bring the Princeſs into Cornwall, if letters had not been taken at Dartwell, by which the deſigns of tranſporting her appeared. You have now this whole ſtory, by which I think you may conclude that the Governeſs could as eaſily have beaten Fairfax, as prevented being ſhut up in Exeter; from whence I hope ſhe will yet get ſafely with her charge; to whom I am confident ſhe hath omitted no part of her duty. And truly, I think it will break her heart, when ſhe hears of the Queen's diſpleaſure, which pardon me for ſaying is with much ſeverity conceived againſt her: and you ſhall but magnify your juſtice, by undertaking any thing on her behalf. I have made this diſcourſe the longer to you, that you may by the ſeveral circumſtances ſee the ſtraits and difficulties we are in, and how hard a thing it will be for us to perform our duty (from which no danger ſhall deter us) in the other grand part of your letter, concerning the Prince's perſon. But I muſt tell you, if we ſhould now communicate the deſign of carrying the Prince into France, it would be as impoſſible ever to execute it, as to beat Fairfax with one regiment. But all our diſcourſe is of living in and defending Pendennis againſt the world; and indeed, if you haſten your forces, and in the mean time ſend us ſome money, ammunition and an engineer; that might be done. And when all ſuſpicion of going away is over, and the ſeaſon ſhall require it, we may be able to ſteal to Scilly, or Jerſey; where we may ſafely take any new reſolutions ſhall be thought fit. For God's ſake, haſten over your ſupplies of all ſorts, and never fear the uniting the party for its own defence. Let my Lord Goring bring but men and money to do it, and he ſhall find no rivalſhip to command. For as my Lord Hopton hath upon abſolute, viſible neceſſity, and in pure obedience ſubmitted to the undertaking the preſent government of the army, which muſt elſe have been abſolutely diſſolved before this time without any enemy; ſo he will with much more willingneſs lay it down, than he took it up. Believe it, they who

make

make the diſcourſes to you of diſunion have made more troubles than they have found, and will not, whilſt they live, and whereſoever they live, meet with diſpoſitions from whom they will receive more compliance and aſſiſtance, than they have done from thoſe, of whom they unjuſtly complain. We deſire to meddle as little with the army, as they deſire we ſhould; but when there is a neceſſity for the Prince to appear himſelf: Which I ſay again by my conſent ſhall be as little in or with the army as any man can deſire: We ſhall as well as we can diſcharge the duty of counſellors, according to the truſt the King hath repoſed in us, from whom only he can require the account, and to whom he muſt only object the faults. And truly ſince the King hath thought us fit for that truſt (the which I believe few of us would have undertaken, but out of the moſt abſtracted ſpirit of duty, loyalty, and obedience) we may without vanity believe ourſelves as competent for it, as they who would join themſelves with us. And, if they ſhall act their parts no worſe, nay with no leſs unſkilfulneſs, than we have done, the King's affairs in the Weſt will not yet be deſperate. I wiſh you could give me advice how I may honeſtly leave my part to ſome other body, that deſires, and it may be is better able to act it; for I cannot diſſemble my being weary and tired; and the truth is, I want ſomewhat of artifice, ill nature, and deſign, which I will not furniſh myſelf with; and yet, I perceive is neceſſary to play out this game, eſpecially if a man intended to be a gainer by it. What a heart-breaking muſt it be to me, to find you (whom I value in the very few, for and with whom I would be contented to live) liable to be impoſed upon, contrary to your reaſon, contrary to your experience, and contrary to any rule you ſhould judge by; you ſee I have ſeen your letter to my Lord Culpeper of the June; you intended not as a ſecret; is it poſſible you ſhould not think us as competent managers of what we are truſted with, as thoſe you would join with us, that they may make themſelves above us? I tell you, if we could honeſtly leave the whole to them, we would do it with the greateſt joy to ourſelves that can be imagined; but till that can be done, it will concern you to be as tender of our honours and reputations, and to let others ſee you are ſo, as of perſons that cannot ſuffer, but in doing their duties, nor be deceived, but by the abſence of that craft which they deſpiſe and reject. For your own particular, I believe you have more faithful friends in this little handful in the Weſt, than you have in a larger circuit; and therefore I pray be tender of us, and impute this paſſion and this plainneſs to as great an exceſs of kindneſs as can lodge in the breaſt of men towards you; and believe me I ſhall never be guilty of any thing, which may diſcredit all the kindneſs and affection that it is poſſible for you to bear towards

*My Lord, &c.*

*A Copy, by himſelf, without a Date.* *A.D.* 1645.

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* CAPEL, HOPTON, *and* CULPEPER, *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

YOUR's from Taviſtock 5th of January hath fully ſatisfied me why my commands concerning the Prince's going beyond ſea were not obeyed. I likewiſe agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident neceſſity; alſo approving very much of the ſteps whereby you mean to do it; but will reiterate my commands to you for the Prince's going over

*A.D.* 1645. whenſoever there ſhall be a viſible hazard of his falling into the Rebels' hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he ſhould be at the head of the army; and ſo much the rather for what I ſhall now impart to you of my reſolutions; which I command you, upon your allegiance, to keep with exact ſecrecy. According to my orders given out, I am moſt confident to have in a body by the end of this month 1500 horſe and 1000 dragoons well commanded and provided. With this army volant I have reſolved to make a quick march into Kent; where I am well aſſured that the peoples minds are not ill prepared for my reception. My deſign is, beſides raiſing a ſtrength there and in Suſſex, to faſten myſelf in Rocheſter, or ſome conſiderable place not far from the ſea. And for the better effecting of this (becauſe my greateſt danger will be left the Rebels give me not time to ſettle a faſt quarter) I have ſent to my wife to make the 5000 men which are promiſed, correſpond out of France to land about Haſtings in Suſſex; which if they do, as I have directed, I ſhall hope, by the Grace of God, ſo to play my game as to make the Rebels ſeek for that reaſon [correſpond] now they reject. But if [*the*] hoped for ſuccours fail my expectation, and that I am ſo preſſed upon as I cannot make myſelf faſt in thoſe parts, then I intend to join with the Prince of Wales. Now in that caſe, whether I ſhould go to him, he come to me, or meet at an appointed place, is that for which I chiefly impart this my reſolution unto you; that ſo you may not only give me the clearer advice when the occaſion ſhall ſerve, but alſo in the mean time be ordering your buſineſs in order to this great deſign; which, by the grace of God, I reſolve without fail to proſecute, if ſome great accident do not intervene, which may either impoſſibilitate the thing, or preſent unto me a better undertaking. As for my London journey, I am of your opinion that the inſolency of the Rebels is ſuch (indeed you put it into moderater words) that my perſonal treaty will come to nothing. However, I aſſure you (whatſoever paraphraſes or prophecies may be made upon my laſt meſſage) I ſhall never part with the Church, the eſſentials of my Crown, or my friends. This, with God's help, is the unalterable reſolution of

*Your moſt aſſured Friend.*

*2d Feb.*

*A Copy, by Lord Clarendon, and appears evidently by certain marks to have been taken from the Original in Cipher.*

## *Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*My Lord,*

I HAVE written ſo largely to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, as I ſhall not give your Lordſhip the trouble of a repetition, but crave leave to refer your Lordſhip to his letter. The incloſed will tell your Lordſhip our condition, hopes, and deſigns. I have ſent the Prince the buſineſs of the Earl of Glamorgan, and a copy of news from about Newark, out of the Scots army. If you can find the Rebels work but for two months longer, I am confident the King will be able to come to you with a good ſtrength. I have certain advertiſement from London, that the Earl of Newport reports there that the Lord Capel's Lieutenant hath undertaken to deliver the Prince over into the Parliament army. This I have from a good hand from London. Your Lordſhip ſhall do well to have an eye to that Lieutenant,

Lieutenant, who, it may be, may be injured by that report; but I thought *A.D.* 1645. neceſſary for me to acquaint your Lordſhip with it, and to deſire you to make it known to the Lord Capel, that care may be taken to prevent the worſt. I am really,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,*

*Oxon, 4 Febr.*

332. 308. 403. 205.

*An Original, moſtly in Cipher, deciphered by Mr. Edgman, and endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *The Lord* CULPEPER *to Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

THIS is again moſt earneſtly to intreat you to bend all your wits to advance the Scotch treaty. It is the only way left to ſave the Crown and three Kingdoms; all other tricks will deceive you. This is no age for miracles; and certainly the King's condition is ſuch that leſs than a miracle cannot ſave him without a treaty, nor any treaty (probably) but that. If this take, the King will be in London in peace before Chriſtmas. Therefore, if the opportunity I left in your power be loſt, give not over 'till you find another; and if you find it not, make it. It is no time to dally upon diſtinctions and criticiſms. All the world will laugh at them when a Crown is in queſtion. If you can make the Scots your friends upon any honeſt terms, do it. Remember, that Kingdom united, and the North, and the King's friends at London, will quickly maſter any oppoſition which the independents can make. The queſtion ought not to be, Whether, but how, you ſhould do it. If you can engage a treaty, get a paſs for me, I will quickly be with you. Whether the King take my advice, or not, he will believe it to be the beſt counſel that ever was given him. The beſt you can hope for in the Weſt is a reprieve; Midſummer-Day will not leave the King one town in it: Ireland will be a broken reed; neither can I believe much in Scotland without a treaty. As for foreign force, it is a vain dream. As ſoon as Fairfax advanceth, all the horſe here are in a net, without poſſibility either to break thorough, or to ſave themſelves in our garriſons. The horſe loſt, it will be impoſſible ever to get up an army again: And if you ſaw us, you would believe we are not in condition to fight. The daily venture of the King's perſon will be great; ſo will the hazard be of the Prince's eſcaping beyond ſea, if he ſhould be put to it: And if he were there, it would be a ſad condition; and if he were to fall into the Rebels' hands, the King were undone, undone. If half your Scots news be true, the intereſt of that nation is clearly of your ſide; and you may gain them, and thereby certainly ſave the Crown, if you will. But you muſt not ſtick upon circumſtances, nor part unwillingly with what you cannot keep. Your treaty muſt not be an underhand one, (that will deceive you) but an avowed one with Leſley and Calander. As ſoon as they have promiſed to protect the King's perſon and his prerogative, he is ſafer with them than in Newcaſtle. All that they can aſk, or the King part with, is a trifle in reſpect of the price of a Crown. Diſpute not whilſt you ſhould reſolve; nor ſpend in debate that precious time which is only fit for action. This opportunity loſt is not to be recovered. Uſe this bearer kindly. If there be a Scotch treaty, his Lord muſt be at one end of it, and will be very uſeful. He believeth

*A.D.*1645. this letter is wholly concerning his Lord. Send him ſpeedily back; and write at large by him and all other ways to, &c.

*February.*

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the* QUEEN.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IF Mr. Grant hath had the bleſſing to kiſs your Majeſty's hand, you have by him received a very full account of the ſtate and condition of theſe parts; and what alterations are ſince (which I conceive have not impaired our condition) will be fully preſented to your Majeſty by Sir Dudley Wyatt, to whom we have imparted whatever we thought of moment. The Prince is now here for a day or two, overlooking the works and fortifications, and pleaſing himſelf between Truro and this place; the ſtrength of the army (beſides the indiſpoſition of many parts of it) being not ſo conſiderable, as to be honoured by his Highneſs's preſence, and yet ſuch as I hope will give interruption to any new inſolence of the Rebels. My Lord Hopton is at Torrington with near 3000 foot, and above 3000 horſe, beſides 800 very good horſe of his Highneſs's guards, under the command of my Lord Capel, who is there with them. Fairfax is before Exeter, which is cloſe beſieged, but in ſo good condition that it can yet well expect relief theſe 6 weeks. Barnſtable is ſtrong and well prepared; and this county is as entire, that is, as unpoſſeſſed by the enemy, as it hath at all been; ſo that the Weſt is yet capable of being kept and recovered, if any help comes in reaſonable time. I hope your Majeſty is very much aſſured that your Servants here will not fail in any part of their duty, to which beſides all other publick tyes, they are obliged by their particular ſingular devotion to your ſacred Majeſty. But as the hurry of ill and prodigious accidents may ſometimes make an impreſſion upon your own royal, compoſed, and prepared temper, ſo I hope you will vouchſafe your compaſſion to us, who live in the region where the thunder and lightning is made, if we are compelled to do, and not to do, many things, which to ſharper underſtandings, not inclined to the temper of examining all circumſtances, may be liable to cenſure and reproach; and I am confident your Majeſty will not be at all diſappointed in the expectation you have vouchſafed to entertain of our duty and ſervice: which I believe will not be wanting in any of us, I am ſure ſhall not in,

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt obliged,*

*and moſt obedient Servant,*

*Pendennis Caſtle, 17th Feb.*

EDWARD HYDE.

*An Original.*

*The*

*A.D.*1645.

## *The Earl of* GLAMORGAN *to the Lord* GULPEPER.

*My Lord,*

I HAVE written to you other ways, which I hope will arrive with you. Yet I ſhall again hereby deſire your aſſiſtance in moving the Prince for ſending of ſome ſhipping for the tranſportation of 6000 men to be ſent preſently for the relief of Cheſter; which men are all ready; and the other 4000 are by May to be ſent over. One Captain Allen hath moved, at the Prince's deſire, for 300 men for his Highneſs's lifeguard; which men may be ſent by the return of ſuch ſhipping as ſhall be ſent hither. The ſame Allen propoſeth a means for ſetting up of a Poſt-bark, to carry intelligence between theſe parts and the King's quarters; which is extremely wanting. I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip no more, but deſire your furtherance of this buſineſs; whereby you will much oblige,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,*

*Waterford, 28th Febr.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

WHEREAS it hath been propoſed by Monſ. de Montreuil in the name of the Queen Regent on behalf of the Scots, that his Majeſty would condeſcend to the eſtabliſhing of the Presbyterian government in England as it is in Scotland; which hath been reinforced and preſſed by him with many arguments, alleging that without it nothing could be done in order to an agreement with the Scots. His Majeſty is very ſorry to ſee by him their conſtant rigidneſs in that point, it being that which he cannot with the ſafety of his conſcience condeſcend unto; and the which (though it were not contrary to his Majeſty's conſcience) were in vain to be ſought to be eſtabliſhed here, becauſe the independants (who are now at leaſt as ſtrong and prevalent as the Presbyterians) will die rather than yield unto. And even the Engliſh Presbyterians (by whom is the chief expectation of the ſettling of that their ſo much deſired government) will never admit of the Scots Presbyterian way. Notwithſtanding his Majeſty being moſt deſirous not to let fall this treaty, it being firſt propoſed to him by the Queen his dear Conſort, and out of the love which his Majeſty always beareth to his native country, he doth propoſe, that to give them ſatisfaction (that the remaining of Epiſcopal government in this Kingdom ſhall no ways prejudice their preſent government in Scotland) they would accept the engagement of the Queen Regent (in the name of the Crown of France) for his Majeſty that he will not ſeek to alter the preſent Presbyterial government in Scotland; to which end as he hath already written to the Queen his dear Conſort, ſo he deſires Monſ. de Montreuil to deſire the ſame of the Queen Regent in his Majeſty's name. This his Majeſty conceives to be ſecurity ſufficient; which being given to him for whatſoever the Scots ſhall promiſe, his Majeſty will reſt abundantly ſatisfied; yet if they ſhall be ſo ſcrupulous, as to demand any other, his Majeſty will not be backward to give them contentment therein.

*A.D.* 1645. His Majeſty had well hoped, that the anſwer which the Queen his dear Conſort gave, would have abundantly ſatisfied, which though in the particular of the Church was a little miſtaken, by her not ſo full knowledge of the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, yet for the ſubſtance thereof his Majeſty will heartily condeſcend thereunto; that is to ſay, that he is very well content that all Eccleſiaſtical differences be determined in a free national ſynod lawfully called and conſtituted, and that the Scots clergy ſhall be admitted thereunto, as the Engliſh divines were at the Council of Dort, not excluding the like aſſiſtance of the divines of any other reformed churches, if it ſhall be thought fit. And further, if it ſhall be deſired that the Scots, or any Engliſh together with them, ſhould have free exerciſe of the Presbyterian practice of religion here in England, his Majeſty will not be unwilling to give them liberty to exerciſe the ſame in England, whereſoever they can obtain conſent thereunto; or, if the Scots alone ſhall deſire one or more places in London or elſewhere for ſerving God in their way, his Majeſty will aſſign them fitting places for the exerciſe thereof, without having relation to the preſent Engliſh Church Government.

And to ſhew his Majeſty's real intention of giving his native country all juſt ſatisfaction, he doubts not but to give them full contentment concerning the payment of their arrears; touching which albeit he is infinitely bound to the Queen Regent, Monſ. de Montreuil having ſaid as from himſelf, that to that end, if there were nothing elſe that hindered the agreement the Queen Regent is ſo deſirous of the peace of England, ſhe would interpoſe very effectually to content the Scots. Nevertheleſs what by the buſineſs of Ireland, and otherways which his Majeſty hath in view (which upon a particular debate he doubts not but to make appear very feaſible) he is moſt confident to give them full ſatisfaction therein.

This being all and the uttermoſt his Majeſty can do with his conſcience concerning the church affairs (for as touching any thing elſe he refers himſelf wholly to the Queen's anſwer given to Sir Robert Murray, to which his Majeſty will adhere to a tittle) he conceives and hopes it will give ſuch ſatisfaction to his Scots ſubjects that they will really and heartily declare themſelves in the King's favour according to what they propoſed to the Queen his dear Conſort by Sir Robert Murray; and return a ſpeedy anſwer, whereby the deſign now on foot may be practicable. And laſtly concerning the Marquis of Montroſe his Majeſty's reſolution is that he and his party ſhall be received into this conjunction with all poſſible freedom and honour without any reſervation. His Majeſty takes very well the good inclinations and affection, which he underſtands by Monſ. de Montreuil his Scots' ſubjects have expreſſed to have an accommodation of all matters with his Majeſty; and as he doth graciouſly embrace the ſame, ſo he will by good effects approve with what real deſires he meets them therein.

*Oxford, 10th Jan.* 1645.

*A Copy, in the Hand of Mr. Edgman, Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde.*

† *Mem.* I conceive it neceſſary that the Queen be ſpoken to for the anſwer given to Sir Rob. Murray. E. N.

† *This is in the Hand of Secretary Nicholas.*

*Mr.*

*A.D.* 1645.

## *Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

HIS Majeſty hath commanded me to tell you that his meſſage of the 15th of this month whereof I herewith ſend you a copy, is the uttermoſt of what he can promiſe to invite thoſe at London for his admittance to come thither for a perſonal treaty; deſiring you to obſerve that there are ſome expreſſions in that, particularly in order to a conjunction with his Scots' ſubjects, which he hopes will give them good ſatisfaction. Wherefore, I am commanded earneſtly to deſire you to know the reſolution of the Scots' commiſſioners with all convenient ſpeed, what aſſurance (in caſe his Majeſty's coming to London be ſtill denied) they will to the King for his ſafety and freedom in their army, and what way they will propoſe for his Majeſty's going thither, as alſo for the conjunction of the Lord Montroſe with their forces. This his Majeſty thinks very neceſſary to be ſpeedily known. For although his Majeſty chiefly relies on the aſſurance which he expects from France, as his beſt ſecurity for his being in their army, yet in the mean time it will be very convenient for his affairs, not only to know the reſolution (but likewiſe to have the engagement) of the Scots, and a formed deſign how he may carry on his buſineſs. Of theſe particulars his Majeſty relies on you for a ſpeedy and full anſwer; which is all that I have in command, and to which I ſhall add nothing but that I am,

*Sir,*

*Oxford, 17th Jan.* 1645.

*Your moſt humble Servant.*

THE Portugal Reſident will ſhew you the King's meſſage of the 15th of this month.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Monſieur* MONTREUIL *to his* MAJESTY.

*Sire,*

IL eſt arrivé quelque choſe encore de pis que ce que j'avois dit a V. M. touchant la memoire qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de me donner. Les Eſcoſſois et les Anglois de leur parti ont eté ſurpris de voir que V. M. rejette les ſinceres intentions de ſes bons ſujets, et ne profite pas des ſoins que prennent les deputes d'Eſcoiſſe la conſerver; qu'il n'eſt pas poſſible de les entretenir dans le deſir qu'ils avoient, quelques eſperances que je leur aye pû donner, et quelques aſſurances que j'aye receu de Son Eminence depuis mon retour, que V. M. leur accorderoit ce qu'ils luy demandent pour ſon propre bien. Je leur ay dit pour les appaiſer, que j'attendois de V. M. une reſponſe plus ſatisfaiſante que la premiere, qu'elle m'avoit commandé de luy eſcrire ce que j'aurois fait, et qu'elle m'avoit aſſuré qu'elle me feroit reſponſe. Je crains ſeulement qu'ils ne ſe contenteront pas de ne rien faire d'avantage avec V. M. mais qu'ils ſent quelque choſe avec les Independents, avec qui ils ſe peuvent accorder bien plus aiſement qu'avec elle: De ſorte qu'il ne faut plus marchander, et que V. M. ſe doit hâter d'envoyer aux deux Parlements ſon conſentement aux trois Propoſitions d'Uxbrige; ce que etant fait, elle ſera en ſeureté dans l'Armee d'Eſcoſſe.

*A.D.*1645. Au reſte, Sire, les Anglois Preſbiteriens et les Eſcoſſois diſent qu'ils ſont d'accord touchant la Religion, et qu'ils ne la veulent que comme elle ſe pratique aujourdhuy dans Londres; de ſorte qu'il n'y a pas de difficulté pour ce point la, ainſi qu'il ſemble par vôtre memoire. Ceux du Conſeil de Londres et les Deputes d'Eſcoſſe ont pris hier tout le nouveau le Covenant, et ont juré de garder cette ſorte de gouvernement dans l'Egliſe. Aujourdhuy la Ville de Londres doit preſenter une requeſte au Parlement pour eſtablir ici tout a fait le gouvernement preſbiterial; de ſorte que V. M. ne doit plus, ce me ſemble, s'oppoſer à un eſtabliſſement qui eſt fait, et qu'elle doit recevoir le bien qui luy revient d'un mal qu'elle ne peut pas empeſcher. Je ne dirai pas encore a V. M. qu'elle le doit faire pour le bien meſme de la Religion, qu'elle peut eſperer de remettre en un autre temps, ſi elle ne la peut maintenant conſerver; que n'ayant pas voulu prendre ce parti ſi advantageux pour elle, quand elle le peut, elle le voudra, peut être, quand elle ne le pourra plus. C'eſt cette fois que V. M. me croira bien Eſcoſſois; mais je crois, quelque choſe qu'elle me teſmoigne, elle me fera l'honneur de me vouloir du bien de luy repreſenter les choſes ſans deſguiſe, ce que l'on fait aux Roys bien ſcavants. Je ne m'excuſe pas envers V. M. de la liberté avec laquelle je luy parle; je la trahirois, ſe je n'uſois autrement, et je ſerois indigne de la qualite que j'eſtime d'avantage au monde, et que je vous demande avec toute ſorte de reſpect, c'eſt d'eſtre, &c.

Le Courier que j'envoye en France doit partir ce ſoir; et quelque jalouſie qu'on ayt de mon voyage, rien ne me peut empeſcher d'aller retrouver V. M. pourveu qu'elle me faſſe connoiſtre que je luy puis être utile. Ce Parlement doit envoyer un meſſage au Prince pour l'obliger à quitter les armes, ou pour avoir lieu de le declarer Ennemi de l'Eſtat. Il ſe parlé de quelque echec qu'il à arrive, ce qu'on fait paſſer ici pour une ruine de ſon Armee; et Fairfax a mandè qu'il pourroit bientôt quitter le Weſt, et ſe rendre de deça. Que V. M. voye, s'il lui paiſt, les ſuites de cette marche; et ſi je ne puiſſe pas luy mettre dans mes lettres ce que les Italiens eſcrivent ſur celles qu'ils veulent haſter, *cito, cito, cito.* En fin, que V. M. faſſe promptement et volontiers, ce que V. M. doit faire de neceſitè, et qu'elle ne faſſe pas, s'il luy plaiſt, dorenavant que celuy que je luy marque; apres quoi les Anglois moderez et les Eſcoſſois feront bien ce qu'elle deſirera d'eux.

*Sire,*

*de Voſtre Majeſte*

*le tres-humble, tres-obeiſſant,*

*et tres-obligé Serviteur,*

DE MONTREVIL.

*Ce 15. Janv.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to the* KING.

*Sire,*

J'AY fait encore ce que j'ay pû pour faire donner contentement à V. M. mais c'eſt une choſe abſolument impoſſible. Le meſſage qu'elle a fait, au lieu de complaire aux deux parties, n'a donné ſatisfaction aux uns, ni aux

aux autres. Il eſt arrivè quand on achevoit de lire ſa Commiſſion du Mois d'Aouſt pour la liberté de Conſcience en Irelande; c'eſt a dire, que ne pouvoit pas venir plus mal a propos. On confirme ce que je luy avois mandé touchant des avantages qu'a Fairfax dans le Weſt, et l'on marque qu'il a pris le cannon qui eſtoit devant Plymouth, qu'il va aſſieger Dartmouth, et qu'une partie de ſa Cavallerie revient pour ſe mettre entre Oxford et Newarke; de ſorte que j'oſe encore repeter a V. M. qu'elle n'a plus de temps á perdre, et que perſonne ne ſera jamais avec plus de zele et de reſpect, que je ſuis, *A.D.* 1645.

*Sire,*

*Voſtre tres-humble, tres-obeiſſant, et tres-obligé Serviteur,*

18 *Jan.* 1645. DE MONTREVIL.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*His* MAJESTY *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

*Montreuil,*

ALBEIT the letter which Secretary Nicholas wrote to you by my command is ſo full an anſwer to yours of the 15th of January (which I received ſince the ſending of the former) as I can add nothing thereunto in ſubſtance, yet I cannot chuſe but return you this anſwer, not only to accuſe the receipt of yours, but alſo to thank you that you have as you ſaid repreſented the things to me without diſguiſe, which I aſſure you I take in very good part from you, though I cannot tell well what to think of thoſe with whom you treat, ſtanding ſo ſtiffly upon unreaſonable demands. Wherefore, to anſwer your freedom with the like, I plainly tell you that already you have from me all that I can do, and you may believe me that no neceſſity ſhall compel me to do that which I have refuſed to do at the deſire of two Queens, either of them having power enough to make me do what is poſſible, *ſans marchander*. In a word you have all that my ſhop can afford; it is your part now to make the beſt bargain you may, and let them never flatter themſelves ſo with their good ſucceſſes; without pretending to propheſy I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me, howſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to diſpoſe of me. One particular I muſt add, that my wife hath reſolved (and I find upon very good reaſon) to ſend William Murray to me; wherefore I deſire you to haſten his coming as much as you can. As for your coming hither, you can there beſt tell whether it will be uſeful for the buſineſs or not, howſoever you may be confident to be welcome to

*Your loving Friend.*

21*ſt Jan.* 1645.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to his* MAJESTY.

*Sire,*

JE ne puis qu'accuſer par ma derniere la reception de celle dont il a pleu V. M. de m' honnorer. Maintenant je luy dirai avec toute ſorte de reſpecte que je ne luy ay rien mandé par mes precedentes que ce qui m'a eſté dit par ceux que j'ay connus ſes tres fidelles ſerviteurs, et ce que j'ay creu tres veritable; et que l'on me faiſoit le danger ſi preſent que je m'euſſe penſé

*A.D.* 1645. rien digne de l'honneur que V. M. m'a fait de ſe confier en moi d'une affaire de telle importance, ſi je ne l'euſſe preſsée, autant qu'il m'eſtoit poſſible, de penſer promptement aux moyens qu'elle avoit encore pour ſe conſerver. Cependant, Sire, ſi j'avois peu manqué en quelque choſe, je ne doute point que V. M. n'ait la bonté de me pardonner une faulte, qui n'a point eſté volontaire, et qui fait naiſtre en moi une Zele que je conſerverai pour ſon ſervice. Et je puis dire a V. M. puiſque j'en rencontre toujours occaſions, que je n'en ay point perdues celles que ſe ſont offertes, pour perſuader les Eſcoſſois de ſe contenter de choſes que V. M. leur accorde, et que j'ay employe contre euxmeſmes l'argument dont je m'eſtois ſervi aupres de V. M. leur remontrant, qu'elle s'accommoderoit plus avantageuſement pour elle avec les Independans qui eſtoient puiſſants, qu'avec eux qui eſtoient foibles, et a des conditions moins rudes, pour ce qui eſt de la Religion; et leur faiſant voir le peu d'intereſt d'eſtablir le gouvernement de leurs Egliſes en Angleterre et de regler les Conſciences de leurs Voiſins, a l'egal de conſerver leurs Vies, leur bien, et leur liberté, qu'ils eſtoient en eſtat de perdre s'ils laiſſoient V. M. Mais outre qu'ils montrent qu'ils feroient tort a leurs intereſts, qu'ils violeroient leur covenant, et qu'ils perdroient le partie qu'ils ont en Angleterre, s'ils ſe relachoient de ce qu'ils demandent a V. M. ſur le point de la Religion, ils m'ont fait encore entendre que c'eſtoit une affaire a laquelle il faudroit fair conſentir leur nation tout-entiere, et une partie de celle cy; de ſorte que, quand on ſe pourroit promettre d'en venir a bout, ce qu'ils ſcavent eſtre entierement impoſſible, il faudroit un ſi long temps pour cela, qu'avant qu'on eurent miſes les choſes en eſtat de reuſſir, les ennemis de V. M. l'auroient miſe hors d'eſtat d'en profiter: Au lieu que ce qu'on demande d'elle eſt ſi faiſible de ſa parte, qu'il depende de ſa ſeule volonté. Au reſte, la conſideration des Independans ne la doit point empeſcher de prendre cette reſolution qui eſt ſi utile et pour le bien de ſes affaires; Car je ne crains point l'aſſurer qu'elle ne peut faire le plus grand gain que cette perte, et qu'elle n'a rien preſentement qui luy apporte plus de prejudice, que le ſoin qu'elle prend inutilement pour les obliger; tant parce que cela refroidit fort l'ardeur qu'ont ſes bons ſujets pour ſon ſervice, que parce que les eſperances que luy donnent les Independans l'empeſchent de conclurre une choſe avec les Eſcoſſois preſentement, et leur donnent moyer de diſpoſer leurs affaires en telle ſorte que V. M. ne ſe pourra plus joindre aux Eſcoſſois, quand en elle aura la volonté. A qui j'ajonterai une choſe, qui m'a eſté dite icy ſur le ſujet de ſa derniere lettre, que V. M. ſe perd aupres de deux parties, en les voulant conſerver tous deux; ce qu'elle veut faire en faveur des Eſcoſſois, hors le point de la Religion, ne pouvant rien profiter a V. M. pour les gaigner, et irritant extremement les Independans; et la douceur avec laquelle elle traite les conſciences de ces derniers meſcontentant les Presbiteriens, ſans ſatisfaire les Independans, qui ne deſirent pas tant de ne depender de perſonne dans la Gouvernement Eccleſiaſtique, que dans le civil, et qui ne ſeront jamais contents qu'ils n'ayent les choſes dans une Anarchie. Je prendrai encore la hardieſſe de dire a V. M. qu'il ya peu d'apparence qu'elle peut tirer beaucoup d'avantage de ſecours de ſes voiſins, ſi elle ne ſe joint aux Eſcoſſois; puis que tout ce qui viendra de dehors, ne ſervira qu'a unir les forces du dedans, et que la crainte de commun danger pourra tenir en intelligence ceux que la bonne fortune eſtoit preſte de diviſer. De ſorte que non ſeulement V. M. n'aura point de profite de meſcontentements qu'il ſemble que Dieu ait faites naiſtre exprés entre les deux nations pour ſon avantage, mais qu'elle

qu'elle aura meſme contribué a les aſſoupir. Et en effect on m'aſſeure qu'ils ne ſont pas fort eloignes de s'accommoder, et que le premier moment où les Etrangers prendront terre en Angleterre ſera le dernier de leurs diviſions. Cependant, ſon Chancellier d'Eſcoſſe eſcrit icy que toutes choſes ſont par dela en Eſtat que V. M. peut deſirer; et les Presbiteriens Anglois, quelque ſoin qu'ils ayent prins de favoriſer les Independans ſur le fait de la Religion, ne laiſſent pas eſtre dans la meſme diſpoſition de la ſervir. Il ne reſte plus qu'a elle de contribuer de ſa parte, en envoyant icy et en Eſcoſſe les choſes qui ont eſté demandées. *A.D.* 1645.

J'eſcrivis ceci a V. M. dimanche dernier, de ſorte que je n'avois pû [n'y eſt] rien informer particulierement de ce que portoit la lettre que luy a ecrite au parlement † le jour de devant, ni luy mander bien aſſurement quel effect elle a produit. Je luy dirai maintenant que le parlement n'eſt pas meſme content de ce qu'elle eſcrit touchant l'Irelande; et ce qu'elle accorde dans la Religion aux Independans, fait dire a jeune Vane, que c'eſtoit une addreſſe de V. M. pour les attirer a ſon parti, cependant que, quelque qu'elle fit, ils ne ſe ſepareroient jamais du bien publique, et des intereſts du parlement, du quel ſeul ils deſireroient obtenir, quand les affaires ſeroient achevées, ce ſoulagement pour conferences que V. M. leur offroit preſentement. Cependant les Presbiteriens croyent [que ſe a permis] que V. M. ait ainſi rejetté leur Zele piſques a preſent, a fin q'elle ſe peut mieux eclaircir les intentions des Independans. Et da, peu que les en pouvoit promettre,* a fin qu'elle portaſt tous de tous a donner ſatisfaction à ceux qui deſirent ſon bien et ſon avantage, et qui apres ce peu d'inclination que V. M. a teſmoigné avoir à leur accorder ce qu'ils deſirent, encore tous preſts d'expoſer leurs vies por ſon ſervice; auſſi V. M. peut, ce me ſemble, ſe joindre avec eux avec toute ſorte de raiſon, ſans que les Independans s'en puiſſent plaindre; puis qu'au contraire elle a ſujet de leur reprocher qu'elle ne s'eſt porté a contenter les Eſcoſſois, qu'apres ainſi les avoir employeés inutilement pour les ſatisfaire.

*Will. Murray* a eſté arreſté a Canterbury par le Mayor de la Ville, qui (a ce qu'on croit) a eſté adverti de France de ſon paſſage. Les lettres qu'il devoit porter a V. M. et par leſquelles les deux Reines la prient de s'accommoder avec les Eſcoſſois, ſont entre mes mains, de ſorte qu'apparement on ne le trouvera chargé d'aucune choſe.

Mon Courrier a eſté auſſi arreſté a Rocheſter, et ſes lettres envoyées ici. J'ai appris ce matin qu'elles avoient eſté apportées chez le comte de Northumberland, là où il avoit eſte auſſi conduit, ‡ et eſtant entré dans la chambre, et ayant e eſté aſſure par mon homme que le pacquet qui eſtoit ſur la feneſtre eſtoit celui de mes lettres, on ils avoient miſe une envelope, je luy ai commandé de l'ouvrir, et me ſuis ſaiſi hautement de toutes les lettres, car il n'y avoit aucune que ne fut a moi, quelque choſe que le dit Comte en ait pû dire, et lui ai demandé encore reparation de l'arreſt de mon courrier, et du retardiement du Roy mon Maiſtre.

Les ſouſſçons qu'on a eues ici de ce que V. M. a commencé a traitter avec les Eſcoſſois, que le voyage de *Will. Murray* en ces quartiers n'aydera

† *This was the Meſſage of* 29*th Jan.* 164⅛. *See King Charles's Works*, P. 555.

* *Here ſeems to be an Error in the MS. In an Engliſh Tranſlation which accompanies it this Paſſage is rendered thus:* "And indeed, ſeeing how little you can promiſe yourſelf from them, you might "methinks incline to give ſatisfaction to thoſe who deſire your good and advantage," &c.

‡ *An Omiſſion here; in the Engliſh is inſerted,* "Whereupon I going thither."

*A.D.* 1645. pas a diminuer, [*les*] feront penſer plus aux moyens d'empeſcher V. M. de paſſer en l'Armée d'Eſcoſſe, et la doivent porter auſſi a reſoudre a cela plus promptement.

V. M. aura receue auſſi la perte qu'elle a faite d'un Vaiſſeau qui eſt arrivé a Dartmouth, qui portoit de quoi armer quatre mil hommes; il ſe parle de quelques lettres de la Reine qui ont eſte ſaiſies, aux quelles on fait dire tout ce qu'on veut ici touchant la marriage du Prince et de Madamoiſelle, comme ſi V. M. le faiſoit eſperer ſans le deſirer accomplir. Mais ces ſont des Ruſes, dont les Ennemis de V. M. tireront bien peu de profit. Je luy deſire toutes les felicite qu'elle merite, et luy demande la permiſſion de me dire,

*Sire,*

*de V. M. tres-humble, &c.*

*Londres, ce 5 Fevr.* 1645.

DE MONTREVIL.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to his* MAJESTY.

*Sire,*

JE me trouve ſurpris de ne recevoir aucune reſponſe de V. M. qu' à la premiere de lettres que je me ſuis donné l'honneur de luy eſcrire. Je luy ay mandé par le poſtſcrit de ma derniere lettre comme *Will. Murray* avoit eſté pris, que les lettres avoient eſté conſervées, tant par ce que celles de la Reine m'avoient eſté envoyées par l'ordinaire, que parce que j'ay retirées celles qu'on m'avoient oſtées a mon homme, de ſorte qu'encore que le *Speaker* m'ait dit que mon Courrier eſtoit ſon precurſeur, et que je ſcaurois pour quoy il eſtoit venu, ledit *Will. Murray* ſouſtiendra toujours qu'il vient ici ſeulement pour voir ſa femme et ſes enfans, pour mettre quelque ordre á ſes affaires. Cependant, Sire, cela n'apportera que bien peu de retardement a ſes affaires; puiſque nous avons ces lettres ſur leſquelles V. M. pourra prendre ſes reſolutions, elle nous commandera ce que nos aurons a en faire. Nos avons preſque reſolu de les copier, a fin de les envoyer par plus d'une voye a V. M. Cependant je crois que le parlement me mettra entre ceux qu'il exemte de pardon, parce que j'ay ainſi retirées mes lettres, et XII grand hommes de la committé de deux Nations furent d'avis qu'on me fît mon proces *by Martial Laws*, pour eſtre puni plus promptement. Les Eſcoſſois *voudroit* † l'arreſt de mon Courrier; et la hardieſſe qu'ils ont de ſe plaindre, d'une choſe, qui eſt ſi juſte, peut porter la France á rompre avec le parlement; a fin que V. M. s'uniſſant à eux, on peut en ce moment remettre les affaires, et ſonmettre ceux qui s'oppoſent à la paix. J'ay rendu conte par mes precedentes á V. M. de ce que j'ay fait pour executer ſes commandements. Je ne luy en manderai rien par celles, que j'eſcris en haſte, et me contenterai de luy demander avec reſpect ſa permiſſion de me dire,

*Sire,*

*de V. M. tres-humble, tres-obeiſſant,*

*et tres-fidelle Serviteur,*

*Feb.* 12. 1645.

DE MONTREVIL.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

† *Here is a great Blunder in the MS. The Engliſh Tranſlation is thus*; "The Scotch cry out highly "againſt the clapping up of my meſſenger, and the Boldneſs they take," &c.

*A.D.* 1645.

## *Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Monſieur*,

J'AY receués les lettres de ſa Majeſté, avec le Billet par lequel il vous a pleu faire l'addreſſe. Comme elles m'ont eſté rendués apres le partement de Courrier, je les ay envoyées par un expres, par lequel j'eſpere qu'elles ſeront portées ſeurement; puiſque ſur les plaintes que j'ay faits de l'arreſt de mon Courrier, on a donné ordre qu'on les laiſſeroient paſſer doreſnavant avec toute ſorte de liberté. Toutes choſes ſont encore tres-bien diſpoſées de deça pour le ſervice de ſa Majeſte, pourveu qu'elle y veuille contribuer de ſa part. Il ſe dit qu'un nommé *Will. Murray* eſt arreſté et qu'il alloit trouver ſa Majeſté pour quelque affaire. Mais ſe dit auſſi qu'il a ſoutenu qu'il venoit ſeulement voir ſa femme, et donner ordre a ſes affaires; ce qu'il a fait voir ſi clairement, a ce qu'on m'a dit, qu'on commence a croire que c'eſtoit le veritable ſujet de ſon voyage. J'ay fait ſçavoir à ſa Majeſté par mes precedentes tout ce que je croiois utile au bien de ſes affaires. Maintenant je luy dirai que les deputes d'Eſcoſſe preſſent fort pour ſçavoir de qui ſont les deux lettres, d'un qui ſe dit le Chevalier Wrait, et d'un autre qui ſe nomme le Chevalier inconnu; que les Eſcoſſois traittent avec ſa Majeſtè par l'entremiſe de la Reine, et que *Will. Murray* veut vendre a la France ce que l'Angleterre doit aux Eſcoſſois pour la ſubſiſtance de l'armée qu'ils ont ici; ce qu'on croit avoir eſté inventé par les Ennemis de cette nation. Les Anglois ont fait toute fois reſponſe qu'ils ne pouvoient dire le veritable nom de celuy qui avoit eſcrite la premiere lettre; mais qu'ils nommeroient le ſecond quand il ſera temps. Cependant, le parlement d'Eſcoſſe, qui s'eſt levé, a eſcrite une lettre fort obligeante a la Ville de Londres, pour la remercier de l'argent qu'elle avoit fourni pour ſouſtenir cette guerre, que le conſeil de la Ville a receue avec autant de joye comme ce parlement en a teſmoignée peu de ſatisfaction. On a auſſi commencé à ordonner des garniſons qu'on devoit mettre dans les garniſons que les Eſcoſſois doivent quitter au premier de Mars; ce qui pourroit bien eſtre le ſoin inutile, comme le marché qu'on feroit de la peau de l'Ours, qui ne ſeroit encore tué. En fin, il y a tous le preſages imaginables de quelque rupture entre les deux nations: C'eſt à ſa Majeſté à penſer a en profiter. J'ay demandé mon paſſeport pour aller en Eſcoſſe, et pour paſſer par Oxford; et je ne m'oublierai d'aucune de toutes choſes qu'il faudra faire pour l'obtenir en cette maniere. Cependant, parce que je crains qu'on ne m'addreſſe parti par le chemin, j'envoye ce pacquet devant moi, que je vous prie de garder bien ſoigneuſement juſques a mon arrivée, ne pouvant eſtre de plus grande importance qu'il eſt. Permettez moi que je baiſſe les mains à Monſieur Aſhburnham, et que je vous aſſeure que perſonne ne ſeroit jamais avec plus de paſſion et plus de verité que moi,

*Monſieur*,

*voſtre tres-humble*

*et obeiſſant Serviteur*,

*A Loudres, ce 26 Fevrier.*

DE MONTREVIL.

*A.D.*1645. J'ESPERE que aurai bientoſt l'honneur de baiſer les mains de ſa Majeſte, les Seigneurs de ce Parlement m'ayants desja accordé mon paſſeport, et l'ayants envoyé en meſme temps a la Chambre baſſe, a fin qu'ils me le donnaſſent auſſi. Je vous ſupplie de garder bien exactement le pacquet cyjoint.

ON n'a trouvé le nommé Will. Murray ſaiſi d'aucunes lettres; et quelque bruit qu'on faſſe que celles de *Lo. Jermyn*, qu'on pretend avoir dechiffrées, parlent de quelque grand diſſein, pour lequel il venoit ici, on m'a dit que le dechiffrement qu'on avoit fait de dites lettres ne diſoit rien de bien aſſeuré, ſur quoy on peut faire de fondement.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Monſieur*,

MON paſſeport m'a eſté en fin accordé apres beaucoup de remiſes; il ne reſt plus qu'à expedier: Et je ne doute pas que ne puiſſe avoir l'honneur de baiſer les mains de ſa Majeſté avant la fin de cette ſepmaine. Je vous prie de me garder le pacquet que celuy, qui vous porte cellecy, vous a rendu en ſon precedent voyage. On tient le partement du Prince aſſeuré; et Fairfax a mandé icy en termes peu obligeans pour le Comte d'Eſſex, qu'il a enfermé la Cavallerie de ſa Majeſté lá où ce Comte a perdu autrefois ſon Infanterie. La Nouvelle qu'on a portée de Montre ſurprendra ſa Majeſté, quand elle ſçaura que le Roy d'Eſpagne a donné ordre a ſes Plenipotentiaires de remettre ſes Intereſts entre les mains de la Reine Regente, et de ſon conſeil; pourveu que cette propoſition ſe fit a fin d'eſtablir bientoſt une bonne paix, ſa Majeſté auroit ſujet de s'en rejouir. L'eſperance que j'ay dire bien au long les choſes que je ne pourrois vous mander icy qu'en abrege, me fait finir cette lettre, a laquelle je n'ajouſterai rien ſi non que je ſuis,

*Monſieur*,

*voſtre tres-obeiſſant Serviteur*,

*A Londres, dix neuf Mars.*

DE MONTREVIL.

JE vous prie fair en ſorte que je puiſſe avoir un petit apartement qui ne ſoit pas eloigné de la Cour, ni de voſtre Logis; car c'eſt la ſeule commodité que je deſire. J'aſſurerai avec voſtre permiſſion Monſieur Aſhburnham de mon tres-humble ſervice.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Several Meſſages ſent by his* MAJESTY *to the Scots' Commiſſioners, by the Conveyance of Monſieur* MONTREVIL.

UPON what Monſieur de Montrevil hath ſhewed us of your affection to ſerve us, we have thought fit to give you this ſatisfaction. Firſt, as concerning Church-government, we do really promiſe that we ſhall give full contentment therein as ſoon as we come to London; ſo as in the mean time you give us ſatisfaction (which we ſhall be willing to receive) that what you deſire therein ſhall not be againſt our conſcience. As for other

other things, we find by the ſaid Montrevil, that there will be little or no difference between us. *A.D.1645.*

THIS (as we hope) good ſatisfaction we have thought fit at this time to give you; becauſe, having lately ſent a meſſage to London, which ought to be thankfully received by thoſe of our Parliament there, yet we have cauſe to ſuſpect that there is a potent faction which deſires the extirpation of Monarchy, and particularly of our Family; (which we are confident is far from your intentions) that in caſe our offers ſhould be rejected, we do hereby propoſe to you that, if you will give power to Monſieur Montrevil to aſſure us that we ſhall be ſecure in your army both in conſcience and honour, and thoſe that ſhall come with us protected, we ſhall, notwithſtanding any hazard, adventure to put ourſelves therein; not doubting but you will do on your parts whatſoever you can to facilitate and ſecure our arrival there.

*Ceci eſt la vraye copie de ce que j'ay envoyé en chiffre par le commandement de ſa Majeſtê. De Montrevil.*

23 *Mars.*

AND to make you better know how far we are willing to truſt you, we are reſolved, ſo ſoon as we ſhall be ſatisfied by Montrevil, that what we ſend by him hath taken the wiſhed effect, to ſend preciſe order to our Governor of Newark, to deliver that town into your hands, the better to enable you to meet us, and ſecure our paſſage to you.

AND as for the City of London, we being well perſuaded of their affection to us, and that they will protect our perſon whenſoever we ſhall come there, according to their own profeſſions; We give you power to promiſe them in our name, that we will grant them the Militia, and other their demands made to us in the treaty at Uxbridge.

*Ceci eſt la ſuite de ce que ſa Majeſté m'a donné pour envoyer a Londres. De Montrevil.*

24 *Mars*, 1645.

WHEREAS we ſent you a letter dated the 23d of this inſtant (a copy whereof we ſend you herewith) we think it now neceſſary, to eſchew the loſs of time, by this earneſtly to deſire you to ſend with all ſpeed power to Monſieur de Montrevil to aſſure us, that we ſhall be ſecure in your army, according as is mentioned in that paper, and upon thoſe conditions; aſſuring you that you ſhall find us both hearty and real in performance of whatſoever we have promiſed therein. And upon our coming to the Scots' army, we promiſe you to ſend the note concerning Duke Hamilton, which Montrevil deſires us to ſend.

*Ceci eſt la vraye copie de ce que j'ay envoyé en chiffre par le commandement de ſa Majeſte. De Montrevil.*

*Ce 27 Mars*, 1646.

*Copies, by Mr. Edgman.*

*A.D.*1646.

## *His* MAJESTY'S *Promiſe to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

I DO promiſe to Monſieur de Montrevil that none ſhall come along with me to the Scots' army, or meet me there, who are excepted by thoſe at London, but only my two nephews and John Aſhburnham; notwithſtanding the ſaid Montrevil is to receive this my Proteſtation that all my ſervants, and all others who adhere to me, ſhall be ſaved from ruin or any publick diſhonour. Which is a condition that my wife writ to me, that not only ſhe, but likewiſe Cardinal Mazarin were abſolutely of opinion that I was ſooner to die than not to have. And as for Church government, as I have already ſaid, I now again promiſe, that as ſoon as I come into the Scots' army, I ſhall be very willing to be inſtructed concerning the Presbyterian government; whereupon they ſhall ſee that I ſhall ſtrive to content them in any thing that ſhall not be againſt my conſcience.

*Ceci eſt la vraye Copie de ce que j'ay recu de ſa Majeſté en deux differens papiers; en l'un deſquels, qui m'a eſté donné pour faire voir la proteſtation n'eſtoit point faite a Oxford* †. *Ce premier Avril* 1646.

*De Montrevil.*

*In Mr. Edgman's Hand.*

## *Monſieur* MONTREVIL'S *Engagement to his* MAJESTY. *

I DO promiſe in the name of the King and Queen Regent (my Maſter and Miſtreſs) and by virtue of the powers that I have from their Majeſties, that if the King of Great Britain ſhall put himſelf into the Scots' army, he ſhall be there received as their natural Sovereign, and that he ſhall be with them in all freedom of his conſcience and honour. And that all ſuch of his ſubjects and ſervants as ſhall be there with him ſhall be ſafely and honourably protected in their perſons. And that the ſaid Scots ſhall really and effectually join with the ſaid King of Great Britain, and alſo receive all ſuch perſons as ſhall come in unto him, and join with them for his Majeſty's preſervation. And that they ſhall protect all his Majeſty's party to the utmoſt of their power, as his Majeſty will command all thoſe under his obedience to do the like to them. And that they ſhall employ their armies and forces to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the procuring of a happy and well-grounded peace for the good of his Majeſty and his ſaid Kingdoms, and in recovery of his Majeſty's juſt rights. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto put my hand and ſeal this firſt of April 1646.

DE MONTREUIL.

*Reſident pour ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne en Ecoſſe.*

*Copia vera;*
*Examinavit Edw. Nicholas.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, authenticated by Secretary Nicholas.*

† *Here ſeems to be ſome miſtake or omiſſion in the MS.*

* *This, though publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and in other Hiſtories, is given here, that the Reader may have the whole of Montrevil's negotiation before him.*

*His*

*A.D.* 1646.

## *His* MAJESTY *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

*Monſieur*,

I HAVE thus long attended with impatience to hear from you, which I wholly impute to the difficulty of the paſſage, or ſome unexpected impediment which you have found in the Scots' army. However, I cannot but let you know that I remain in the ſame reſolution you left me withal, and am ſtill ready at an hour's warning to undertake the journey, deſiring nothing more at this time, than to be perſonally in the Scots' army. But in caſe that ſhould be for ſome time impoſſible, I think it very neceſſary to offer to your conſideration how the fruits of our conjunction may be had, until I ſhall have opportunity myſelf to come thither. Wherefore I deſire you to conſult with the chief commanders there, that you may ſend me word what publick declarations or particular commands you would have me make to thoſe garriſons under my obedience, and I ſhall effectually purſue them. And beſides, I offer to ſend a peremptory command to the Marquis 'of Montroſe to march up and join with you, whereſoever you ſhall appoint him. Theſe conſiderations are ſo far from ſeeking an excuſe for not coming to you, that again I conjure you to ſend me but the leaſt probability how I may do it, and I aſſure you, no danger ſhall hinder me from attempting it; which now requires ſo much more to be haſtened, becauſe that Exeter is to-morrow to be given up; ſo that I muſt expect to be blocked up here within very few days; which rather than be, I am reſolved, to run any hazard to come to you, without an apparent impoſſiblity. I have acquainted my Wife both with the cauſe of my ſtay, and the ſubſtance of that which I have now written unto you, to the end they there may comply with what we ſhall do here.

*I am, &c.*

*Oxon*, 12 *Apr.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

3

## *Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to Secretary* NICHOLAS.

LE premier homme que vous avois envoyé à Oxford eſt revenu depuis deux jours, apres eſtre eſchappé des mains de ceux qui l'avoient arreſté; de ſorte que vous n'auriez point ſçeu la reception qu'on m'a faite icy, avec quelle rigeur on m'a oſté tous les moyens d'avertir le Roy de ne point partir d'Oxford. J'avois eſté bien aiſe que vous n'euſſiez point receue cette lettre, qui eut entierement detournè ſa Majeſté de la reſolution qu'elle avoit priſe de venir icy, parce que avois eue quelque eſperance que les choſes ſe pouvoient remettre, et qu'en ſuite de l'entreveu du Chancelier d'Eſcoſſe et le Comte de Dumferlin et du † a Royſton, tout ce que ſa Majeſte avoit deſiré, et ce que je luy avoit promis ſe pourroit executer. Cependant, apres des longs delais, on me vient de faire ſçavoir de la part du Committée qui a eſtée aſſemblée tout le jour, qu'on ira rencontrer ſa Majeſte a Burton qui eſt ſur la Trente, avec un bon parti conſiderable, et qu'on ne peut aller plus avant, mais on envoyera quelques

† *Blank in the Original.*

*A.D.* 1646. chevaux au devant elle a Boſworth, qui eſt a mi-chemin de Harborough à Burton ; que le Roy fera ſçavoir le jour qu'il deſire qu'ils y ſoient ; et qu'ils ne manqueront point pas de s'y trouver. Il ſera neceſſaire, quand ils recontreront ſa Majeſté, qu'elle leur dit qu'elle va en Eſcoſſe, et, qu'en ſuite de cela, ils luy permettront de venir en leur Armée, au lieu de ſe laiſſer aller plus avant. Je ne ſçais ſi ceci plaira fort à ſa Majeſté ; mais ils diſent que cela ne ſe peut faire autrement, ſi l'on ne veut rompre avec le Parlement d'Angleterre, et ſe priver de moyens de conſerver ſa dite Majeſté. Pour les autres conditions, voici en quelle ſorte ils les ſont reduites : Ils ne deſirent point qu'aucunes forces qui avoient ſuivi le parti du Roy ſe joignent à eux, ni meſme (ce qui eſt fort deraiſonnable) que la Cavallerie, qui aura accompagnée ſa Majeſté, ſe retire dans leur Armée avec elle. Ils ſont demeurez a la fin d'accorde que les deux Princes et Monſieur Aſhburnham ſuivent le Roy, avec les autres ſerviteurs, qui ne ſont point exceptéz de pardon, et que ce trois demeurent avec ſa Majeſté juſques à ce que le Parlement d'Angleterre les leur demande : Auquel cas, ils ne peuvent refuſer de les donner, mais ils leur donneront moyens de retirer du Royaume auparavant. Ils ne peuvent conſentir que le Marquis de Montroſe aille Ambaſſadeur en France ; mais en quelque autre lieu. Et pour ce qui eſt du governement Presbiterial, ils deſirent que ſa Majeſté leur accorde le plus promptement qu'il ſe pourra. Voila le conte qu'ils fait ici de l'engagement du Roy mon Maiſtre, et des promeſſes que j'avois eues de leur part a Londres, et tout ce que j'ay pû tirer déux de meilleurs apres les longs debats, et les choſes qu'ils dirent d'abord eſtoient encore bien plus rudes. Je ne vous en dirai rien d'avantage, ſi non que ſa Majeſté, vous, & Monſieur Aſhburnham cognoiſſez mieux que moi les Eſcoſſois. Je vous repreſente les choſes naivement, ainſi que ſuis obligé de faire, et je n'ay pas la hardieſſe de donner aucune conſeil a ſa Majeſte. Si elle a quelque reſource qu'elle peut faire des conditions meilleurs, je crois qu'elle ne doit penſer a celleſci. Mais ſi elle voit toutes choſes deſeſperées ailleurs, et qu'elle ne peut eſtre en aſſeurance, ni ſes ſerviteurs, avec ſon Parlement d'Angleterre, j'ay encore aſſez de hardieſſe apres tout ceci pour l'aſſeurer qu'encore qu'elle ne ſoit (peut eſtre) avec toute la ſatisfaction qu'elle peut deſirer, elle et ſes ſerviteurs, mais elle principalement y ſera avec toute la ſeureté poſſible : Et je ne manquerai pas de ma part de les preſſer à garder á ſa Majeſté toutes les choſes que je luy ay promiſes, comme ſi je ne l'aurois point auparavant le changement que j'ay trouvé ici. J'ay bruſlé l'ordre que j'avois pour le Governeur de Newarke, de peur que l'on ne ſervit contre l'intention de ſa Majeſté. On me dit qu'on s'employera pour les ſerviteurs de ſa Majeſté, et pour ceux qui ont ſuivi ſon parti, aupres de Parlement d'Angleterré ; mais ſans aſſeurer que ce ſera avec effect, ainſi qu'il m'avoit eſté promis ; mais ſeulement de faire office pour cela ; et l'on m'a dit que la Cavalerie qui ſuivera ſa Majeſté pourra ſe retirer à Litchfield, ou en quelque autre de ſes Garniſons. Il eſt venu Nouvelle que le Comte de Seaford ſoit declaré pour la paix, et l'on m'a dit que le parti de ſa Majeſte eſt puiſſant en Eſcoſſe. Je ne vous dis que je fais ici mon devoir, et que je le ferai tant que je ſerai en vie. Les bontés que ſa Majeſte a eués pour moi m'y obligent, et ſans cela, les vertus et ſon procede ſincere et genereux ; ce que me fait croire que Dieu ne l'abandonnera jamais. J'avois trouvé un moyen pour envoyer a ſa Majeſté ſans ſoupçon ; mais ces Meſſieurs ne me l'ont pas voulu permettre. Adieu, Monſieur ! Faites moi ſçavoir ce que le

Roy

Roy veut faire, et en quelle maniere je puis agir ici pour ſon ſervice, et croyez que je ſuis avec toute ſorte de fidelité, *A.D.* 1646.

*Voſtre tres-humble*
*et tres-obeiſſant Serviteur,*

*Southwell, la nuit du* 15 *ou* 16 *d'Avril,* 1646.

DE MONTREVIL.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Two Meſſages in Writing from Monſieur* MONTREVIL *to his* MAJESTY.

MONSIEUR de Montrevil a parlé aux les deputéz d'Eſcoſſe qui ſont en l'Armée, avant qu'ils ont eues toutes les impreſſions neceſſaires de particularitez du deſſein qui eſté donné ſamedy dernier à Royſton par et Dunfermlin * La Difficulté eſtoit d'avancer pour rencontrer le Roy, ce qui eſt maintenant reſolu, ſi le Roy veut faire ſçavoir a Montrevil le temps que les Eſcoſſois le rencontreront au lieu desja aſſigné. J'ay ordre des Deputéz d'Eſcoſſe de vous aſſeur qu'ils n'y manqueront point, et que le Roy ſera receu comme á eſté promis en l'Armée, et qu'on ne forcera point ſa conſcience.

*A Londres,* 16 *Avril.*

DEPUIS l'arrivé de celui que vous m'avez envoyé, j'ay preſſé pour les faire avancer par dela Burton; mais on m'a dit que cela eſtoit impoſſible, et que le chemin de Boſworth a Burton eſtoit ſi court et ſi aisé, que cela ne ſeroit point neceſſaire a voſtre Majeſte, et leur pourroit apporter grands prejudices. Je leur ay demandé auſſi le jour; mais ils m'ont dit que quand V. M. leur fait ſçavoir le temps qu'elle doit partir d'Oxford, ils partiront pour Burton, et envoyeront quelque Cavallerie à Boſworth au devant elle. Si V. M. peut mieux faire avec les autres, je ne deſire rien au Monde que ſon avantage; mais ſi les affaires ſont en l'Eſtat que m'a repreſenté celui qui lui rendra cette lettre, je lui dis encore une fois qu'elle ſera ici (peut eſtre) avec moins de ſatisfaction que je n'eſperois, mais avec autant de ſeureté. Je les ay preſſéz d'envoyer de Chevaux frois à Boſworth. En tout cas j'en ay deux qui ſont aſſez bons; je les envoyerai, ou, a tout le moins, un, qui ſe porte fort bien, ſi l'autre ne ſeroit pas entierement gueri.

*Je ſuis, &c.*

16 *Avril,* 1646.

*Copies, by M. Edgman.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

*Monſieur,*

YOU will herein receive his Majeſty's letter to the Marquis of Montroſe in your cipher, which his Majeſty deſires you to decipher between the lines; and to ſend it to him, if you and thoſe with you ſhall think good; this being the full of what his Majeſty can do on his part towards this con-

* *The three Blanks are in the MS.*

*A.D.* 1646. junction at this distance. The King commands me to tell you that in all this time he hath not since your departure received any despatch or message from you at all, which much troubles him. He is here close begirt, and Fairfax and Cromwell are coming also with their forces out of the West, Exeter and Barnstable being both lately rendered. His Majesty earnestly expects and desires to hear from you, and so doth also, &c.

*18th April*, 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Marquis of* MONTROSE.

*Montrose*,

HAVING upon the engagement of the French King and Queen Regent made an agreement to join with my Scots' subjects now before Newark, and being resolved upon the first opportunity to put myself into that army, they being reciprocally engaged (by the intervention of Monsr. de Montreuil the said King's Resident now in the said army) to join with me and my forces, and to assist me in the procuring a happy peace: I have thought it necessary to acquaint you herewith; (being here so close begirt, as without much hazard and difficulty I cannot suddenly break from hence to come to them) desiring you, if you shall find by the said de Montreuil that my Scots' army have really declared for me, and that you be satisfied by him that there is by them an Amnestia of all that hath been done by you, and those who have adhered unto me, but very hearty, sincere, friendly and honourable resolutions in them for whatsoever concerns your person and party, that then you take them by the hand, and use all possible diligence to unite your forces with theirs for the advancement of my service, as if I were there in person; and I doubt not but you being joined will be able to relieve me here; in case I shall not find any possible means to come to you, which shall be still endeavoured with all earnestness by

*Your's*

*18th Apr.* 1646.

CH. R.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Monsieur* MONTREVIL *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

ON m'asseure qu'on fera plus qu'on ne me peut dire; mais que sa Majesté n'espere point plus que je luy mande, a fin de n'estre point trompé, et qu'elle prenne bien aussi ses mesures pour venir; car asseurement c'est un [*Projet*] plein de grand hazard.

J'ajousterai au double de la lettre que j'ai escrite ce Matin par le Colonel, que j'ay reçu un billet de Milord Bellasis; par lequel il me mande, que sur toute chose je presse sa Majesté de venir ici. Et la dame qui me l'a rendu, et á qui il a faite part de ce que sa Majeste luy escrit, m'a dit, que je ne dois pas mander froidement à sa Majesté qu'elle vienne, [mais l'en presser, et luy faire plustost les difficultéz que j'ay rencontrées †] parce qu'elle est asseurée que sa Majesté se perd, si elle soit prise dans Oxfort. La disposition des Chefs d'Armée de l'Escossois est telle que le Roy peut desirer. Ils com-

† *This seems an Error. It is omitted in the English Translation.*

mencent

mencent á faire filer leurs troupes vers Burton ; et il leur eſt trop important d'empeſcher ſa Majeſté de tombre entre les mains des Anglois, pour croire qu'ils ne faſſent pas tout ce qui leur ſeroit poſſible pour l'empeſcher. Et les choſes ſe ſont tellement avancées entre les Independans et les Eſcoſſois, que la venue de ſa Majeſté dans leur Armée ne peut plur ſervir pour leur reconciliation. J'ay faite voir aux Eſcoſſois la lettre que j'ay recue de Milord Bellaſis, a fin que le deſire qu'il teſmoigne que ſa Majeſté ſoit ici, luy puiſſe ſervir de quelque choſe aupres d'eux. J'ay bien diſposé General Leven, & je crois que le Comte de Lothian agira comme il doit. Celuy de Dumferlin a tousjours monſtré beaucoup de tendreſſe pour ſa Majeſté. On m'a aſſeuré que le Chancelier d'Eſcoſſe ſera ici auſſitoſt que ſa Majeſte y arrivera. J'attends ſes Ordres avec Impatience. *A.D.*1646.

*Le* 20 *d'Avril*, 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

*Monſieur*,

HIS Majeſty hath received both your letters of the 16th preſent, and commanded me to return you his Royal and hearty thanks for your noble prudence and clear dealing. His Majeſty ſees you now find the nature and affections of thoſe Scots, better than you did, and believes you now conceive his Majeſty had reaſon to be ſo wary as he was in his treaty ; albeit his Majeſty believes little good can be done with them, yet he wiſhes you would try what you can further prevail with them. His Majeſty hopes that in your deſpatches to the Court of France you will do him right in your expreſſion of his reality and readineſs for what concerns his part of the treaty ; which failing as it hath done will have a very ill influence upon his Majeſty's affairs ; for in expectation thereof his Majeſty neglected thoſe means which might very probably have ſecured his perſon by his remove from hence ; which by the Scots failing is now in great danger ; for now (I doubt) his Majeſty will be conſtrained to run the hazard of Oxon, which in reſpect of their great armies, and that this is their laſt week, is like to be very deſperate. If other Monarchs ſhall not inſtantly appear (for an embargo of trade, and ſome declaration or Ambaſſage which may ſhew the people of England that the King's intereſt muſt not fall to ground without a new diſpute upon it) I apprehend the fall of this Monarchy and the fate of others : You have however behaved yourſelf with ſo much integrity and honour in your negotiation, as it hath extremely pleaſed and affected his Majeſty, and obligeth all that are faithful to him, and more particularly,

*Monſieur*, *&c.*

22 *Apr.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Monſieur* MONTREUIL.

*Monſieur*,

TO my letter of the 22d of April (whereof a duplicate is herewith ſent) the King hath commanded me to add, and further to deſire (ſince he underſtands that the Engliſh Presbyterians, at and near London, are

*A.D.* 1646. are desirous that his Majesty's conjunction with the Scots should proceed with effect) that you will use some means to inform the English of the conjunction at London of his Majesty's proceedings and success here, and elsewhere; to the end they may be there acquainted with the reality and forwardness you found in the King to comply with what was to be performed on his Majesty's part, (though to his great hazard) if the Scots would have concurred according to agreement; and that you will truly relate to those at London how you found the Scots in the army; whereupon the business is hitherto at a stand. This may with more safety and advantage to his Majesty's service be conveyed to London by you, and will have a better operation to dispose and assure as well the English as the Scots there, than if sent by any from Oxon. You have hitherto with so much prudence and dexterity managed this business, as the King desires you still to continue your negotiation; for his Majesty is unwilling to relinquish the trial of what it may possibly be yet wrought unto, (though for the present it be by the failure of the Scots cast backward, and rendered more difficult as to the King's passing) for your Master and Mistress's sakes, who appeared for his Majesty's interest. These are some intimations from London, which express better minds in some there than in those you are now with, because it seems those in the army know not what was done at London in the business. Wherefore when you shall have acquainted the English and the rest at London with the reality and forwardness of his Majesty, and the declining of those with you to perform their part, it may dispose those at London the rather to express to those with you their desires that the conjunction with the King may proceed with effect, the want of knowledge of the English's earnestness in this business, having perhaps rendered the Scots the less forward in it, and may bring them on again when they shall understand how it is. Whensoever the Scot's horse shall come so near this place, as that his Majesty may with any probability of safety break to them, the King will put it to hazard; but it will be impossible for him to come so far as Burton or Bosworth, without the assistance of a greater strength than he hath here. His Majesty desires you upon all occasions to advertise him of your proceedings and to advise him what may be done: but Oxon is now (though at some little distance) very straightly blocked up, with at least 3000 horse, and 2000 foot, and Fairfax and Cromwell are also marching this way with the remainder of their forces.

*I am, Monsieur, your's*

24 *April*, 1646.

E. NICHOLAS.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Two Letters sent, by the Command of his* MAJESTY, *to Sir* HENRY VANE, *the younger.*

*Sir,*

YOU cannot suppose the work is done, though God should suffer you to destroy the King. The miseries which will inevitably follow are so plain in view, that it is more than necessary some speedy expedient be found for their prevention. Is it not clear to you (to me it is) that Spain and France will instantly conclude a peace? and, that France makes great preparations to join with the Scots, (when the breach between you and them shall happen) whilst Spain labours to be protector of Ireland, and will undoubtedly

doubtedly carry it? Conſider well, whether the ſeaſon is not proper for this deſign, when the wealth of the nation is already exhauſted, and the ſufferings of the people ſo great, that they are no longer to be ſupported. This is reaſon; 'tis not to caſt a bone among you. The only remedy is (and it is a ſafe and honourable one for you) that you ſet yourſelf, the Gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your friends, to prevail that the King may come to London upon the terms he hath offered: where, if Preſbytery ſhall be ſo ſtrongly inſiſted upon, as that there can be no peace without it, you ſhall certainly have all the power my Maſter can make, to join with you in rooting out of this Kingdom that tyrannical government; with this condition, that my Maſter may not have his conſcience diſturbed (your's being free) when that work is finiſhed. Loſe not this fair opportunity; the like was never offered, nor ever will be; for it brings all things of benefit and advantage imaginable, both to the general, to your particular, to him that was quartered with you, and to his and your friends; and ſhall be honeſtly made good. Truſt to me for the performance of it; weigh it ſadly, and again rely upon me. *A.D.* 1646.

BE confident that neither he that carries this, nor he that delivers it to you, knows any thing of it.

*This is a true Copy of what was ſent to Sir Henry Vane the younger, by my Command.* C. R.

*Mar.* 2. 164⅝.

*Sir,*

I SHALL only add this word to what was ſaid in my laſt, that you haſten my buſineſs all that you poſſibly can, the occaſion lately given being fairer than ever, and done on purpoſe. Be very confident that all things ſhall be performed according to my promiſe. By all that is good I conjure you to deſpatch that courteſy for me with all ſpeed; or it will be too late; I ſhall periſh before I receive the fruits of it. I may not tell you my neceſſities; but if it were neceſſary ſo to do, I am ſure you would lay all other conſiderations aſide and fulfill my deſires. This is all; truſt me, I will repay the favour to the full. I have done. If I have not an anſwer within four days after the receipt of this, I ſhall be neceſſitated to find ſome other expedient. God direct you! I have diſcharged my duty.

*This is a true Copy of what was ſent by Jack Aſhburnham and my Command to Sir Harry Vane the younger.* C. R.

*Copies, endorſed thus by Secretary Nicholas;*
2 Mar. 1645. "Copies of two letters ſent to the "Independent Party, by his Majeſty's Command."

### *Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX *to Mr.* JOHN ARUNDELL.

*Sir,*

BEING come into theſe parts with the army, where it hath pleaſed God to give us ſo good ſucceſs, as now no body of an army is remaining to oppoſe us, nor indeed through the great mercy of God in any part of the Kingdom conſiderable: I thought fit before any extremity of force were uſed againſt you, to ſend to you this ſummons, by which I demand you to deliver

*A.D.*1646. deliver up the Caſtle of Pendennis and all things belonging to that Garriſon for the ſervice of the Kingdom, which if you incline to, you may have conditions befitting yourſelf and the quality of thoſe that are with you: I expect your anſwer in two hours, and reſt

*Your Servant,*

*A Copy; endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

*Colonel* JOHN ARUNDELL *to Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX.

*Sir,*

THE Caſtle was committed to my Government by his Majeſty, who by our laws hath the command of the Caſtles and Forts of this Kingdom; and my age of ſeventy ſummons me hence ſhortly. Yet I ſhall deſire no other teſtimony to follow my departure than my conſcience to God and loyalty to his Majeſty, whereto I am bound by all the obligations of nature, duty, and oath. I wonder you demand the Caſtle without authority from his Majeſty; which if I ſhould render, I brand myſelf and my poſterity with the indelible character of Treaſon. And having taken leſs than two minutes reſolution, I reſolve that I will here bury myſelf before I deliver up this Caſtle to ſuch as fight againſt his Majeſty, and that nothing you can threaten is formidable to me in reſpect of the loſs of loyalty and conſcience.

*Your Servant,*

18 *March* 1645.

JOHN ARUNDELL, *of Trerife.*

*A Copy, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

INSTRUCTIONS *for our Right truſty and right well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors,* MONTAGUE *Earl of* LINDSEY, *Lord Great Chamberlain of* England, *and* THOMAS *Earl of* SOUTHAMPTON, *and our truſty and well-beloved Servants Sir* WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, *Knight, Gentleman of our Privy Chamber, and* JOHN ASHBURNHAM, *Eſq; one of the Grooms of our Bedchamber, and to any three or more of them.*

HAVING an earneſt deſire to go to our Parliament at Weſtminſter, to adviſe and treat with them, for the putting an end to the miſeries of this our Kingdom, and for making a ſpeedy, happy, and well-grounded peace; We do hereby command and authorize you to employ your induſtry and endeavours to treat and agree with Colonel Rainsborough, and ſuch other officers of the Parliament forces as he ſhall deſire, for the ſafe conducting our perſon, and ſuch of our menial ſervants as we ſhall think fit to carry with us, to London; and to protect us and them until ſuch time as we ſhall receive from our two Houſes of Parliament, aſſurance of being by them protected in our honour, perſon, and eſtate, according to the duty of their allegiance: And that our friends and ſervants who have adhered unto us, ſhall have the like conditions as were by Sir Thomas Fairfax allowed and granted to thoſe of our party in our City of Exeter.

AND in caſe our two Houſes ſhall refuſe ſo to do, that then the ſaid Colonel Rainsborough, and the other perſons with whom you ſhall treat, ſhall

ſhall engage themſelves to defend and protect us and our ſaid ſervants with their lives and fortunes. *A.D.*1646.

GIVEN at our Court at Oxon. the 25th of April 1646.

*A Copy, by Secretary Nicholas's Clerk.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Colonel* RICHARD ARUNDELL.

*My dear Richard,*

SIR Thomas Hooper arrived here on Saturday the 2d of May with the many packets from Pendennis, moſt of them dated the 11th of April, though he ſaid that he came away from you above a fortnight after that time. I aſſure you the Prince was wonderfully pleaſed to hear from you, having never before heard one word ſince the diſbanding of the army; though whilſt we ſtaid at Scilly, we ſent very many letters to you; and the ſame night the Prince reſolved to come for Jerſey, I deſpatched an expreſs to you of the reaſons of his Highneſs's remove from thence, which was this: On Saturday the 11th of April my Lord Hopton and my Lord Capel came to Scilly, the wind having been contrary ſo long that the Prince had not heard from the Main in above a month, and ſo having never received proviſion for one meal ſince his coming to Scilly; and yet I aſſure you he had no more thought of leaving that iſland than of going to Virginia; but with my Lords there came a trumpet from Fairfax with an invitation as he called it from the Parliament to the Prince; which was that he would forthwith come into their quarters, and reſide in ſuch a place and with ſuch council and attendance as they ſhould appoint. This unexpected ſummons made us apprehend that we were not like to be ſo ſecure there as we expected; of which we were throughly confirmed the next morning, when a fleet of 20 ſail encompaſſed the iſland; but was that afternoon by a bleſſed ſtorm diſperſed; and then the Prince thought it high time to remove from that unſecure place, where his greateſt confidence was, that they would not diſturb him. And ſo, on the Thurſday following (for the ſtorm held two days) he ſet ſail for Jerſey, and in little more than 24 hours arrived ſafe here in the moſt pleaſant iſland, and (truly I think) the ſtrongeſt in the world: From whence he hath not the leaſt thought of removing, it being always in his power in four hours to go into France, whither nothing but an undeniable danger of falling into the enemy's hands can drive him. I forgot to tell you that his anſwer to the Parliament was, that if they would ſend him a ſafe conduct for my Lord Capel to come firſt to them, and receive their propoſitions, and then to go to the King, and receive his approbation, he would endeavour to concur with their advice as far as with his piety he might, and that he would expect an anſwer from them at Jerſey, and this meſſage he ſent by Sir Joſeph Seymour, who went with their trumpeter, but as yet he hath received no anſwer. This is the account of ourſelves; a word now of what we hear concerning the King, which is uncertain; ſome ſay he is ſtill in Oxford, others that he is gone to the Scots' army, but this you may depend upon, that the Parliament and the Scots are at mortal defiance; ſo that by the grace of God, the Parliament may have yet cauſe to come to a ſober treaty with the King. I do not yet doubt of a good meeting, and of ſeeing an honeſt peace after all theſe miſerable troubles. I am

*May 15th.* *Dear Dick, your's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman,*

*A.D.* 1646.

*Her* MAJESTY *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Dear Charles,*

HAVING received a letter from the King, I have deſpatched this bearer Dudley Wyatt to you with the copy of the letter; by which you may ſee the King's command to you and to me. I make no doubt but you will obey it ſuddenly: For certainly your coming hither is the ſecurity of the King your Father. Therefore make all the haſte you can to ſhew yourſelf a dutiful ſon, and a careful one to do all that is in your power to ſerve him; otherwiſe, you may ruin the King and yourſelf. Now that the King is gone from Oxford either to the Scotch or to Ireland, the Parliament will with all their power force you to come to them. There is no time to be loſt; therefore loſe none, but come ſpeedily. I have written more at large to my Lord Culpeper, to ſhew it to your council. I'll ſay no more to you, hoping to ſee you ſhortly. I would have ſent you Henry Jermyn, but [*he*] is going to the Court with ſome commands from the King to the Queen Regent. I'll add no more to this, but that I am

*Your moſt affectionate Mother,*

*St Germain, ce 17 May.*

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN.

*Dear Heart,*

SINCE mine of the 13th to thee not having heard any thing from Montrevil, I find myſelf like to be drawn into very great ſtraits; and being abſolutely reſolved, God willing, never to fall into the Rebels' hands as long as I can by any induſtry or danger prevent it, I have alſo reſolved to expoſe myſelf to all the difficulties and hazards that can occur to my deliverance: And, not to flatter myſelf in this purpoſe, whether I be obliged to go to the Scotch, or what other courſe ſoever I ſhall be forced to take, they will be great enough to invite me to think of thoſe things which will be of eſſential neceſſity, in caſe I do not ſave myſelf. One of which though not only neceſſary in that caſe, is, the having my ſon with thee in France. I do therefore charge thee, as ſoon as thou ſhalt receive this, if then he ſhall not be with thee (which I would not willingly doubt) that thou ſend mine and thine own poſitive commands to him to come unto thee. And this I write to thee now without any ſcruple; for that in every event that my preſent purpoſe can poſſibly produce, this counſel is not to be diſputed. For whether I ſave myſelf, or be taken priſoner, my ſon can be no where ſo well, for all the reaſons that I have to look upon in conſideration of thee, myſelf, and him, as that he ſhould be now with thee in France. Therefore again I recommend to thee that, if he be not with thee, thou ſend immediately for him; aſſuring thee, that moſt certainly, if God let me live, I will either privately or by force attempt very ſuddenly to get from hence. I have not now time to tell thee the reſt of the particulars I have in my thoughts, in caſe I hear from Montrevil that things are prepared for my reception in the Scotch army, or that I be forced to take any other courſe; but ſhall

ſend

ſend thee an expreſs to inform thee at large. So I conjure thee to pray for *A.D.* 1646.
him who is entirely

*thine* CHARLES R.

*Oxford, Tueſday, April 15th.*

I DO again recommend to thee the haſtening of the Ambaſſador I propoſed in my laſt of the 13th. His being at London is like my Son's being with thee; fit in all events of my affairs.

*A Copy.*

*Her* MAJESTY *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*Milord Culpeper,*

JE depeche ce Gentilhomme á mon fils, eſtant fort eſtonnée de n'entendre point de vous nouvelles, pour luy porter une copie d'une lettre que j'ay reçeue du Roy; par laquelle vous verrez comme il croit neceſſaire que mon fils vienne ici. Devant voſtre departure je vous en avois desja dit aſſez ſur ce ſujet pour ne rien dire a cette heure. Mais cette lettre, et auſſi les nouvelles de Londres, me font encore vous preſſer d'amener mon fils. Car ſi le Roy eſt allé trouver les Eſcoſſois, ou bien allé en Irelande, comme le bruit eſt (car certainement il eſt parti d'Oxford) ou qu'il arrivat qu'il fût pris, ſa vie n'eſt pas en ſeureté, ſi la perſonne de mon fils n'eſt hors de danger d'eſtre pris. Je crois que le conſeil de mon fils n'ira pas contre cela; et de plus, qu'ils obeiront aux ordres du Roy, et promptement. Il n'eſt pas plus temps de remeſtre; il faut venir a l'execution des commandements du Roy. Il y va, outre obeiſſance, de la vie du Roy, du bien de mon fils, et du Royaume: C'eſt pourquoi il n'y a plus diſputer la deſſus. Je n'eſcris qu'à vous; mais c'eſt a fin que vous montriez au conſeil de mon fils, et c'eſt pour vous tous que j'eſcris. Je crois avoir aſſez dit pour entendre, a la premiere nouvelle, que mon fils eſt arrivé en France; et le commandement que le Roy m'en fait eſt aſſez ample pour cela. Je finirai, vous aſſeurant que je ſuis,

*Voſtre bien bonne amie,*

*St Germain, ce 17 May.*

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My dear Lord,*

THOUGH I believe by this time you and my Lords have ſufficiently converted one another in the argument of the Prince's ſpeedy remove from hence, or at leaſt by them you underſtand the opinion and advice of this place, as entire and unanimous as the contrary can be any where; yet I have thought it not unagreeable either to my public duty, my particular devotion to her Majeſty, or my Friendſhip to your Lordſhip (which hath never been faulty to you) to tell you freely my ſenſe upon the matter, upon as ſad and diſpaſſioned thoughts, as I ever entertained. And truly, I have the vanity to believe ſo well of myſelf, that I am above any imputation or ſuſpicion, upon any diſſenting in opinion, ſave only of indiſcretion and want of judgment, which is not impoſſible to be reformed. For (alaſs!) if I would obey my own natural appetite and inclination, what could be ſo ac-

*A.D.* 1646. ceptable and pleaſant to me, ſo probably uſeful and advantageous to my own intereſt, as a journey to Paris, where I might have a noble enlargement of converſation, and an opportunity (for I am not yet ſo mortified to the world, as to be without that curioſity) for obſervation in the pleaſanteſt and moſt glorious City, and in the wiſeſt Court in Chriſtendom; where I might be within the more immediate protection, and poſſibly not without the verge of her particular conſideration, of a moſt gracious Miſtreſs, upon whoſe favour no creature more abſolutely depends, or ſooner periſhes by her diſpleaſure; and laſtly, (for the other would be improved by it) where I might enjoy the comfort and conduct of your Friendſhip, and ſo grow happy and wiſe at once. When on the contrary, if that be ſtill as importunately urged, I am to live in an abject unſupplied retiredneſs, where a diſconſolate and unexerciſed mind will quickly contribute to thoſe diſeaſes which come on too faſt already, when my poor former ſervices (never otherwiſe conſiderable, than by a gracious acceptation) ſhall no more be thought of, but as an aggravation of my laſt folly, and all this with want of bread; only to ſatisfy a poor habit of reaſon and underſtanding (which makes up my conſcience) which moſt men will condemn as too peremptory, and others deſpiſe, and laugh at, as ridiculous. I ſhall not therefore make this melancholick mutation without endeavouring to ſatisfy myſelf, and letting you ſee I do ſo, with as clear a diſquiſition upon the whole matter, as my diſcretion (which you may improve) can ſuggeſt to me; not ſuffering myſelf to be ſullenly tranſported into an opinion, much leſs a reſolution, becauſe many weighty objections may be made againſt what is propoſed. Whoſoever contracts his wiſdom into that warineſs, is not fit to go into that ſhip, in which all good men now muſt make their voyage. I confeſs, nothing can be propoſed, in this deſperate exigent of affairs, againſt which many ſober arguments may not be framed. It ſhall therefore abundantly ſatisfy me, in all counſels, if the alterations be probably better, than the preſent ſtate; and let the ſucceſs prove what it will, that wiſe and honeſt men will ſay, this was prudently to be choſen, though it hath ſucceeded ill; but to chooſe that, which in itſelf hath viſibly moſt hazard, and not ſucceeding, muſt inevitably be attended with moſt ſcandal, will not become men, who have not thrown off the thought of their fortune and their fame together. Let us therefore duly weigh the advantages and diſadvantages that are naturally like to attend this moſt important reſolution of tranſporting the Prince into France; which I would have no man look upon, as of indifferent conſequence, being of much greater moment to the fate of three Kingdoms, than any one thing, that hath depended upon the deliberation or execution of ſo few perſons ſince theſe troubles began, or indeed in any time; and can produce no middle effect, but muſt prove the preſervation of the King, Queen, and Prince, or the ruin of all three, and the Crown of England; and had need therefore, be ſadly thought of, before reſolved. The firſt argument for his neceſſary and ſpeedy repair into France, is the ſecurity of his perſon, of which we are all equally tender, and which it is confeſſed muſt be preſerved from the leaſt probability of ſurprize. But in that point I preſume you are by my Lords abundantly ſatisfied, that the iſland itſelf is not to be attempted without a very great force, and being loſt, the Prince's remove into France is moſt eaſy, and moſt ſafe. And of this we have as great aſſurance as can be given, the unanimous conſent of all perſons upon the place, who underſtand things of that nature. The ſecond is, his ſupport; which can never be

be an argument by itſelf, ſince flowing immediately from her Majeſty's bounty, or her Majeſty's mediation, no doubt it will be aſſigned to his Highneſs in any place, where his reſidence ſhall be concluded moſt neceſſary for the publick good. Somewhat is ſaid of improving his perſon, by many advantages in that Kingdom; but ſince thoſe advantages may be applied (I mean thoſe that are neceſſary) in this place, what are wanting will not be apprehended of weight enough to turn the ſcale, in a matter of ſo vaſt conſequence. Laſtly, by this means his Highneſs may engage the Crown of France to declare on his Majeſty's behalf, and be ready to join with the Scots, who likewiſe expreſs great affection and devotion to his ſervice, and ſo be himſelf in action, to help to recover the drooping condition of his Father and the three Kingdoms, any attempt wherein will be very glorious and worthy of his princely youth; whereas a quiet, unconcerned, ſtation in this remote iſland muſt be very ſcandalous and diſhonourable to him. Theſe indeed are arguments of moment, and muſt in their ſeveral degrees prevail over, or make impreſſion in all honeſt men. But neither of theſe is an argument as to time; and at this diſtance we muſt needs believe that a frank declaration and engagement of the Crown of France on his Majeſty's behalf, and a wedding his quarrel by ſome briſk art againſt the Rebels, would be a better argument for the Prince's going thither, than his preſence there could prove to incline them to ſuch a neceſſary declaration! And for the Scots, that it is moſt neceſſary, their inclinations and deſires be fully underſtood by the Prince, before he put himſelf into their hands; though it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing honeſt and juſt is to be left unperformed, or unattempted, that may unite and reconcile that nation towards the ſupporting the Monarchy of England. But how to make a judgment of their intentions, and reſolutions, except by a clear negotiation with them, and an equal underſtanding of the King's condition and deſigns, I cannot imagine. Sure no honeſt man in his wits can think fit that the Prince ſhould bury himſelf in this obſcure iſland from action. I wiſh action were as ready for him, as he is for it; but the queſtion is only, whether it is more honourable to be without action in this iſland or in France; and no queſtion all acts preparatory may be better done by Miniſters, than by Princes themſelves, who have ſeldom by their own interviews (the many inconveniences whereof a wiſe Counſellor of France obſerved) obtained real advantages to their ſervice. The only end and excuſe for ſtaying here is ſecurely to attend a proper article of time, ſo to diſpoſe of himſelf as may have the greateſt influence upon his fortune; and truly, whoever enough conſiders the admirable confuſion in all three Kingdoms, to which in the inſtant the wiſdom of men and angels can hardly find an expedient to apply, will think the ſtation very happy, from whence he may without prejudice ſo long look on, till upon full obſervations and free counſels ſuch deſigns may be formed, with all circumſtances for proſecution, as good men may confidently undertake, and cheerfully perſiſt in. Give me leave now to preſent to you with all freedom, the inconveniencies and miſchiefs which probably may, and really I believe inevitably will befall, the King, Queen, and Prince, and conſequently the Crown and the cauſe, if this repair into France ſhould be ſo ſpeedy as is preſſed, or before he be really compelled by ſome attempt of the Rebels, (and then it is not his own act) or ſuch pregnant advantages be preſented to him for his ſo doing, as may weigh down leſſer conſiderations. *A.D. 1646.*

*A.D.*1646. I AM very far from a ſottiſh hope or expectation of any good by the repentance, good-nature or ſobriety of thoſe at Weſtminſter; but I am as far from deſpairing of much good from the affections of many in England, and of many Engliſh in foreign parts; beſides what advantages may ſpeedily be taken from the neceſſary diſtractions amongſt themſelves; there being not yet ſix men of one mind in their future deſigns upon the publick, or in their private charity to each other. Nay, I am moſt confident that the reſurrection of the Engliſh loyalty and courage (wherever it may be encouraged by ſome neighbour, power, and ſtrength) can only reſtore the King, and in him the Prince, to what hath been ſo wickedly taken from them. Now whatſoever is to be hoped for by thoſe affections, wiſe men believe by what they have formerly obſerved, and by what they daily hear, will be irrecoverably loſt, if the Prince ſhould unadviſedly, and uncompelled, tranſport himſelf out of his father's dominions, into the territories and power of France; for though men at a nearer diſtance may be ſatisfied in the honour and juſtice of that nation, with the great affection and royal aſſurance given by the Queen Regent, and the great perſons, Miniſters of State in that Kingdom, for all liberty of remove to his Highneſs when his affairs ſhall call him thence, yet others, who conſider the minority of the French King, that, againſt the greateſt habit of virtue, honour and juſtice in Princes themſelves, and in their particular Miniſters, beſides that thoſe Princes and Miniſters are not immortal, nor they to whom their kindneſs is addicted, all Kingdoms and States make their own intereſt the meaſure of all their publick actions; and then, that the intereſt of that Kingdom may by accidents at home, or ſucceſſes abroad, by their own decreaſing in ſtrength, or the Parliament's increaſing in power and reputation, be different from what it is now underſtood or pretended to be, that if that heavy and laſt misfortune ſhould befall the King, which every day's danger ſubjects him to, there is no imaginable expedient to confirm the uſurped power of the Parliament, and for ever to ſuppreſs all poſſible reſiſtance and oppoſition of it, but the Prince's being out of his dominions, and ſo not having it in his power to embrace and countenance any opportunity that in that inſtant ſhall offer itſelf for his defence and recovery; and therefore, that the Parliament would purchaſe that conveniency at any price, and would make it the more undiſcerned, by all the circumſtances of duty, and all the ſecurities of treaty, that might gain time, and make the loſs irreparable; I ſay, they who at a diſtance conſider this (and theſe conſiderations will extend themſelves into ſeveral melancholy branches) will by his Highneſs's going thither deſpair of his ſeaſonable coming again to their protection, and ſo compound with thoſe in whoſe mercy they are, and reſerve nothing for King or Prince but their pity and their prayers. More; who ever conſiders the unſpeakable miſchief and inconveniencies which his Majeſty hath ſuſtained, by their infamous groundleſs imputations and reproaches of his religion, and inclination to Popery, (which the contrivers of the aſperſions knew to be moſt falſe) cannot think the ſcandal that will grow in that reſpect upon the Prince from his going into France, to be of little moment. For though ſuch who have the happineſs to know the prudence and reſolution of the Queen, by all means to prevent any attempt to be made on him that way, and they who have the honour to know the Prince, and are witneſſes of his piety and devotion, will not much apprehend any ſuch attempt if it were made, yet very many who only conſider the tenderneſs of his age, the ſtratagems which

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are daily uſed to impoſe upon conſcience, and the eaſineſs to induce a con- *A.D.* 1646.
ſcience to believe a neceſſity and obligation of impoſing upon another conſcience, will not be without ſad fears and apprehenſions; however, they whoſe buſineſs it is, not to prove what they ſay, but to have what they ſay believed, will little doubt the getting credit with the people, or that it will be hard to perſuade them, who believed the King a Papiſt when he was ſeen every day at Church in England, to believe the Prince a Papiſt, when he ſhall have no Church in France to go to; and he ſhall be no ſooner known to be in France, than he ſhall be reported by ſome, and believed by others, to be at Maſs with the Queen. So that the queſtion is not, whether the Prince be like to be corrupted in his religion by going into France, but whether generally the people of England will be perſuaded to believe that he is ſo; and then, what a fatal conſequence is like to be, by ſuch a general belief? whereas hitherto, his Highneſs hath been free from the leaſt taint or blemiſh that way, and is in a place now, the moſt free from the ſuſpicion of Popery of any part within his Majeſty's dominions. And truly, in this conjuncture of time, it may be the reputation of a pious and religious Prince, may do more towards the compoſing the diſtractions of the three Kingdoms, than any other attribute that can be wiſhed in him; and I hope he will not be without any that can be wiſhed. I will not ſpeak of the apprehenſion abroad, and the inconveniencies that may attend that apprehenſion, of an unſeaſonable marriage, and yet they who are without the leaſt fear that an unfit one may be contracted, may yet apprehend ſome opportunities or occaſion of treating a fit one may be omitted, by his being in a place not abſolutely his own.

I HAVE, as ſhortly as I could, told you the inconveniencies that in this caſe may ariſe in reſpect of the affections of the Engliſh; It is in no degree evident to me, what influence it may likewiſe have upon the affections of Scotland and Ireland, or upon the Prince of Orange and States of Holland, or upon the King of Denmark, if it ſhall be believed (how unreaſonably ſoever) that the Prince wholly depends upon the French Counſels, and is to be diſpoſed by their intereſt; and it were to be wiſhed (when you may ſecurely attend it) that as much were known or probably gueſſed at of thoſe, as may be.

LET me ſpeak a word now to you, of the fruit and convenience of his reſidence here. He is within the King's own dominions, and in his own power, free from the leaſt imputation or blemiſh that malice itſelf can ſuggeſt againſt him; and ſo in a much more honourable condition than he can be in the Court of any foreign Prince; and as he is more aſſured of the affections, addreſſes, and aſſiſtance from England, ſo I conceive him more capable of the compaſſion and ſupplies of other Princes and allies, whilſt he is here, than in France; and I am not able to tell myſelf, why he might not more reaſonably expect aid even from France itſelf, when he is here, than when he is at Paris. After all this, I have not nor I do not ſay, that he muſt in no caſe go into France; upon the leaſt probability of being ſurpriſed by the Rebels, I ſhall adviſe his going thither to-morrow; but all other caſes ought to be deliberated, and the French declaration and engagement fully executed. And if upon leſs preſſing and emergent reaſon he ſhall haſtily tranſport himſelf thither, I am ſo far from hoping that it will prove to the benefit of the King, Queen, and Prince, that I do not more believe you to be now at Paris, than I do, that within a month after ſuch

*A.D.* 1646. his going into France, the Parliament will article againſt the King for giving that command; which will work more upon the people to his diſſervice, than all that ever they have or can ſay againſt him; that they will declare the Queen to be the author of that Counſel, and oblige all the Kingdom to an oath againſt her; whereas her Majeſty hath now many hearts there faithfully devoted to her ſervice; that they will declare the Prince to be a Papiſt; (as they did, that the King did intend to levy war, when he had neither men nor arms) and will not want two or three witneſſes who ſaw him at Maſs. And after this, you may eaſily gueſs which way they will proceed, and how eaſy it will be upon this occaſion to unite all the people againſt the Crown; and by new oaths to involve thoſe are yet innocent in a guilt, that will make them keep pace with the moſt furious. Conſider too, what impreſſion it may make upon all the Lords at Oxford, and upon thoſe few places in England and Wales, which yet continue true to their obedience. If none of thoſe conſiderations ſeem of moment to you, take ſo much pains as to reform my judgment; and 'till then pardon me, and procure my pardon from others, that I can no more adviſe, or in my judgment conſent to, the Prince's leaving this place, than I could to what I conclude will prove moſt pernicious and fatal to him; which it cannot be expected any command ſhall make me do.

FORGIVE me this trouble, and paſs your word for me, that I ſhall never do any thing to make you aſhamed of, &c.

*Jerſey, the 20th of May,* 1646.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Sir,*

I RECEIVED your's of the 22d by Colonel Bevil about the 20th of May: and it is the only one I have had from you ſince our coming out of Cornwall. I perceive by your's, you expected us to have been in France; but God be thanked, we are yet in the King's own dominions; where I believe we may ſtay very ſecurely, and then I'll promiſe you I will never give my conſent to go away into another man's power. Oh, Mr. Secretary! I have not been well uſed ſince you and I parted; and truly, I may with modeſty enough ſay, I have deſerved to have been more truſted than I have been; but by the grace of God nothing ſhall diſcourage me from doing my duty. We have been with ſtrange importunity preſſed from the hour we came hither, to come into France, my Lord Culpeper being converted in the point, contrary to what formerly was his opinion: But all the reſt are reſolved not to conſent to it, but in caſe of danger; and then, all men will ſooner go thither, than ſuffer the Prince to be taken by the Rebels; which we apprehend ſo little, that we conceive we can defend the iſland from any force the Parliament can bring againſt it; and when that is loſt, here are two Caſtles impregnable; from whence we can go into France though the whole navy be about us. This being the caſe, I believe you will think we have no reaſon to be forward in ſuch a journey. My Lord Capel and Culpeper are with the Queen, to perſuade her Majeſty to reſt ſatisfied till we may ſend to the King and receive his pleaſure. After his Majeſty is ſufficiently informed of all particulars, and the ſtrength and conſtitution

conſtitution of this iſland; if any thing be poſitively impoſed upon us be- *A.D.* 1646.
fore that be done, you will hear that I have retired myſelf into a chamber in one of theſe Caſtles, and ſtudy under Sir George Carteret, who truly is a very worthy perſon. For I will not be hurried by any command whatſoever into an action that I think will prove ſo pernicious to the King, Queen, Prince, and Realm, as this unneceſſary going of the Prince into France in my judgment would do, except better reaſons be given for it, than I yet underſtand. We are all very glad to hear of the King's ſafe arrival with the Scots, and of his honourable reception there. It is not impoſſible ſome good may grow from thence towards a bleſſed peace; eſpecially, if your friends at London be ſo paſſionate for it as we hear. However, I will endeavour to follow your good example, (and I thank you for the reſolution) and in ſpight of what can come, do the part of an honeſt man, and die by thoſe principles I have lived; for truly, I would not yet buy a peace at a dearer price than was offered at Uxbridge; and I am perſuaded in my ſoul, if ever it ſhall be purchaſed at a more diſhonourable or impious price, it will be more unpleaſant and fatal to thoſe who ſhall have their hands in making the bargain, than the war hath been. It is ill logic to infer, that becauſe you cannot have it cheaper, therefore you muſt give whatſoever is aſked. It may be, God hath reſolved we ſhall periſh; and then it becomes us all to periſh with thoſe decent and honeſt circumſtances, that our good fame may procure a better peace to thoſe who ſucceed us, than we were able to procure for them, and ourſelves ſhall be happier, than any other condition could render us. God preſerve England from being invaded by the Turk! for in my conſcience in this conjuncture it is prepared for quietneſs ſake to take any religion. I hope you that are left at Oxford, are of a mind. I am ſorry to hear ſome of your body are broken from you. Remember my ſervice to my Lord Southampton, and tell him I ſhall yet wait on him at Titchfield, and remember many odd paſſages with delight. I thank you for your charity to my wife; I will return it to you, by the grace of God, and if I outlive you be as true to your's as to my own. To my Lord Keeper and my Lord Treaſurer you cannot forget me. God ſend us a good meeting, and bleſs me as I am,

*Your's, &c.*

I PRAY let my wife know (which I have writ in 2 or 3 letters to you) that my Lady Wenman owes me £ 100. and I am confident will pay it, if ſhe be able.

*1ſt June*, 1646.

*A Copy, by himſelf.*

### *His* MAJESTY *to the Marquis of* ANTRIM.

*Antrim*,

UPON a rumour of your being landed in Scotland, I wrote to you upon Monday laſt. But now having more perfect intelligence thereof, I have thought fit to ſend you this honeſt truſty bearer, Sir James Leſley, to ſhew you what direction I have given to Montroſe, commanding you to follow the ſame: Which is, to lay down arms; aſſuring you that your obedience in this is abſolutely neceſſary for my ſervice. For I ſhall eſteem it as much, as I have done your readineſs to take them up, which I ſhall al-

*A.D.* 1646. ways remember to your advantage. Nor have I been unmindful to ſecure thoſe honeſt gallant men, who have ventured themſelves for me, not meaning that any ſhould be ruined for their obedience to me; as this bearer will at large declare unto you; as alſo, how theſe my commands are beſt for you (all things conſidered) and thoſe who are with you, as well as me, whom you ſhall always find to be

*Your moſt aſſured,*

*conſtant, real Friend,*

*Newcaſtle, 19 June* 1646.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

*The* QUEEN *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Dear Charles,*

I AM now fully ſatisfied, upon the intelligence which I have from Newcaſtle and London, that you cannot make any longer reſidence in Jerſey, without apparent danger of falling into the enemies hands; and that, if you ſhould continue there, all poſſible attempts would be ſuddenly made, as well by treacheries as by force, to get your perſon into their power. Therefore, conſidering of what high importance your ſafety is, as well to the King's perſon and his affairs, as likewiſe to your own intereſt and all his Majeſty's Kingdoms, I muſt poſitively require you to give immediate obedience to his Majeſty's commands mentioned in the letter which I lately ſent by Sir Dudley Wyatt, and reiterated in the letter which I this day received from the King by Mr. Montrevil, concerning your repair into this Kingdom. Whereas we have the greateſt aſſurance from the Crown of France that poſſibly can be given for your honourable reception, and full liberty to continue here, and to depart hence at your pleaſure; ſo I do hereby engage myſelf to you and your Council, that, whenſoever with their advice you ſhall find it fitting to repair from hence into any of his Majeſty's dominions, I ſhall no ways oppoſe it, but ſhall concur and aſſiſt therein; and I likewiſe aſſure you, that I ſhall very punctually purſue the King's directions to me, contained in his letter of the 22d of March, an extract whereof I herewith ſend you ſigned by me. I mention theſe particulars, that, ſo far as ſhall be in my power, all poſſible objections may be ſatisfied. To which end I further declare my full conſent and deſire, that, during your reſidence in this Kingdom, all buſineſs of importance which may concern yourſelf, or which through you may relate to his Majeſty's affairs, may be declared and reſolved by you and your Council, in ſuch manner as [you] ought to have been if you had continued in England or Jerſey. All other particulars concerning your journey hither, and your ſupport when you ſhall be here, I refer to the relation of the Lord Jermyn, and ſhall heartily pray to God for your ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage hither. I am

*Your moſt affectionate Mother,*

*St Germain's, 20th June* 1646.

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

*A Copy by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Lord Clarendon,*
"Laſt letter from the Queen to the Prince by the Lords."

*This*

*A.D.* 1646.

*This is the true Copy of the* KING's *letter* ſigned by me*
HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

"IT is true that my perſon will not want danger; but I want not pro-
"babilities of reaſonable good ſecurity; the chiefeſt of which is Prince
"Charles's being with thee; concerning whom I deſire thee, as thou loveſt
"me, firſt, that thou wouldſt not endeavour to alter him in Religion,
"nor ſo much as trouble him in that point; next that thou wouldſt not
"thyſelf, nor ſuffer him to be engaged in any treaty of marriage, with-
"out firſt having my approbation."

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Extract† of the* KING's *letter to the* QUEEN *of 28th May* 1646. *from* Newcaſtle.

I THINK not Prince Charles ſafe in Jerſey, therefore ſend for him to wait upon thee with all ſpeed; for his preſervation is the greateſt hope for my ſafety; and in God's name let him ſtay with thee, 'till it is ſeen what ply my buſineſs will take. And for my ſake let the world ſee that the Queen ſeeks not to alter his conſcience.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*This underwritten was ſent to Sir* GEORGE CARTERET *by the Lord* JERMYN *the next day after the* PRINCE *went from hence, he having received it then from* Paris, *and directed him to ſhew it to me.*‡

"CONCERNING the Prince of Wales, France is the place I think
"fitteſt for him to remain in, all things conſidered, whether it be
"for the contributing to a happy peace or a gallant war. Wherefore now
"command him in my name to wait upon you, and ſuffer not thyſelf to
"be perſuaded to the contrary by any pretence whatſoever; for the ſafety
"of me and my affairs is ſo much concerned therein, that I muſt needs
"make a judgment of thy affection to me, more from this particular,
"than any other which can happen."

"*June 3d.*"

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*The Lords* CAPEL *and* HOPTON, *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the* QUEEN.††

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

HAVING with all duty and faithfulneſs (agreeable to the great truſt repoſed in us by your Majeſty) preſented unto his Highneſs in Coun-

* *The Extract of the King's letter to her Majeſty of 22d of March, mentioned in the foregoing Letter.*
† *The two following Extracts are written on the ſame Paper.*
‡ *This is in Lord Clarendon's hand.*
†† *This Letter is without a Date, but ſeems to have been ſent by the Lords who attended the Prince from Jerſey to France. The Prince embarked June 26th.* 1646.

*A.D.* 1646. cil our humble opinions and advice for ſuſpending his journey into France for a time, 'till the condition of his Majeſty's affairs may be better underſtood, and his poſitive commands received; and our reaſons why he could not attend his Highneſs thither, conceiving ourſelves to be of no poſſible uſe to him in the managing the circumſtances, when in our poor underſtanding and conſcience we were againſt the journey itſelf: We beſeech your Majeſty to make a gracious interpretation of our abſence, and to be aſſured, that as our loyalty and affection to his Majeſty's ſervice, and our devotion to your royal perſon hath been and we are confident ſtill is, unblemiſhed and unqueſtionable, ſo we are only waiting a fit ſeaſon and opportunity in which we may ſerve his Majeſty and his Highneſs, as becomes us, and in the capacity of,

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's, &c.*

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon.*

## *The Lords* CAPEL *and* HOPTON, *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

YOUR Majeſty's great juſtice and goodneſs will always preſerve your faithful ſervants from any miſapprehenſion in your Majeſty of their affection and duty, and from any diſadvantage that a miſrepreſentation of them may threaten; and therefore we are confident that your Majeſty will pardon us, that we have rather choſen to wait a ſeaſonable opportunity in this iſland to return to ſome condition and capacity of ſerving your Majeſty, than to attend his Highneſs into France; where our attendance and Counſel would be of no further uſe to him. We ſhould have been very glad, if his reſidence might have been continued here, 'till your Majeſty might have been informed of the unqueſtionable ſecurity and advantages of this iſland, and thereupon have ſignified your royal pleaſure. But as we ſhall always pray that his remove may be as proſperous to him, as his princely virtue and piety deſerves, ſo we ſhall employ all the faculties of our mind in finding out any opportunity of ſerving your Majeſty, as becomes,

*Sir,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful*

*and moſt obedient Servants,*

*Jerſey, this 15th of July* 1646.

ARTHUR CAPEL, RALPH HOPTON,
EDWARD HYDE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKLEY.

*My dear Jack,*

I RECEIVED your's of the 13th of July new ſtile, on the 9th old, and could not 'till now meet with an opportunity of return. I knew not 'till that letter where you were; though I underſtood by one from Dr. Fraſier from Caen, that you had been there. I cannot at this diſtance argue with

with you the grounds of my ſtay here; though methinks when you conclude I had reaſon to differ in opinion upon the main, and that the number of differers made the difference reaſonable, you ſhould not wonder that I deſired to be excuſed from attending an action, which I thought not fit, and apprehended not like to be proſperous; eſpecially being ſure that I could not improve it by any ſervice I could do. You do not think me ſo ſhort-ſighted, as not to diſcern that I choſe that which with reference to myſelf had all the objections poſſible; and therefore you will believe I had an impulſion of a more juſtifiable reaſon that I could not reſiſt. However (what other men [*think*] I cannot help) I am confident I have not failed in my Duty, and I am ſure willingly never ſhall, and be you confident, I ſhall never be guilty of any act unworthy a very honeſt man, and your Friend. Three of us continue here together, and I believe ſhall not part, in a very pleaſant ſecure place, where we are uſed with great civility by Sir George Carteret, who truly is an excellent perſon; and I do not think we ſhall ſlip the firſt article of time, in which we may move for his Majeſty's or the Prince's ſervice; and I doubt not we ſhall be accepted. And truly, Jack, till then it will not be unſeaſonable or unuſeful to a mind and ſpirit ſo waſted and weakened as mine, to refreſh and ſtrengthen itſelf with ſitting ſtill, and revolving paſt omiſſions or miſtakes, and forming and making up a reſolution and conſtancy, (by principles that will be very pleaſant in death, how unprofitable ſoever to live by) to bear chearfully the worſt that can happen by the malice or calumny, or tyranny of the time. And it may be, ſuch a calm and retirement might be more agreeable to your temper and conſtitution, than to be ſuddenly tranſported by melancholy or a warmer paſſion, into action, whither no obligation can carry you. But I know not yet whether I am in a capacity of giving counſel. I am very much afflicted at the bad condition you are in, with reference to your own ſupport, and the more to find myſelf ſuppoſed by you to have been an inſtrument of bringing that lowneſs upon you; but I muſt aſk your pardon for not confeſſing that; having ſure (though I have not been able to do any thing towards making my friends happy) never contributed to their miſery. *A.D.* 1646.

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I AM told poſitively, that I have mentioned you to your diſadvantage, and that you have heard of it; and I am adviſed, if we meet, not to ſlubber things between us. I hope you will free me from that charge. I uſe to be accuſed rather of too much plainneſs, than that haſte. What is the matter? Will there be always ſome envious ſpirits harping into your ears jealouſies and infuſions of my want of kindneſs and juſtice to you? and will their infuſions always procure admittance with you? Enquire amongſt thoſe, with whom I have moſt inwardly converſed, what mention I have always made of you; except you think I ſpeak my mind only amongſt ſtrangers, and am reſerved and diſguiſed to my friends. You have committed as many wilful blaſphemies and perjuries to Heaven, as I have faults to you. If the mentioning you always as the perſon I loved beſt, if the avowing a friendſhip with you, and for you, ſo paſſionately that it hath made it doubted whether I had any for any body elſe, hath proved to your diſadvantage (as truly very poſſibly it hath) I muſt aſk your pardon; I need it for nothing elſe. Oh Jack! ſhall we not in this baniſhment from the world, preſerve thoſe friendſhips which have been contracted upon honeſt

*A.D.*1646. and unſhaken principles? How far ſoever theſe offices ſhall make impreſſion upon your kindneſs to me, let them not prevail upon your nature to your own diſquiet. I ſhall expect to know whence this proceeds; and aſſure you, that no accidents, or alterations can abate my friendſhip or juſtice to you, (how unuſeful or unpracticable ſoever it is like to be to you) but an alteration in you from the rules of honeſty and goodneſs, for which I firſt loved you, and which I know you can never depart from, and which can only preſerve you happy, in this general defection from ſenſe and reaſon, as much as from piety and allegiance; and which without a miracle, will keep us always above the people, who imagine they have undone us. If you are not afraid or weary of theſe kind of treaties, let me hear from you again; and then after you have told me what you mean yourſelf, let me know where Dr. Morley is, and what he means to do, what you conceive our friends at Oxford intend, how Pollard does, and whether he be to ſtay ſtill in priſon; where Nal Apſley is, and what he reſolves; and any thing elſe of England or France that you think fit to impart to,

*Dear Jack,*

*Your very affectionate Servant,*

*Jerſey, 12th July* 1646.

EDWARD HYDE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Marquis of* ANTRIM.

*Antrim,*

I HAVE returned this bearer Sir James Leſley unto you, with the reiteration of my commands for your laying down of arms; which I never intended otherwiſe but for your ſecurity and [*of*] thoſe who follow you: Which being had, I judge it beſt for my ſervice that you diſband. And forthwith I promiſe you to do what I may; which at this time is not much, for I can promiſe you no aſſiſtance. Wherefore (even for your own preſervation) I adviſe you to take what you may, whom you ſhall ever find to be

*Your moſt aſſured, real, conſtant friend,*

*Newcaſtle, 29th July* 1646.

CHARLES R.

*A Copy.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.*

*Newcaſtell, Wedenſday, 22 July.*

*Sirs,*

SINCE you three 385, 386, and 383, † have joyned yourſelfes together in a letter to me, I will not ſever you in my anſwer. Then

* *All the Letters in this Collection to and from the King, while he was at Newcaſtle, are put together, many of them being paſted, in a Book by themſelves, with this Title prefixed in his own hand:* "Certaine letters to and from France conſerning the London Propoſitions, ſent to me to Newcaſtell, "but more particularly about the Covenant and Presbiteriall Governement."

† Ciphers uſed in the Correſpondence between the King and the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. J. Aſhburnham.

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|---|---|---|---|
| 352. The Queen Regent of France. | 351. The Queen of England. | 386. Lord Culpeper. | |
| | 364. The Prince of Wales. | 383. 389. | J. Aſhburnham. |
| | 385. Lord Jermyn. | | |

know,

know, what severally, what jointly, I receaved upon Saterday last 6 letters from you; (and 4 from 351) whereof I shall only answer to that of the 19 July; which will serve for all as to publike business. *A.D.* 1646.

It is no smale comfort to me to fynde that I have some frends yet, that nether has forsaken me, nor is doutfull of me; (for of late I have found many Demases) and I cannot but say, that if importunity could have ruined my constancy, I had not at this tyme deserved your confidence. Indeed, it is almost incredible (it had beene altogether to me, if I had not seene it) with what impudence I have been assalted to yeald unto thease London Propositions, no man dissenting. In a word what 389 saw concerning the covenant, was but slight insinuations to what I have found since; (incivilities only excepted, which, to say truth, ar left off) for now I am faced doune, that this is all for my service, and, if I will be ruled by them, I cannot miss to be a great and glorious King, it being upon debat the result of all my faithfull servants in London. I only mention this, to shew you that it is lykly, I shall still deserve your confidence. But now lett me warne you all (I include my Wyfe and Sone) truly to deserve that praise of constancy which you commend in me. For I am much deceaved, if you be not homer put to it than yet I have beene. Wherfor I conjure you by your unspotted faithfullness, by all that you love, by all that is good, that no threatnings, no aprehensions of danger to my person, make you stire on jot from any foundation, in relation to that authority which 364 is born to. I have alreddy cast up what I am lyke to suffer; which I shall meete (by the Grace of God) with that constancy that befits me. Only, I desyre that consolation, that asseurance from you, as I may justly hope that my cause shall not end with my misfortunes, by assеuring me that misplaced pittie to me doe not prejudice my Sone's right. And mistake me not; for I am in this so far from abandoninge myselfe, that I belive this resolution is the best way for my preservation; however, that no man's person ought to be put in ballance with this cause.

Now, as for your advyce to me; you speake my very soule in every thing but one; that is, the church. Remember your owen rule, not expect to redime that which is given away by act of Parliament. Shall I then give away the Church? And excuse me to tell you, that I belive you doe not understand what this is that you ar content (I confess, not upon very easy termes) I should thus give away. I will begin to shew you, first, what it is in point of policy; and first, negatively: It is not the change of Church Governement which is cheefly aymed at; (though that were too much) but it is by that pretext to take away the dependancy of the Church from the Crowne; which, lett me tell you, I hould to be of equall consequence to that of the Militia; for people ar governed by pulpits more then the sword, in tymes of peace: Nor will the Scots be content with the alteration of Governement, except the Covenant be lykewais established; the which does not only make good all theire former rebellions, but lykewais laies a firm and fructful foundation for such passetymes in all tymes to come. Now for the theologicall part, I assеure you, the change would be no lesse and worse then if Popery were brought in; for we should have nether lawfull priests, nor sacraments duly admineстred, nor God publikely served, but according to the fulishe fancy of every ydle parson; but we should have the doctring againſt Kings fercelyer set up then amongst the Jesuits. In a word, sett your hearts at rest; I will lesse yeald to this then the Militia, my conscience being

*A.D.* 1646. irreconciliably ingaged againſt it. Wherefore I conjure you as Chriſtians to aſſiſt me particularly in this alſo. Yet I ſay not that the Scots ar to be ſhaken off, but to be ſought with all poſſible induſtry *uſque ad Aras*; nor doe I miſlyke your fancy concerning 364 treating with the independants; wherin I give you free liberty (according to your owen cautions) to try your fortunes, though I belive it will not hitt.

*A rough Draught by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 22 July 1646. by London."

## *The Lords* Jermyn *and* Culpeper, *and Mr.* John Ashburnham *to his* Majesty.

*St. Germain's, July 27. Aug. 6.*

OUR deſpatch to you from Fontainebleau three days ſince went by ſo ſafe an opportunity (an expreſs from Cardinal Mazarin) that we ſhall not trouble you with the double thereof. Only, upon that ſubject we ſhall obſerve the apparent intereſt of all the Presbyterians, as well Scots as Engliſh, and of all thoſe which formerly were of your party, and now live under the Parliament's protection, in that which they ſo earneſtly labour for, your conſent to the Propoſitions; the paſſing thereof being the greateſt ſecurity to the one againſt their profeſſed enemies, the Independents, whom they juſtly as much hate as they have cauſe to fear, and the act of oblivion contained in thoſe propoſitions reſtoring the other to the preſent and quiet poſſeſſion of all their eſtates; ſo that it is no wonder that they, in purſuing their own, ſhould overſee your's and the Crown's intereſt, and moſt importunately preſs for that which is ſo notoriouſly advantageous to themſelves. One principal argument which they uſed to Monſieur Bellievre (not without effect) was, that though you ſhould ſign theſe propoſitions, you are not thereby obliged to perform them. If there were nothing of honour in the caſe, there would be as little ingenuity in that attempt thus to deceive a ſtranger to the laws of England; all others knowing that the propoſitions once conſented to muſt for ever bind you and your heirs as firmly as *Magna Charta*, theſe in themſelves having equal weight with the other, the force of an act of parliament, as ſoon as the Royal aſſent ſhall be added to them. Beſides that they all of them are to be digeſted by the Houſes into ſeveral Bills. Therein you are to expect many bitter preambles, which by the very Propoſitions, without other circumſtances you are obliged to give your conſent to. And for the hopes that the Parliament (ſtill perpetual for ought the propoſitions import) once legally poſſeſſed of thoſe rights of the Crown will voluntarily reſtore them to you, we ſhall only ſay that ſuch good nature is not uſually found in a compoſition conſiſting of individuals. Neither hath your Majeſty been much encouraged in that belief by the example of their brethren in Scotland ſince thoſe large graces, [*beyond*] any on precedent, which you was pleaſed to diſpenſe [*with*] to them at your being there; the whole power of the government of that Kingdom having been entirely exerciſed by them and their authority ever ſince thoſe conceſſions. Beſides, it may be juſtly apprehended that, as ſoon as you ſhall have conſented [*to take upon you*] the guilt of this war, and with ſuch acknowledgments ſhall place the power of the ſword legally in thoſe who have made this war againſt you; (both which are evidently manifeſt in theſe Propoſitions) the

Loves,

Loves, who publickly profeſs a ſet of propoſitions to ſucceed theſe, will, upon the advantage of ſuch weakneſs in you, and ſtrength in their hands, inſtead of reſtoring the powers thus given them, take their firſt opportunity to drive on the buſineſs to the greateſt extremities by an avowed changing of Monarchy into a Commonwealth. Or if this benefit, which theſe propoſitions will give the Presbyterians, ſhall ſo encourage them that they will adventure on a war, all the advantage which you can buy will be only to be an idle ſpectator (little marked by either of them) of the iſſue of their quarrel; which can never reſtore you to what you have ſo voluntarily and ſolemnly parted with; but [*that*] muſt be the reward of that party on whoſe ſide the victory ſhall happen to fall. But if they ſhall engage whilſt yet the known right of the ſword is in the Crown, (and except the Scots will turn Independents, for ought we ſee, ſuch engagements cannot be prevented) it is very probable that one of the parties, if not both, will court that known right to their aſſiſtance; and thereby will yet remain hopes that ſuch right, with the poſſeſſion thereof, may be actually united in you. Neither can we believe (you will pardon this repetition) that the Scots' intereſt will permit them, upon ſuch your denial, either to retreat into their own country or garriſons [*and*] leaving the Engliſh forces undiſbanded, (whereby aſſuredly they will be in the power of the Independents) or to agree with them in making ſuch a mock King of the Prince's brother as is repreſented to Monſieur Bellievre. We ſhall trouble you no more concerning this ſubject, confidently relying on your courage and conſtancy, not to conſent to deſtroy yourſelf and poſterity. There is one point more, wherein her Majeſty hath commanded us to convey to you her ſenſe, fully concurring with our's; which is touching the laſt ſection of your letter of 8th of July. Therein we muſt repreſent to you the extreme danger of ſuch an attempt, and the ſad effects like to enſue thereon, if you ſhould fail therein; importing no leſs than the utmoſt dangers, together with the neceſſity you would have to intruſt ſome perſons therein, and the temptations which ſuch perſons would meet with. For the preſent you are no priſoner, being received in that army as their King, relying upon their proteſtation. But if you ſhould miſcarry in the attempt of an eſcape, your condition would be ſo changed as our hearts ach to think on: And if you ſhould get ſafe to this ſide the ſea, you would give the Parliament a more juſt pretence to exerciſe their uſurped power by that deſerting of your Kingdoms. This image is not preſented to you with any opinion that in no caſe thoſe your thoughts ſhould be put in practice (her Majeſty is ſo far from it, that, if your condition require it, you will certainly have all poſſible aſſiſtance from hence both by counſel and inſtruments; and you may rely upon it the proper opportunity ſhall not be omitted); but only that you may have before you ſuch a true ſtate of the buſineſs, that you may not ſuddenly venture upon any ſuch deſign, either unſeaſonably in reſpect of your affairs, or without ſuch aſſiſtance and due circumſtances as ought to accompany a buſineſs of that nature.

*An Original in Cipher, deciphered by the King, and endorſed thus by him*; "From L. Jer. L. Culp. "and J. A. $\frac{27\text{ July}}{6\text{ Aug.}}$ receaved $\frac{8}{18}$ Aug. 1646. not "to be burned."

*A.D.* 1646.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* WITHERINGTON.

*My good Lord,*

BEING now left to leisure enough to exercise my own thoughts, and it being much easier to revolve what is past, than to foresee what is to come, (though I fear there is no notable sharp-sightedness requisite even to that) I have prevailed with myself (how unequal soever to the task) to endeavour the compiling a plain, faithful narrative of the proceedings of these last ill years; that so posterity may see, by what fatal degrees, that wickedness hath grown prosperous, which I hope is now at its height. I have not been at too immoderatea distance (if that were qualification enough) from the publick agitations, to venture upon this relation; yet the scene of action lying in so many several places, a much wiser and more conversant person than myself must desist from this work, except others assist him, by communicating what hath been transacted in their several spheres. Your Lordship hath had a noble part in those attempts which have been made to rescue our miserable country from the tyranny she now groans under; and by the happiness you enjoy in the friendship of that excellent person (whose conduct was never unprosperous) well know by what skill and virtue the North of England was recovered to his Majesty, and with what difficulties defended. And if you find that his Lordship himself may not be prevailed with to adorn those actions with his own incomparable stile (which indeed would render them fit to be bound up with the other commentaries), vouchsafe, I beseech your Lordship, that by your means I may be trusted with such counsels and occurrences as you shall judge fit to be submitted to the ill apparel I shall be able to supply them with; which I will take care (how simple soever) shall not defraud them of their due integrity, which will be ornament enough. What your Lordship thinks fit to oblige me with of this kind, Mr. Nicholls will convey to,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordship's most affectionate*

*and obedient Servant,*

*Jersey, 5th August,* 1646.

EDWARD HYDE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcastell, Wedensday,* 12. *Aug.*

UPON Saterday last I receaved on from you all three of the 6. another from 385 and 386 of the 3. and a thurd from 385 of the 10. of Aug. to all which I now will answer; first, to the single letter: I thank 385 for your newes of my young doughter's safe aryvall into France; of which though I was so ignorant that but by you I knew not that she was gone out of England, yet I fully approve of her jurney (for which I desyre you to thank my L. Dalkeeth from me); as lykwais that you have furnished me with an answer concerning the iles of Jersey and Garnsey. Now, for the other two, I will answer them together. Then know, that as ye ar

extreamly

extreamly and unanſwerably right concerning the Propoſitions in general, ſo ye ar mightely miſtaken in the Church particular, not only as to the ſtate of that indevidual queſtion, but alſo for the importance of it. First then take it upon my credit (of this I am as ſure as that this is caled paper upon which I wryte), that Presbiterian government and abolution of Epiſcopacy, without eſtabliſhing the Covenant in all my Kingdomes, will nowais pleaſe the Scots; for the attaining to which, they may poſſibly be content not to name it untill I be engaged to ſetle Church Governement as they pleaſe (and belive it, that no engagement will ſerve them but ſuch as I ſhall never be able to retyre from); but being done, I ſhall be as it wer to begin againe, unleſs the Covenant be lykwais ſetled. And to ſay the truth, the eſtabliſhing the Church as they would have it, goes more than halfe way for the ſetling of the other. But the fourbery of all this buſineſs is, they belive (for which they have too good reaſon) that granting the one, the other muſt neceſſarily follow, and therfor have not inſiſted upon the Covenant with 351. only perſwading her that the queſtion is meerly betweene the two Governements. So much for the ſtate of the queſtion. *A.D.* 1646.

Now for the conſequence. This alteration of Governement (though without the Covenant, which I conceave cannot be) I belive to be as diſtructive to the regall power, as the quitting of the Militia. My reaſon is that theire doctrine, which is antimonarchicall, cannot but be admitted with theire governement; which is moſt evident, becauſe all our orthodox devines will be expelled or ſilenced, and theirs introduced. Now, that theire doctrine is ſuch, I will give you but two evidences (beſydes theire adhering to the Covenant); firſt, I cannot get here a railing Lybell anſwered, written in defence of Lilborne (allbeit they all condem it, becauſe it railes at all Governement and Nobility), meerly becauſe they will not contradict his ground; which is, that the ſupreme power is in the people: This being the true reaſon I bolted out of Mr. Henderſon, although they pretend other cauſes publickly. For the ſecond, I refer you to my paper of diſputations, which you ſhall have by the F. Amb. If thus ſhortly I have not given you full ſatisfaction, yet if you thinke that I underſtand any thing in religion, then belive me that the Presbiterian tenents and governement ar more erronious then thoſe of the Church of Rome, and abſolutly inconſiſtant with monarchy; which I irrecoverably deſtroy, according to owen rules, if legally I introduce that which is ſo diſtructife to it. But for all this, endevors muſt never be given over for gaineing of the Scots to my ſyde, though I may belive it impoſſible, no more then [*for*] the regaining of my rights in my tyme, which I eſteeme as deſperat, all things being poſſible with God. For take it from mee, the Scots will never declare for me (unleſs I ſhould make ſuch conceſſions for diſtruction of Monarchy, which by the Grace of God I never will doe) untill a ſtrong viſible force appeare for me (which I belive muſt begin abroade); of which I have verry litle hope, at leaſt in tyme to ſave me. Concerning which, your joint letter of the 6. of Aug. (as I take it, for this, as ſome others, is ſo dated that I know not well what to make of it) towards the end gives me full ſatisfaction. For I know 351 will be as carfull of my preſervation as my owen hart can deſyre (and poſſibly, ſometymes more); having made thoſe queres only to give her the true ſtate of my condition. To which I will add one more (to you three, but not to her); that is, I command you to give me your opinions freely, which is leſs hurt to my Crowne and Poſterity, that I be a priſoner within my do-

*A.D.* 1646. minions, or at liberty elſewhere; for be confident that one of theaſe muſt be my caſe very ſhortly. And yet I aſſeure I know my cauſe to be ſo juſt, that (by the Grace of God) I ſhall never faint in it; only preſſe me not againſt my conſcience. So farwell.

MISTAKINGS in the wryting trobles me ſome tymes; as for example [107. 71. 241. 82. 16. 44. 87. 26. 88. 11. 82. 26. 49. 63.†] This is on of your parentheſis; wherfore examin your's better, and excuſe the errors in myne, for I have none to helpe me.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed thus by him*; "To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 12 "Aug. 1646. by London and otherwais. "Not to be burned."

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell, Wedenſday,* 19. *Aug.*

YOURS of the 17. I receaved upon Monday laſt; which gave me much contentment, fynding that the Anſ. that I have given to the propoſition doth concur fully with your judgements. And now, you muſt not take ill, that I preache conſtancy to you as much as you have done to me. For as you had reaſon ſo to doe, becauſe of the companie that I am in, I belive to have no leſſe, conſidering how your judgements have been abuſed by a fallacious treaty concerning Church Governement; which the Scots have thought to make uſe of as a ſhowing horne to drawe on all theire ends. For which there is not ſo infallible [*a*] way under heaven as the eſtabliſhing of Presbiteriall Governement, with extirpation of Epiſcopacie (they ſcorne the motion, to ſettle the one, except the other be totally aboliſhed); for therby the doctrine of Rebellion is made canonical, theire former acts approved, and myne condemned. Beſides, how can I keepe that innocency which you (with ſo much reaſon) oft and earneſtly perſwad me to preſerve, if I ſhould abandon the Church? Belive it, religion is the only firme foundation of all power: That caſt looſe, or depraved, no governement can be ſtable. For where was there ever obedience where religion did not teach it? But, which is moſt of all, how can we expect God's bleſſing, if we relinquiſhe his Church? And I am moſt confident that Religion will much ſooner regaine the Militia, then the Militia will Religion. * Thus in my harſh brief way (not having tyme to make large diſcourſes) I doe my endevor to make your judgements concurr with myne in this particular, as they do in all the reſt. For albeit I belive that my former letters upon this point may have ſilenced you by way of obedience, yet I am not ſatisfied unleſs your reaſons be lykewais evinced. * Now, as to the proceedings heere, I have yet no certainty to ſend you; but there are two things much diſcourſed, both naught. Firſt, that the London Rebelles will ſeeke to ſatisfie the Scots, which is thought no hard work, wherby to make them retyre theire army, and quitt theire garriſons, before they will declare any thing concerning my perſon. Secondly, theire great deſyne is to make the D. of Y. King.

† *This is that Parentheſis of their Letter of* 27 *July, whioh the King has deciphered thus*; "any on 6 *Aug.* "precedent." *The Editor has prefixed the word* "beyond." *The King generally writes* on *for* one.

* *The two Sentences ſtanding between the Aſteriſks, are croſſed out in the MS.*

And

And albeit hitherto theaſe ar but diſcourſe, yet ar they not to be contemned. *A.D.* 1646.
And you will be deceaved if [*you*] do not expect that the Scots hath [not] reſolved to diſtroy the eſſence of Monarchy (that is to ſay, reduce my power in Eng. to what they have made it in Scotland); from which nothing can divert them but a viſible ſtrong declared party for me, and either 364 or I on the head of a good army. And doe not thinke that any other eloquence will make the Eng. or Scots Rebells harken to any reaſon. For the buſineſs of Irland alone (which yourſelfes confeſs that I muſt ſticke to) will hinder all accommodation, untill (as I have ſayed) other ſort of arguments be uſed. Wherfor my opinion is, that you preſently begin to preſs France and all the reſt of my freinds, both to declare for my reſtauration, and ſett ſome viſible courſe on foot in order to it. I will ſay no more at this tyme, but only that you will not forgett to anſwer the quere in my laſt letter concerning myſelfe. So farwell.

THE better to judge what is to be expected from the Scots, I ſend you the two incloſed papers.

*A rough Draught by himſelf, and endorſed thus by him*;
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 19 Aug. 1646. by London."

†

*Decretum Perjurii.*

*Per Congregationem Eccleſiaſticam utriuſque Cleri Hibernici, in Spiritu Sancto congregatam Waterfordiæ, coram Illuſtriſſimo Domino Archiepiſcopo Firmanenſi,*

*Nuncio in Hiberniam Apoſtolico.*

SUPER quæſtione inter nos ortâ et per multos dies exagitatâ, an perjuri declarandi eſſent, qui pacem contentam in triginta articulis, ad nos a Supremo Concilio tranſmiſſam, acceptarent, et ſucceſſive, an tanquam perjuri forent excommunicandi? Auditis priùs ſingulorum ſententiis et rationibus, lectiſque aliquorum Sacræ Theologiæ Doctorum ſcriptis, decretum eſt unanimi conſenſu, et ſingulorum Votis, nemine contradicente, quod omnes et ſinguli Confederati Catholici, qui ſimili paci adherebunt, vel ejus fautoribus conſentient, aut alio modo illam amplectentur, perjuri abſolutè habendi ſint tum apud Deum, tum apud Homines; eâ præcipuè de cauſâ, quòd in iis Articulis nulla facta ſit mentio Religionis Catholicæ, ejus ſecuritatis, nec ulla habita ratio Conſervationis Privilegiorum Patriæ, ſicut in Juramento legitur promiſſum, ſed potiùs omnia referantur ad arbitrium Sereniſſimi Regis, à quo in præſenti ſtatu nihil certi poteſt haberi, et interim ſubjiciantur Exercitus, et arma et munimenta, ipſum et ſupremum Concilium Confederatorum Catholicorum, auctoritati et dominio Concilii Statûs et officialium ſuæ Majeſtatis Proteſtantium, a quibus ut ſecuri fieremus, juramentum illud ſuſcepimus. Ex quibus et pluribus aliis cauſis, ſolâ noſtrâ Conſcientiâ moti, ſolumque Deum præ oculis habentes, ut notum ſit univerſis et ſingulis, tum Hibernis tum exteris, tali paci nos non dediſſe, nec daturos eſſe conſenſum, niſi pro Religione, et pro Rege, et pro Patriâ, juxta noſtrum Juramentum, ſecuræ conditiones apponantur; et ut Greges noſtri Confederatique omnes Catholici, qui in generalibus Comitiis aliquando

*A.D.* 1646. in hoc ſpirituali negotio, velut ad Eccleſiaſticum Judicium unicè ſpectante, ſententiam noſtram rogaverunt, certò ſciant quid a nobis determinatum fuerit, et ut in eum ſenſum, tanquam pii et fideles Catholici Paſtoribus ſuis obedientes, concurrant, hoc Decretum ſcribi, et ubique locorum, Anglica etiam [. . . . .] publicari juſſimus, manibuſque et ſigillis noſtris confirmavimus. Alteram verò quæſtionem de Excommunicatione ad proximas ſeſſiones reſervavimus. Dat. Waterfordiæ die 12^mo^. Auguſti 1646.

*A rough Draught.*

*The firſt Oath taken by the Officers and Soldiers of the Fort of* Duncanon.

I A. B. do ſwear, promiſe, and vow, before God and his Angels, that I will be faithful in this fort of Duncanon to Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful ſucceſſors; and that I will ever be and prove an obedient child to the Church of God, and faithful to the Roman Catholick faith, to the Clergy of Ireland, and to all remaining true to the Catholick Confederation; and that I will defend and maintain to the beſt of my cunning and power this fort of Duncanon for his Majeſty's uſe, as above, and for the Catholick Church, and for the ſaid confederate Catholicks; and that I will not give up, nor permit to be given up, for any reward or conſideration, the ſaid fort, until in a general aſſembly of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, the clergy, nobility, cities, corporations, and the Catholick people of this Kingdom of Ireland, agree upon a peace ſecure and ſafe for the religion, churches, lives and liberties of the above confederates of Ireland. So help me God and his holy Goſpels.

NOTWITHSTANDING the within Oath taken by the officers and ſoldiers of the fort of Duncanon, it is the ſenſe of the Clergy of this Kingdom, that the ſaid officers and ſoldiers may, with the ſafety of their conſcience, deliver up to General Preſton the ſaid fort when he ſhall require it; always provided that the ſaid General Preſton be of one reſolution with the Lord Nuncio and Clergy of this Kingdom concerning the preſent peace, or any peace to be concluded in this Kingdom.

*13th of Auguſt*, 1646.

*In an unknown hand.*

*Dr.* WALTER LYNCH, *titular Warden of* Gallway, *to the* POPE'*s Nuncio and the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation in* Ireland.

*Reverende admodum Domine, et Domini mei omnes,*

SACRAMENTUM *Regis abſcondere bonum eſt, opera autem Dei manifeſtare glorioſum.* In my way to Gallway I was ſtill inquiſitive, whether the King of Arms, and proclamators of the peace, were gone to Limerick, or not; or, whether my Lord Biſhop of Limerick was there, or not. And having ſure notice and intelligence that neither my Lord Biſhop was come, and that the Serjeants of Arms and proclamators were gone before me, but no peace as yet proclaimed; I poſted to Limerick, hoping to be there, and give the Clergy and Corporation both notice of your decrees and excommu-

nications

nications, alſo reaſons for your proceedings; with intention to divert any ſudden reſolution of the council of Limerick in proclaiming that peace. *Totus ſudore madens, et in ardentiſſimo ſole vix viribus et corpore ſubſiſtens* I arrived at my lodging in the ſaid city. *Sed reſpirare locus non fuit*, when all the beſt of the Clergy and venerable Fathers of the place came to my lodging, and were ſo joyful of my coming, as if I had fallen from Heaven to them. I could not take any leiſure to refreſh or with corporal food to repair my tired body; but I muſt ſatisfy their fervent deſires, and ſhew them your printed decree, the comminatory excommunication againſt the commiſſioners of peace, the extract I have drawn myſelf both in Latin and Engliſh of the articles of peace, and the reaſons for our decree *de perjurio*, and the *diſquiſitio articulorum*, which I have compoſed in Latin, and delivered my Lord *Nuncius*. Though the time prefixed by the Mayor and Council for the proclamation was very near, then being paſt midday, and the hour appointed for the ſaid proclamation two in the afternoon; yet I [have] delivered one of my printed papers to Mr. Dominick Fanning, a man born for the good of Catholick Religion in this place and throughout all the Kingdom; who preſently went about with it, and ſhewed it to very many, to work on their diſpoſitions. And a copy of the written paper, authenticated by myſelf, I gave to a zealous and active good prieſt, who made the beſt uſe of the ſame to prepare and win men's hearts. After this, at the earneſt entreaty of this virtuous and fervently jealous Clergy, I omitted dinner and went preſently to the Mayor's houſe; who likewiſe invited and haſtened me himſelf, having heard that I was ſpecially ſent by the Lord *Nuncius* and your Conſiſtory. Thither, upon the report, many of the Aldermen and City Council followed me; and in a moment all the ſaid Mayor's hall was full of auditors and ſpectators. I [have] continued my reading of papers, my reaſons and exhortations to them all, for a full hour, as I take it, or more. And after, a Doctor in the Canon Laws, Dr. White by name, and Dr. Arthur, a Phyſician, fell to diſpute and argue with me. Dr. White's chief argument was, that in our own decree we have deferred the cenſure of excommunication to our next ſeſſion. I anſwered, that an excommunication being already publickly read, and by our authority, at Kilkenny againſt the Commiſſioners, other oppoſers may not expect a better quarter; that the excommunication was ready againſt all refractories; but firſt we ſhould know our adverſaries, and diſtinguiſh the ſcabby ſheep, to turn them from the wholeſome flock; that I had rather myſelf be excommunicated *certâ ratione*, than be a perjurer. Mr. Doctor Arthur oppoſed, [*that th*]ough the words for the freedom of religion and his Majeſty's graces were *de futuro*, yet that there was no material exception; becauſe ſurely they would be confirmed in Parliament, and acted *per verba præſentia*; and, in the interim, could not otherwiſe be couched or declared than *de futuro*. I anſwered, that it is not known whether theſe five years we may have any Parliament: In the interim the Militia being in the command of Proteſtants, we ſtand in great hazard to loſe all, or moſt part of, our churches; that nothing ſhould be concluded in Parliament but what is contained in the articles; the which expreſſing and promiſing but a freedom of Religion, and expectative graces, no goodneſs can be expected, or ſecurity for Religion. Other things they oppoſed; to all which by God's grace I gave full ſatisfaction, according to the judgments of the Clergy, and all not corrupted but well affected minds; and I [have] percloſed my diſſertation

*A.D.* 1646.

*A.D.* 1646. and diſcourſe with a ſhort exhortation, deſiring them to be obedient to their paſtors, and forbear ſo ſudden a proclamation, following the good example of Waterford, Clonmel, Gallway, and other places, except the very articles to ſcan upon them, and cauſe publick prayers and proceſſions to be made. Having taken leave with them, I was preſently brought to the Cathedral, where the Clergy was aſſembled; to whom I [have] ſhewed all things, and gave the beſt inſtructions I could. They told me that the Commons were ready to oppoſe the proclamation, and pull down the Serjeant of Arms, if need were, if they ſhould ſee any of the Clergy begin. And thereupon asking my advice, I prayed them all to countenance ſuch a buſineſs, and be all preſent, and not commit it to one of whom might be ſaid to be a raſh or furious hotſpur, or *boutefeu*, without ſolid brain. I had no need to ſpur their willingneſs. But preſently the ſaid worthy Mr. Fanning coming to us with news that, notwithſtanding all that paſſed, and my diſcourſes, the major vote of the Council paſſed for the ſudden proclamation of the peace, and [*they*] already wore their gowns to go forth, the Clergy with excellent zeal and alacrity ran forth, and ſo moved the Commons, populars, and all beſt affected, that, flocking to the Mayor's houſe, they flung a ſhower of ſtones againſt his windows, broke his window-glaſſes, broke in the doors, and wounded both [*the*] Mayor, and his men that ſtood in defence, took his rod of office from him, which they gave by unanimous conſent to Mr. Dominick Fanning. They banged and knocked ſome of the neuters, Aldermen and Counſellors; to one they gave a rap on his pate, that well he eſcaped with life. Some of the Clergy in this tumult, which continued a long while, were hurt, many here and there wounded, [*but, by the*] ſpecial providence of God, none hurt to death, or killed. That generous, ſprightful and active Mr. Fanning received a ſcar in his hand. The people in this heat went directly to the lodging where the King and Serjeant of Arms were, and pulled them down the ſtairs, wounded the Serjeant in three places; both narrowly eſcaped. I believe they will ſooner haſten back to Dublin, than venture to any other city or town to proclaim. Mr. ſubſtituted Mayor Fanning's houſe is their now aſylum. Thus far the wicked deſigns of worldly neuters or cold Catholicks were daſhed and blaſted in an hour, to God's honour and glory, to our and all good Catholicks high content; even, by God's ſpecial and ſecret providence, in that city which we feared moſt, and our enemies builded moſt upon in all quarters, and perhaps in the whole kingdom. I have been ſtill of the opinion, and I have experimented theſe citizens, for the moſt, as conſtant and true Catholicks as any I have known; whereby I do attribute any former ſlips to a depravated council. By this act they have reclaimed their reputation, and ſhewed their zeal to faith by a true touch. To God be all Glory, to this Kingdom religion and wealth, to you all health, grace and happineſs! as heartily deſireth and wiſheth to you all

*Your Servant*

*and humbleſt Chaplain,*

*Limerick*, 21 *Aug.* 1646.

WALTER LYNCH.

ALL this play was acted yeſterday, St. Bernard's Day.

*An Original.*

*The*

*A.D.* 1646.

## *The* POPE's *Nuncio and the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation in* Ireland *to the Marquis of* ANTRIM.

*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

THE peace of late concluded and publiſhed at Dublin, by thoſe that made it called the period of blood, war, fire, and the calamities of this afflicted nation, by us congregated together in the Holy Ghoſt, upon ſad conſideration of the articles thereof, was condemned as pernicious to Religion, ignominious to the nation, and unſafe to the lives and fortunes of the Confederate Catholicks. We have accordingly proceeded to cenſure againſt all that adhere to that peace; as at large you may ſee in the body of the cenſures, which we ſend unto you. We have alſo ſent unto you a true copy of our declaration, with five propoſitions to the late Supreme Council (for by the articles of the new peace their authority is determined) to beget an accommodation, and preſerve the union of Ireland, which (if God prevent it not) is like to break. Although thoſe Commiſſioners intruſted by the Kingdom to manage that high treaty have, without our conſent or privity, contracted for Religion, the Church and Sacraments, and that weakly and unſecurely, without an honourable accommodation and better ſecurity we may not put up the matter. And we ſhall herein rely upon your Excellency, a moſt conſiderable and faithful child of ours, upon whom this congregation doth look as a principal protector of the Roman Catholick Faith, the Church of God in that Kingdom. We aſſure ourſelves your Excellency doth aim at no greater glory in this world, than to expoſe fortunes, life and blood for God's Church, the King's rights, and our country's liberty. We have ſent you all the acts and papers of the congregation concerning the preſent peace; and withal we have laid our commands upon the Lord of Fernes in our name to procure for you for the preſent fourſcore barrels of powder, and two great guns of field-pieces; for a battering-gun, we can have none. We wait to hear from you from time to time. Your addreſs you may make to the Lord Biſhop of Fernes at Wexford, as you ſhall alſo hear from us. Committing you and that army to God's protection, and beſtowing on you all Apoſtolical Benediction, we take leave.

*Waterford*, 28 *Auguſt* 1646.

DE mandato Illuſtriſſimi ac Reverendiſſimi Domini Joannis Baptiſtæ Rinuccini, Epiſcopi et Principis Firmani, et Congregationis Eccleſiaſticæ utriuſque Cleri Regni Hiberniæ.

NICOLAUS, Fernenſis Epiſcopus,
Congregationis Cancellarius.

*A Copy, endorſed by the titular Biſhop of Fernes.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Newcaſtell*, 26 *Aug.* 1646.

*Charles,*

I HAD not ſent you this honneſt truſty ſervant of myne, Doctor Steward, but that the iniquity of theaſe tymes hath hinderd his attendance upon me; the which ſince (for the preſent) I could not help, I thought the beſt

*A.D.* 1646. beſt ſervice he could doe me was to wait on you. Wherfor I command to you not only to admit him in the quality of Deane of your Chapell, as he is to me, but lykewais that you will take his advice, and give very much reverence to his opinion in every thing which concernes conſcience or church affairs. Upon which occaſion I cannot but give you ſome ſhort directions in relation to the diſtractions of theaſe unhappy tymes. As I know that you ar not now to learne that the cheefeſt particular duty of a King is to maintaine the true Religion (without which he can never expect to have God's bleſſing), ſo I aſſeur you that this duty can never be right performed without the Church be rightly governed; not only in relation to conſcience, but lykewais for the neceſſary ſubſiſtance of the Crowne. For take it as an infallible maxim from me, that as the Church can never fluriſhe without the protection of the Crowne, ſo the dependancy of the Church upon the Crowne is the cheefeſt ſupport of Regal Authority. This is that which is ſo well underſtood by the Eng. and Scots Rebelles, that no conceſſions will content them without the change of Church governement; by which that neceſſary and ancient relation which the Church hath had to the Crowne is taken away. Wherfor my firſt direction to you, is, to be conſtant in the maintenance of Epiſcopacy, not only for the reaſons aboveſayd, but lykewais to hinder the grouth of Presbiterian doctrine, which cannot but bring anarchy into any country, wherever it ſhall come for any tyme.

Next to Religion, the power of the ſword is the trueſt badge and greateſt ſupport of Soverainty which is unknowen to none (as it may bee that of Religion is to ſome). Wherfor concerning this I will only ſay, that whoſoever will perſwade you to part with it does but in a civill way deſyre you to be no King; reward and puniſhement (which are the unſeperable effects of regall power) neceſſarily depending upon it, and without which a King can nether be loved nor feared of his ſubjects.

I will end this letter with a negative direction; which is, never to abandon the protection of your frends upon any pretention whatſoever. †

*A rough Draught by himſelf, and endorſed by him,*
"To my Sone Charles, 26 Aug. by Dr. St. 1646."

## *Mr.* Charles Murray *to Sir* Edward Hyde.

*Sir,*

By this time the letter with two dates hath found his fellow, and my ſecond come to your hands; in which you will find but little good entertainment, and leſs intelligence. For he were a wiſe knowing fellow that could ſay any thing peremptorily in this confuſion of our affairs. Every body knew of old for whom Hector was, and what party Achilles maintained; but he that can ſay from what hand the King is to be ſupported, knows more than moſt of us. The propoſitions he has reſolutely refuſed to ſign; and the Lords that carried them returned with the Lords Loudon and Argyle added to their train. And whether they be come to ſee if they can ſoften the Parliaments, or to declare the hardneſs of the King's heart, I know not. Duke Hamilton, that has ſlept in his Majeſty's chamber, and,

† *Inſtead of this Sentence, he had firſt written the following*; "And this puts me in mynd to "give you one rule more (with which at this tyme I will end); which is, never to give way to "the puniſhement of any for their faithfull ſervice to the Crowne, upon whatſoever pretence, or "for whatſoever cauſe."

as

as they ſay, was again received into his boſom, the very day the Lords came from Newcaſtle, kiſſed the King's hand, and went for Scotland; and what of that, I know not. But what I know I will tell you. The Prince has been at Fontainebleau, and truly received as civilly and with as much reſpect as could be; being met two leagues on the way by the King and Queen Regent; and they all alighting and ſaluting, were taken into the Queen Regent's Coach, the Prince ſitting on the right hand of the ſame ſide of the Coach with the King. Though we are not to be reſtored by ceremonies, yet theſe civilities are better than neglects; and I ſhall be glad that our affairs would come to a happy iſſue without having further obligation to them. Truly, the Prince has behaved himſelf in the journey ſo handſomely, that he has gotten the love of all that have ſeen him, both men and women. Yet though his entertainment has been noble and kind there, I do not find any thing offered, either by preſent, or addition to the Queen's exhibition, for his ſubſiſtence; but that is nothing to me. But if we be not ſo, I am glad to find you are both happy and contented where you are. I promiſe you, if I were with you, I ſhould be ſo too. And yet I have a mad kind of humour, that keeps me alive and merry in every place where I come. You know I made a ſhift in Scilly; and therefore I cannot want either meat or a miſtreſs in France. If I can ſend you word next week that the King is come to London, and a peace likely to be made without thoſe ſcurvy propoſitions, you will think it a ſtrange alteration from what you now dream on. If it prove not ſo, think I wrote this to leave you in a pleaſant contemplation of a future happineſs, to refreſh you after reading ſo tedious a letter. Sir, let the world go which way it will, my affections to my friend grow not leſs; and you have it in your power to raiſe mine to any degree that you will believe me to be,

*A.D.* 1646.

*Sir,*

*Your moſt humble Servant,*

*St Germain's, 28 Auguſt.*

CHAR. MURRAY.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell, 31 Aug.*

SATERDAY laſt I receaved the diſpaches of two weekes; to which (I meane your's of the 24 Aug. for the other requyres no anſwer) I would make a long reply, if I had tyme. But I deſyre you now to be content with poſitive trueths, and with ſuch inforcements as the tyme will permit, and with a ſader hart then I ever thought that any of you could have cauſed. For when thoſe few from whom I can only expect encouradgement in my conſtancy, ſhall condem me of willfulneſs, and by it make me † the diſtroyer of my Crowne and Family, how can you thinke it poſſible for me to joy in any thing after this? It is ſuch a greefe, that muſt ſinke any honeſt hart, and I am ſure would ſoone doe myne, if I did not hope, (and that ſhortly) to make you ſee and confeſs your error. Nor will it ſatisfie me that you pitty my miſled or too ſtrict conſcience. No; I muſt make you acknowledge that the giving ſuch way to Presbi-

† *The words* make me *are croſſed out in the MS. but the ſenſe is imperfect without them.*

*A.D.* 1646. teriall governement as will content the Scots, is the abſolut diſtruction of Monarchy. For with it Epiſcopaſy muſt be totally aboliſhed, the dependancy of the Church torne from the Crowne, and the Covenant firmly eſtabliſhed. I hope you will not deny my *Major* (if you doe, I ſhall leave thinking of any thing, but how to dye); and for the *Minor*, for this tyme, I will only ſay, that I will never have you belive my judgement in the leaſt matters, if I doe not prove it. But I confeſs it much aſtoniſhes me, that you having by your's of 17 Aug. accuſed the receipt of myne of 23 Jully, albeit the laſt part of it treates wholy of this ſubject, yet in this you doe not ſo much as take notice of it. Indeed I expect that when my arguments prevaile not, you ſhould ſhow me particularly, why. It is true, you give me reaſons of your owen; but they ar ſuch as perſwades me as much to the granting all the propoſitions, as for what you uſe them. So farwell for this tyme; my next ſhall be full upon the point.

*A rough Draught by himſelf; and endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. laſt Aug. 1646. by London."

## *The Proteſtation of the Popiſh Clergy in* Ireland.

BY the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of both Clergies, Secular and Regular, of the Kingdom of Ireland, in the behalf of themſelves and their adherents, the Confederate Catholicks.

A SOLEMN Proteſtation of the Clergy's faith to God, and fidelity to their Sovereign.

IN labouring an accommodation between us, and his Majeſty's Proteſtant party in this Kingdom, three whole years have run out, wherein we have aſſayed all means poſſible and deſcended unto conditions far beneath the quality of free born ſubjects; even to all conditions which may any way ſtand with faith to God, and ſecurity of Religion; to no other end, than, having compaſſed a happy union between both, we might join our arms and hearts in one, to free our gracious Sovereign from the ſervitude and tyranny of his rebellious ſubjects. We have yielded to many monthly and weekly ceſſations, though to our own diſadvantage, even when our armies were in the field, provided and ſufficiently furniſhed for any expedition, and the Proteſtant party had neither army, men, money, or ammunition. We have exhauſted our fortunes in contributing to his Majeſty's Lieutenant, and others, vaſt ſums of money upwards of £ 100,000. intending his Majeſty's ſervice by our arms. We have preſerved Scotland, and reſcued Ireland, and in ſome ſort ſuccoured England by ſea and land, at home and abroad. We have endeavoured as much as any one nation in Europe of our condition could do, to weaken our King's enemies; neither did we, or ſhall we ever prize our labours, fortunes, or lives at ſo high a rate, as not to offer them in ſacrifice for ſo dear a Sovereign.

BUT we had to treat with men, who received ſuch ſtrong influences from the monſtrous Parliament and their adherents, as not only all our ſervices, labours, ſuccours, monies, and loyalty, but alſo the King's own commands given to recompence the ſame, and to make a peace with the Iriſh, whatſoever it coſt, were ſlighted, contemned and vilipended; yea, his Majeſty's ſpecial Commiſſioner (the paragon of Nobility and Loyalty, Glamorgan), after he had concluded a happy peace with us, was recompenſed

penſed by the King's Lieutenant (who bears the world in hand he is for the King) with cloſe impriſonment in the Caſtle of Dublin, and by that ſtately policy, and other ſtratagems, acted by ſome Statiſts, the ſuccours and aids prepared for his Majeſty from Ireland totally impedited and interrupted; which hath been the chief occaſion of his Majeſty's deplorable preſent condition. *Mittat ei Dominus, in cujus manu eſt cor Regis, auxilium de ſancto, et de Sion tueatur eum!* Pſalm 20. *A.D.*1646.

Now, becauſe we will not accept of an unjuſt and invalid peace, concluded by a few intereſted perſons, after inhibition given them, and after the revocation of the Lord Lieutenant's commiſſion, and deliver up our armies, cities, and forts to the government and commands of ſuch ſuſpected and diſauthorized perſons, a virulent potion is infuſed to the people, to encourage them againſt us, as if we intended under the mask of advancing Religion to introduce a Foreign Prince, to over-rule and govern us, againſt which we prepare this antidote.

We the Prelates of the Kingdom of Ireland, together with the reſt of the members of the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of both Clergies, Secular and Regular, aſſembled together in the Holy Ghoſt at Waterford, before God and his Angels, (for us and each one of us) proteſt, ſwear, and vow, that we (during the whole courſe of our Life) will obſerve, to the utmoſt of our power, the divine Lecture of Jeſus Chriſt, teaching us to give to Caeſar what is due to Caeſar, and to God what is due to God. By giving to God what is due to God, we will maintain, defend, repair, and propagate to the utmoſt of our power, even with the hazard of our lives, eſtates, fortunes, the holy Catholick Faith, Religion, and Church, planted in this Kingdom by St. Patrick, profeſſed in England by St. Edward the Confeſſor, and ſometimes the King of England, confirmed by the promiſe Royal of Henry the 2d. when he firſt entered into the government of Ireland, and by the ſolemn oath of the ſaid Henry the 2d. and of his Royal Succeſſors, Catholick Kings of England, taken at the Coronation, embraced, upheld, and advanced; and accordingly, we will maintain and defend the immunities and privileges of the ſame Church, particularly thoſe expreſſed and granted by *Magna Charta*, and by thoſe antient fundamental laws which explain and amplify the ſame, and will endeavour the repeal of all penal laws made againſt Catholicks and their Religion.

We further proteſt and ſwear to give to Caeſar, King Charles our lawful Sovereign, what is due to Caeſar, by bearing faith and true allegiance to him, his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors, by revealing or ſubverting what conſpiracies, conventicles, or treaſons, we ſhall know, that ſhall be made againſt his perſon, crown and dignity; by maintaining and defending to the utmoſt of our power, even to the hazard of our lives, eſtates, and fortunes, all his royal dignities, prerogatives royal, and monarchical government, againſt all invaders, and aggreſſors thereof, whether domeſtic or foreign, publick or private, notably known or juſtly ſuſpected.

We further proteſt, ſwear, and vow to maintain, preſerve and keep really and truly for his Majeſty's uſe, and in his behalf, all ſuch towns, cities, caſtles, forts, and other places as are now, or hereafter ſhall come to our poſſeſſions, and never to alienate them or any part of them unto any foreign Prince or Potentate whatſoever, without his Majeſty's royal aſſent and conſent.

*A.D.*1646. AND that if he by whom Kings reign ſhall bleſs our religious deſigns, we will with as much ſpeed as poſſibly and conveniently we may, endeavour with the like hazard of our lives and eſtates to ſuccour his Majeſty, and to reſcue him from the unworthy ſervitude, wherein he is kept by his diſloyal heretic ſubjects in England, and to reinthrone him with ſuch power, dignity, and dominion, as is ſuitable to ſo great a Majeſty. Wherein we ſhall deſire the charitable aid and aſſiſtance of our allies at home and abroad, of foreign Catholick Princes and Prelates, who are likewiſe engaged in this holy war, as well for the reverence they bear, and the obligation they have to defend that Religion, which they themſelves profeſs; whereby they may be deſervedly regiſtered among thoſe *ſexaginta fortes ex fortibus Iſrael qui ambiunt lectulum Solomonis*, Cant. 3. 7. As alſo becauſe the ruin of our Monarch and his Monarchy can be no leſs than a prologue to their own ruin, and the ruin of their Monarchy; which they may gloſs in our Sovereign's calamity, and in the multitude of declarations ſet forth by the Parliamentary Rebels, exciting their zealous brethren in foreign countries to the like rebellion againſt their Sovereigns, againſt Religion and Monarchy.

LASTLY, we do hereby renew, and iterate the oath of aſſociation authorized by the whole Kingdom, and every branch thereof; and in particular, we do proteſt and vow not to harbour or entertain in our breaſts any odious antipathy or unnatural diſtinction between the antient Iriſh, and the old and new Engliſh, between citizens, townſmen, and countrymen, but will endeavour to preſerve unity, concord, and charity between all Confederate Catholicks, to the end we may be better enabled to reſiſt the common enemy, to procure a happy peace, and inviolably obſerve the divine Lecture, "Give to Caeſar what is due to Caeſar, and to God what is due to God."

*Waterford*, 10*th Sept.* 1646.

LET this Proteſtation be printed, and in all Pariſh Churches publiſhed.

*De mandato Illuſtriſſimi Domini Nuncii et Congregationis Eccleſiaſticæ utriuſque Cleri Hiberniæ.*

NICOLAUS, *Fernenſis Epiſcopus, Congregationis Eccleſiaſticæ Cancellarius.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*My Lord,*

I RECEIVED the honour and happineſs of your Lordſhip's letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt, the laſt night; they to whoſe truſt it was committed not vouchſafing it ſooner to me. If my mind had been much more broken with the public calamities, than I thank God it yet is, your great favour would revive and give new courage to me: And having reſolved to have followed your Lordſhip into any part of the world, if the evil genius which hath ſhuffled the three Kingdoms into this horrid confuſion, had made it neceſſary for your Lordſhip to have quitted Ireland, I ſhall not need to ſay, with what joy I receive your leave to come thither, where I may wait on your Lordſhip in a Kingdom preſerved and reduced by your own virtue and

and magnanimity. I hope I ſhall ſhortly receive advice from my Lord Digby, from what port I am moſt naturally to expect a paſſage for Ireland, if by that time he finds not ſome objections againſt your Lordſhip's admitting ſuch a trouble. I preſumed a fortnight ſince to addreſs an humble ſuit to your Lordſhip on the behalf of this iſland, that they may receive by your favour ſuch a ſupply of wool, for the ſupporting the manufactures here, as they heretofore enjoyed from England. Sir George Carteret (who, beſides his other great parts of honeſty, and courage, is undoubtedly as good, if not the beſt ſeaman of England) believes that this iſland may be made of great uſe to that Kingdom, and to your men of war; and if by your Lordſhip's aſſiſtance he might be enabled to reduce Guerniſey, which he takes to be an eaſy work, (but from France we have no hope of ſupplies), ſure, theſe two iſlands would be rendered of vaſt importance to you, and very terrible to the Rebels. He intends to make an addreſs himſelf to your Lordſhip, and truly is very capable of your Lordſhip's truſt, and confidence. *A.D.* 1646.

GOD preſerve your Lordſhip, and ſend you no interruptions or difficulties to contend with, but thoſe which are adminiſtred by your enemies!

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate and moſt obedient Servant,*

EDWARD HYDE.

*Jerſey, this 26th of Sept. old ſtyle.*

*An Original.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* DIGBY.

*My beſt Friend,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

LET me hear ſpeedily from you, and very particularly, and if it be poſſible ſomewhat of the King. For if his hand be at the diſpoſal of the Rebels, how right ſoever his heart be, his ſervants may be eaſily oppreſſed: And you know I am not hardy enough to contemn King and Parliament in earneſt. For God's ſake be careful of yourſelf, and take my word, you are a much better judge of other men's counſels and propoſitions, than of your own: and pray think many men are good adviſers, who are not in the number [*of*] five Gentlemen; and that every man is not to be contemned who is more phlegmatick than ——

IF you have entertained the leaſt prejudice of the company you left at Jerſey, be ſorry for it, for upon my reputation there are not in the King's dominions perſons of more integrity, juſtice, courage, or honour; and I believe as they were your friends before thoſe, whom you now more value, ſo they will be true to you, when the others have forſaken you. God ſend us a good meeting, for which I have more impatience than you can have. In the mean time preſerve me in the good grace of my Lord Lieutenant, whom no man looks upon with more admiration and devotion than does,

*My dear Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,*

*and moſt affectionate Servant,*

EDWARD HYDE.

*Jerſey, the 26th of Sept. old Style.*

*A.D.* 1646.

MAJOR Cooke gives me the opportunity of this conveyance, and therefore I write the more freely, I pray do him any good offices, he is a diſcreet man and an excellent officer.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell, M. 7 Sep.*

BECAUSE it may be that when you fynde the ſubject of this letter cheefly to concerne Presbiteriall Governement, that you will lay it by, as an unneceſſary contemplation for my preſent affaires, fynding that the peace of Irland will have put the queſtion about Religion out of dores; therfor I thought fitt firſt to deſyre you to conceave that this argument is of neceſſity to be had in view throughout all my buſineſs (albeit it ſhould rarly come particularly to be debated), being the true rule which muſt direct all my conſultations. For (by 389's leave) the prudentiall part of any conſideration will never be found oppoſit to the conſcientious, nay heere, they go hand in hand; for (according to lawyers lodgique) ſhow me any preſident where ever Presbiteriall Governement and Regall was together, without perpetuall rebellions. Which was the cauſe that neceſſitated the King my Father to change that Governement in Scotland. And even in France, wher they are but upon tolerance (which in lykelyhood ſhould cauſe moderation) did they ever ſit ſtill ſo long as they had power to rebell? And it cannot be otherwais; for the ground of their doctrine is anty-monarchical. Indeed, to prove this cleerly would requyre more tyme, and a better pen, then I have. But ſince I am amongſt them, and have noboddy to oppoſe them, it is not lykely I ſhould have a worſe opinion of theire tenents then they deſerve; ſince (upon my word) I have endevord to be reconceeled to theire opinions. Wherfore I hope you will give ſome credit both to my ingenuity and judgement; wherein I belive (excuſe my vanity) to have as much knowledge as any of you. Now as to the making good (according to my promis) thoſe aceſions † which I mentioned in my laſt, I belive it needs only that two of them be proved (yourſelfe confeſſing that Epiſcopacy is to be quitted to ſatisfy the Scots). So that I begin with the dependancy of the Church upon the Crowne, that this will be taken away by the eſtabliſhment of Presbiteriall Governement. For it muſt be either as the Scots or the Engliſh deſyre it. If in the Scots way, all the world knowes that then the Clergie will depend upon none, and that the King will have more cauſe to ſew to them then they to the King: If in the Engliſh way, then it is as evident that the two houſes (without the King) will have the dependancy upon them. And this is cleerly ſeene by the orders and ordinances of Parliament (as they call them) upon this ſubject, to which I refer you. Then for the Covenant (upon my honnor and credit) the unanimous declaration of all men of buſineſs heere to me is, that there can be no ſatisfaction, unleſs the Covenant be eſtabliſhed.

WHAT now I have written, with my others of 22 July and 12 Aug. (which I deſyre you well to conſider) I hope will ſo ſatisfy you, that I ſhall be

† *He means* Aſſertions; *which he elſewhere writes* Acerſions. *See his Letter to the ſame of* 10 *Oct.*

heerafter

heerafter aſſiſted (but no more trobled) by you in matters of Religion (for I ſuppoſe it is not many words but matter which will perſwade you); to which end I moſt earneſtly recommend to you all joyntly and ſeverally Doctor Steward, to aſſiſt and countenance him in all his buſineſſes, and particularly to engratiat him with 364, whom I have commanded to doe nothing in matters of Religion without his advyce; and take you care that my comands in this be obſerved. So farwell. *A.D.* 1646.

I HAVE cauſe to complaine (but I accuſe none), for no letters cam for me from France this laſt packet; of which if the diſpach of Montereull be the cauſe, I will ſay you ar to blame; for whatſoever expreſs you ſend, you ſhould never omitt wryting by the ordinary; and I deſyre ever to know what weeke you doe or not receave any of my letters. I have adreſſed a buſineſs concerning my Amb. in Portingall particularly to 389 becauſe he knowes moſt of it; but not excluſive to his two other fellowes in affaires.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed by him;*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 7 Sept. 1646. by London."

*The Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER *to his* MAJESTY.

*St. Germain, Sep.* $\frac{18}{28}$.

BY your's to us of 19. and 31 of Aug. and to 351. of the 30. of the ſame monthe, we perceave (with extreame ſadneſs of hart) that our letters to you and your's in returne thereof meet with the ſame fate; nether of them being able to prevaile upon the underſtanding to the ends they were intended for, or to make other impreſſions then by adding affliction to affliction. The tender ſence wherewith ſhould perpetually ſilence us (as to this ſubject), if there were leſſe concerned than your Crowne, lyfe, poſterity and monarchy itſelfe, [to we theire] with all that ought to be pretious to all good men throughout all your dominions. But the ſtake being all theiſe, we ſhall preſume upon your goodneſs for liberty to reply fully and plainly to what you are pleaſed to urge againſt our opinion. In the firſt place wee muſt obſerve, that whylſt you oppoſe what is offered to you for redreſſe of your preſent condition, you (contrary to your uſuall method in diſcuſſing affaires of this natur) doe inſiſt only upon negatives, and confine your arguments to objections; you being ſo far from propoſing any other expedient (except that of forrain force, which without a firme foundation at home will prove to be no better then a dreame, nor in any caſe were to be looked upon otherwais than as a good ſecond), that if we ſhould grant all that you labour to prove, the only concluſion from your premiſes would be, that you were abſolutly diſpaired; and all the fruits which you could receave from ſuch a victory would be to fynde your ruine irreſiſtable. On the other ſyde, we propound ſober affirmative particulars, ſuch as (if our ground failes not) will be able immediatly to raiſe up to you a party ſuperior to your enemis both in nomber and ſtrenth; and which (if well managed) will give you ſuch a poſſeſſion of power (the only engine able to doe your buſineſs) as may ſpeedely reſtore you to all which the ſtronger hand of your enemies hath wreſted from you. Thus beawtiful would be the face of this deſyne, if it ſucceed. Nether would it be acknowledged for leſſe than prudent, though it ſhould miſcarry. So that certainly, at the worſt, it ought to be preferred before ſuch a dead calme as is not capable of the leaſt breath of hope, without a miracle from Heaven. Thus far, only comparatively. The next ſtep

*A.D.* 1646. is to consider the desyne itself positively; and therein principally, how far it caries with it probability of succes; in which we should take no larger measures than such as are warrantable by the intereſt of the parties, which are to concur in the acting thereof. The desyne is to unite you with the Scots nation and the Presbiterians of England againſt the Anti-monarchical party, the Independants. The meanes propounded for the effecting thereof, is, so to encourage the former by granting them those things which may best strenthen them againſt the other, that they may fynd it theire proper and primary intereſt thus to engage with you, rather then to comply with theire enemies any other way. Now, if [*you were*] so united and engaged, all men must confes a happy change in your affaires. The remaining queſtion, as to the point of probability, is, whether the Scots and Presbiterians will consent thus to joyne with you therein. Though no men ought to conclude certainly of that which depends absolutly on another's will, yet when you shall seriously consider the condition of the one, if the Scots shall desert them and quitt this Kingdom, and of the Scots themselfes if they shall desert you, retreat, and disband in theire owen country, leaving the Engliſh army on, and in possession of the northeren garisons; you will fynd cause to belive that it dependeth on yourselfe to make this union. But you cannot expect that, if you shall refuse to contribut that which is only in your power, and which only can enable the others to goe through with theire worke, that they will, for [*your*] sake, desperatly engage themselfes in such undertakings as mought certainly end in their distruction. And this we conceave would apparantly be theire condition, if they should adventur on a war againſt the Engliſh nation without the declaration and reall assistance of a very considerable party. Nether can such assistance be hoped for from any but the Presbiterians (your owen frends are oppressed, dispersed, creſt-falen, and altogether unable to forme a boddy of themselfes); nor from them nether in any other case but this of your encouraging and owning them, by stamping the countenance of your authority upon that church governement which they desyre. So that untill you shall please to give your consent therunto (at leastways, that you will heereafter doe it) we cannot expect that ether they or the Scots will appeare in armes for you. And without the effect of such consent we acknowledge what you so often affirme, that the Scots dare not fall out with the Engliſh, and belive they will rather be bought out of theire intereſt in the northeren garisons (I, and possibly in your's too) then singly engage againſt the united force of that Kingdom. We shall close with this concluſion (naturally arising from what is offered), that the probability of the Scots and Presbiterians consent or disasent to this union depends wholly upon your will. And now, you being convinced that there is no other visible humain meanes to redime you from the streights you are in besides this union, and it appearing that this union is sufficient to doe it, if consented to by all parties, and that the probability of such consent depends wholy upon you, it resteth to be considered, whether there be sufficient reason againſt it to disswade you from concuring therein. You have saved us the labor to search for them, having strongly urged all that is of waight againſt it. Your firſt reason is that of conscience; which certainly, if not mistaken, needs not the help of any second. Therfor since wee observe that you have joyned other arguments, and that, though you have touched upon this, you have not singly insisted on it, but rather have chosen to mix your discource with civill enforcements, and therby show us that you doe not

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center only upon this foundation, you doe therby give us the more liberty to offer our ſence againſt it; which in breefe is, that if by conſcience your meaning is, that you ar obliged to doe all that is in your power to ſupport and maintaine that function of Biſhops, as that which is the moſt ancient, reverent and pious governement of the Church, we fully and hartely concur with you therin, and would be willing to lay doune our lyfes to purchace the ſafty of that order in your dominions. In this ſenſe all the world can witneſs your piety, courage, and conſtancy, you having defended them to the utmoſt, even with the apparent danger to your perſon and crowne; the honnor wherof will as laſtingly continue to you and your memory, as guilt, ſhame and reproach will cleave cloſe to theire ſydes that have laid violent hands upon that function. But if by conſcience is intended to aſſert that Epiſcopacy is *jure divino* excluſive, wherby no Proteſtant (or rather Chriſtian) Church can be acknowledged for ſuch without a Biſhop, we muſt therin crave leave wholy to differ. And if we be in an errour, we are in good company; ther not being (as we have cauſe to belive) 6 perſons of the Proteſtant Religion of the other opinion. Thus much we can add, that at the treaty of Uxbridge none of your Divines then preſent (though much provoked therunto) would maintaine that (we might ſay uncharitable) opinion, no not privatly amongſt your commiſſioners. Nether doeth it follow that in this, or any the moſt riged, ſence you are obliged to periſh in company with Biſhops meerly out of pitty (and certainly you have nothing els left to aſſiſt them with), or that monarchy ought to fall, becauſe Epiſcopacy cannot ſtand: Undoubtedly that is not the way to reſtore the other. We juſtly pay the greateſt reverence to the examplary ſtrictneſs, tenderneſs and piety, which you beare with you as your conſtant companions and boſome frends. But for God's ſake, and your owen, we beſich you carfully to diſtinguiſh betwixt Chriſtian regal duty and impoſed fate talfetts;* which is all we ſhall preſume to ſay upon this ſubject. Your next argument is, that the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy and introducing Presbitery will deſtroy the power of the Crowne; and the rather, becauſe Presbitery foundeth itſelfe ether in the word of God, as in the Scots tenent, or on the Parlament and the People, as in the others opinion; in nether ſence acknowledging any dependancy on the Crowne. Our anſwer ſhall be very ingenious, and frankly acknowledge that this argument is ſolid and ſtrong, ſo far as it reacheth. But, under your pardon, it cometh ſhort of what you are to prove. It proveth that Epiſcopacy is moſt agreeable with Monarchy; nay, it infers much danger from Presbitery, at leaſtways to the extent of Monarchy; ſo that, if you had your free election of ether, the concluſion from thence would be very eaſy. Alas! you ar far from it; Presbitery, or ſomthing worſe, will be forced upon you, whether you will or no. Com, the queſtion in ſhort is, whether you will chuſe to be a King of Presbitery, or no King; and yet Presbitery or perfect Independancy to be. In this caſe the anſwer is as eaſy as it is to judge that a diſeaſe is to be preferred before diſſolution; the one may in tyme admit of a remedy, the other is paſt cure. We beſeech you to improve this argument yourſelf, and to remember that, as your condition is, you ought to try every thing in the balance, and then to chooſe the leſſer evil. Your third reaſon is that the peace of Irland (which you will not diſclaime) will make all treaties void. Therin we deſyre you to

A.D. 1646.

* *A miſtake, moſt probably, in the Cipher.*

conſider

*A.D.* 1646. conſider that our propoſed end is rather a good war then a hopeful treaty. Not that the later is not moſt to be deſyred, but becauſe we conceave it not to be had for the preſent. Now in caſe of a war, the power of Irland being ready to aſſiſt you (as in a firme peace it would be) will be a very good argument to encourage the Scots to joyne with you. And what grimaces ſoever they make, if engaged they will be very willing to admit of the Iriſh ſuccourſe, at leaſt ways in a body by themſelfes, by way of diverſion. So that if the peace were firme, it might indeed be a hinderance to the treaty at London, but not to ſuch an union as is propoſed. But we can give you another too ſatisfying anſwer. The peace of Irland is not to be relyed upon, the Pope's Nuncio having made many broulliries to deſtroy it; that, with the Covenant (toucht upon lykewais in your letters), ſatisfaction being given in Presbitery, may be moderated, as we mentioned in our letters by Montereul: Which being reconciled, the avowed popular quarel (to both nations) will be the defence of you according to [*the*] other branch of the covenant. And now that we have obeyed your commands in this our reply, we moſt earneſtly beſich you that we be not miſunderſtood; wherby whyleſt you avoid the dangers on the one hand, you fall into thoſe on the other. We propound not, that you ſhould unreaſonably or cheaply part with Epiſcopacy, but that what you ſhall agree concerning the ſame may be done properly, ſolemly and to your beſt advantage (though perhaps, at firſt, moſt privately), upon a full and particular engagement of the Scots for your defence; otherwais, not. Nether doe we advyſe to ſend it packing in a crowd, that is, to grant all the propoſitions by wholeſale (we are far from that opinion); beliving that the denying or qualification of thoſe concerning the Militia, your honnor, and party, is as abſolutly neceſſary to the power and dignity of your M. and Crowne, as the ſeaſonable granting Presbitery is for your preſervation. We well know that if you part with the Militia, and place [*it*] in the Parlament, as is deſyred, you will thereby conſent to change Monarchy into Ariſtocracy. Nether, if you give ſatisfaction in the Church governement, will you [*be*] much preſſed in the Militia, or your party, as we are advyſed from good hands at London. Laſtly, we deſyre you, in the tranſacting of the whole, to uſe the entermis of the French Ambaſſador, ſo far as you ſhall find it fit, whereby this Crowne may be fully engaged in the concluſion, and to take his advyce, that you be not deceaved with the ambigous wording or penning of what ſhall be agried upon; all which we moſt humbly commend to your conſideration.

*A Copy, by the King; probably taken from the Original in Cipher; endorſed by him,* "From "my L. Jer. and L. Culp. $\frac{1}{11}$ Sep. receaved "$\frac{1}{21}$ Oct. to be kept."

### *His* Majesty *to the Lords* Jermyn *and* Culpeper, *and Mr.* John Ashburnham.

*Newcaſtell,* 21 *Sep.*

I HAVE now deciphred (which when I wrote laſt I had not) and conſidered of the draught ye ſent me for an anſwer to the London Propoſitions; which I fynde (to my unexpreſſable greefe and aſtoniſhment) to be not only directly againſt my conſcience, but abſolutly diſtructive to your ends, which is the maintenance of Monarchy. For you have taken ſuch care for the perpetuall eſtabliſhing of Presbiteriall Governement, that you have

have not forgotten the Univerſeties; and ye have (as I believe, purpoſly) omitted other things better worthe the remembering, as the naming of officers. It [*is*] true, ye pretend to give an honorable mention of Epiſcopall Governement, but ſo meanly, and in a way ſo ſure not to doe that effect at which it faintly offers, that it is a ſhame to ſee it. And then for Irland (though I concur with you fully in the intention), it is a poore jugling anſwer, and ſuch a one that the ſillieſt underſtanding muſt at firſt ſight eaſily looke through. Indeed for the reſt, I confeſs it ſmels much of the owld ſtraine; and I perceave you imagine that the dexterity of the latter part will cure the inconvenient conceſſions in the former; which is a great miſtaking. For albeit all were agreed unto as is ſett doune, it will be in the power of pulpits (without tranſgreſſing the law) to dethrone me at theire pleaſures, at leaſt to keep me in ſubjection. But, ſuppoſe they thanke me for my conceſſions, and demur upon the reſt, what then? You will ſay all is but conditional; ſo that I am obliged to nothing. I grant this wer a good anſwer, if I had a power to diſpute, and that the conceſſions were not againſt my conſcience. But as it is, beſydes the hazarding of my ſoule for nothing, what I have yealded unto will be held for good; and I may expect the reſt when all the lower Houſe turnes Saints, or mankynde leaves factions. Now you may wonder why I have taken all this paines: for you will fynde that I ſhall not be put to a particular anſwer to the Propoſitions; but this point of Religion hath ſo great and neceſſary an influence throughout all my affaires, that I finde it moſt neceſſary to rectefy your judgements heerein. For albeit my condition be ſufficiently ſad, yet it is made ſo ſtrangly worſe by your miſunderſtanding the point of Church Governement, wherby I am made the deſtroyer of my Kingdom and Family, that rather then I will undergoe that burden, I will (laying all other conſiderations aſyde) hazard to goe to France to clear my reputation to 351. 357. and all the world, that I ſtick not upon ſcruples but undouted realities, both in relation to conſcience and policy. Indeed, this is a right way to make me a Papiſt. For if I follow your preſent advyces concerning Religion, I foreſee ſuch a neceſſity of it, that the tyme will come you will perſwade me with more earneſteneſs to ſubmitt to the Pope, then now ye doe for my conceſſion to Presbiterial Governement. For queſtionleſſe it is leſſe ill in many reſpects to ſubmitt to one than many Popes. *A.D.* 1646.

I THINKE Dr. Steward will be with you before this letter; wherfore and do againe jointly and ſeverally recommend him unto you, comanding you to heare and advyce with him in this point of Religion.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 21 Sep. 1646.
"by London. Senſure upon theire draught of
"an Anſwer to the Pro^ns."

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Biſhop of* LONDON.

*My Lord,* *Newcaſtle,* 30. *Sep.* 1646.

MY knowledge of your worth and learning, and particularly in reſolving caſes of conſcience, makes me at this time (I confeſs) put you to a hard and bold taſk. Nor would I do it, but that I am confident that you know not what fear is in a good cauſe. Yet I hope you believe that I ſhall be loath to expoſe you to a needleſs danger; aſſuring you that I will yield

*A.D.* 1646. to none of your friends in the care of your preſervation. I need not tell you the many perſuaſions and threatenings which have been uſed to me for making me change Epiſcopal into Presbyterial government; which *abſolutely* to do is ſo directly againſt my conſcience, that (by the Grace of God) no miſery ſhall ever make me. But I hold myſelf obliged by all honeſt means to eſchew the miſchief of this too viſible ſtorm. And I think ſome kind of compliance to the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my caſe is, which at another time were unlawful. Theſe are the grounds that have made me think of this incloſed propoſition; the which, as one way it looks handſome to me, ſo in another I am fearful leaſt I cannot make it with a ſafe conſcience; of which I command you to give me your opinion, upon your allegiance; conjuring you that you will deal plainly and freely with me, as ye will anſwer it at the dreadful day of judgment. I conceive the queſtion to be, whether I may with a ſafe conſcience give way to this propoſed temporary compliance, with a reſolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and diſcipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my oath is herein chiefly to be conſidered; I flattering myſelf that this way I better comply with it, than being conſtant to a flat denial; conſidering how unable I am by force to obtain that which this way there wants not a probability to recover, if accepted (otherwiſe, there is no harm done); for my regal authority once ſettled, I make no queſtion of recovering Epiſcopal Government. And God is my witneſs, my chiefeſt end in regaining my power, is to do the Church ſervice. So expecting your reaſons to ſtrengthen your opinion, whatſoever it be, I reſt

*Your moſt aſſured, real,*

*faithful, conſtant friend,*

CHARLES R.

I DESIRE your opinion in the particulars, as well as in the generals, of my propoſition. For it is very poſſible that you may like the ſcope of it, and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of Salisbury and Dr. Sheldon, or either of them; but let me have your anſwer with all convenient ſpeed. None knows of this but Will. Murray, who promiſes exact ſecrecy. If your opinion and reaſons ſhall confirm me in making this propoſition, then you may ſome way be ſeen in it; otherwiſe, I promiſe you that your opinion ſhall be concealed.

*A Copy by Mr. Will. Murray, endorſed by the King,* "My Letter to the Biſhop of London "from Newcaſtell the 30. Sep. 1646."

## *A Propoſition for ſettling Religion.*

WHATSOEVER was the neceſſity of reformation of Religion at the beginning of this Parliament, no man will now make the leaſt queſtion of it. And I believe it is little leſs evident that the preſent diſtractions are ſo great, and of ſuch a nature, as it is much out of the power of any human *Fiat* to ſettle them: There being no way, in my opinion, to reſtore that happy tranquillity which the Church of England hath lately

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and miſerably loſt, but by a ſolemn, free, and ſerious debate by a well choſen number of divines of each opinion. For certainly, perſecution never was, nor will be, found a good way for converſion. *A.D.*1646.

THESE conſiderations have made me form a propoſition, which I believe no man but myſelf hath thought on. It is, That concerning matters of Religion, I will be content that all things remain for three years *in Statu quo nunc*, ſo as I and my houſehold be not hindered from uſing that form of God's ſervice which we have always done; and that, in the mean time, a Committee be choſen of both Houſes (the fewer the better) to conſult and debate with ſixty well choſen Divines (that is to ſay, twenty of my naming, as many of the Presbyterians, and as many of the Independents), how the Church ſhall be ſettled and governed at the end of three years; or ſooner, if parties and differences may be ſooner agreed. I do not mean that theſe Commiſſees ſhall have any other power than of hearing, debating, and reporting; for I always underſtand that the determination of all be left to me with the two Houſes.

Now, if this be accepted, I expect that this ſhould rather facilitate than retard the ſettling of civil matters, giving you power to make uſe of theſe, as you ſhall judge beſt for that peaceable end which all good men deſire.

FOR Will. Murray.

*A Copy, by Mr. Will. Murray, on the ſame Paper with the letter immediately preceding.*

*The Biſhops of* LONDON *and* SALISBURY *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IN obedience to your Majeſty's command, we have adviſed upon this Propoſition, and your Majeſty's doubt ariſing thereon. And attending to our duty and your Majeſty's ſtrict charge laid upon us, we ſhall deliver our opinions, and the ſenſe we have of it, plainly and freely, to the beſt of our underſtandings; nor ſhall we fail in point of fidelity, however we may in judgment.

THE doubt is touching the lawfulneſs of a temporary compliance in matters of religion, in the ſtate they now here ſtand; that is, as we apprehend it, whether your Majeſty may, without breach of your oath, and with a ſafe conſcience, permit for ſome time the exerciſe of the directory, for worſhip, and practice of diſcipline, as they are now uſed and ſtand enjoined by ordinance.

FOR reſolution whereof, we ſhall take the boldneſs to make uſe of thoſe grounds which we find laid down to our hands in your Majeſty's directions. For your Majeſty's conſtancy and fixedneſs of reſolution not to recede from what you have by oath undertaken in that matter, as it gives you a great latitude to walk in, with ſafety of conſcience, in your endeavours to that end (the rectitude of intention abating much of the obliquity in all actions), ſo the full expreſſion you have been now pleaſed to make of it, and, that what you propoſe at preſent is *in ordine* thereunto, doth much facilitate the work, and fit us for a reſolution.

TAKING therefore your Majeſty's ſettled determination touching the Church for a foundation unremoveable, and this propoſition (in your Majeſty's deſign) as a means ſubſervient thereunto; conſidering alſo the condition your Majeſty's affairs now ſtand in, being deſtitute of all means com-

*A.D.* 1646. pulſory, or of regaining what is loſt by force; we cannot conceive in this your Majeſty's condeſcenſion any violation of that oath, whercof your Majeſty is ſo juſtly tender, but that your Majeſty doth thereby ſtill continue to preſerve and protect the Church by the beſt ways and means you have now left you (which is all the oath can be ſuppoſed to require); and that the permiſſion intended (whereby, in ſome men's apprehenſions, your Majeſty may ſeem to throw down what you deſire to build up) is not only by your Majeſty levelled to that end, but, as your Majeſty ſtands perſuaded, probably fitted for the effecting it in ſome meaſure.

And as your Majeſty will ſtand clear (in our judgments, at leaſt) in reſpect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, ſo neither do we think your Majeſty will herein treſpaſs in point of conſcience; becauſe your Majeſty finding them already ſettled, and as it were in poſſeſſion, do only, what in other caſes is uſual, not diſturb that poſſeſſion while the differences are in hearing, or (which is more juſtifiable) permit that which you cannot hinder, if you would; not commanding it (for that may vary the caſe) but (which poſſibly may be better liked) leaving it upon that foot it now ſtands, enjoined by authority of the Houſes, which is found ſtrong enough to enforce the obedience. Which intendment of your Majeſty's would ſtand more clear, if this point of a temporary toleration were not laid as the Principle of the propoſition (as now it may ſeem to be ſtanding in the front), but as an acceſſory and neceſſary conceſſion for the more peaceable proceeding in the buſineſs. The firſt part therefore in the Propoſition might be, for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties (as it lies in the propoſition), and then, that, during that debate all things remain *Statu quo nunc*, without any interruption or diſturbance from your Majeſty, provided the debate determine and a ſettlement be made within ſuch a time, &c. and that your Majeſty and your houſehold, in the interim, be not hindered, &c. which notwithſtanding we humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's better judgment to alter, or not.

We cannot but have a lively ſenſe of the great troubles your Majeſty undergoes, and doubt not but that God who hath hitherto given you patience in them, will bleſs you with a deliverance out of them in due time, and make the event of your conſtant endeavours, anſwerable to the integrity of your Majeſty's heart; which is the prayer of

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt obedient and humble Servants,*

*Fulham*, 14 *Oct.* 1646.

Guil. London. Br. Sarum.

*An Original, endorſed by the King,*
"From the Biſhop of London in anſwer to my quere."

## *The Lords* Jermyn *and* Culpeper *to his* Majesty.

*Paris, Oct.* 12.

By the ordinary of this weeke we receaved your's of the 21 Sep. and doe with much ſadneſs of hart lament that we are ſo deeply faln under your cenſure for the draught we offered to you in anſwer to the Propoſitions. All that we ſhall reply concerning Presbitery (which is the firſt point) is, that if we ſhould give you any other advice we ſhould diſpairely (againſt

(againſt our conſciences) or falſly (againſt that truſt which you are pleaſed to repoſe in us) betray you, your poſterity, and all your party to utter ruin. And that this fatality muſt enſue upon your continuing to refuſe to give ſatisfaction in this particular, is the concurrent opinion of Monſ. Bellievre, Montreull, Car. Maz. and Q. F. all your ſervants in England, and indeed of any ſober man with whom either of us have converſed. But, ſince it is your pleaſure, we have done with that argument; having nothing left but our prayers to God to direct your councells in this important buſineſs; wherin if you err, all imaginable wiſdome in all other your conſultations will not be profitable to you. That of officers (in our opinions) is nether to be granted nor refuſed, but more properly refered to the deſyred conference; where the beſt iſſue that can be expected, will be, that you ſhall nominat, and the Howſes approve, the ſame that was inſiſted upon at the treaty at Oxford. We conceave nothing plainner then that all your offers of importance were conditional; and, if you pleaſe to conſider it, you will fynd great care in the penning the conceſſions, that they may not be otherwais interpreted. But if you thinke theire reſteth any dout of it, it is eaſily cured by an expreſs clauſe to that purpoſe, ſuch as was at the treaty of Uxbridge. The only objection is that, ſo clogged, it will be of leſſe grace (it looking too lyke a bargaine), and therefore the douneright words were declyned. Whether you will have liberty to give any further anſwer, or not, your M. hath been, and, I hope, yet is the beſt judge, it having beene abſolutly in your power to ſend it, and, for ought we ſee, it depending wholy upon your pleaſure whether you will ſend it, or no. It may ill beſeeme us to take the liberty to anſwer to any other of your expreſſions; nether would we have trobled you thus far but out of the ſence of our dueties, with relation only to you and your affaires, without any reflection on ourſelfes; having cauſe ſadly to aprehend that the concluſion will but too much (though too late) confirme our opinions. We ſhall advertiſe you (to the end that you make take heede to it) that Mr. Montreull hath had conference at London with ſome of the Presbiterians to reconcyle the things; but upon ſuch propoſitions as, how plauſible ſoever they are repreſented, ar fatall to your intereſt. The heads of them are theiſe. The Militia is not to be placed in perſons, but in the Houſes themſelfes (otherwais, their right to it will not be preſerved); that after ſome years it is not to revert to you, but to you and the two Houſes; that you ſhall not be compelled to make any new law to diſtroy your party, but leave them to the Howſes; and then, what juſtice they may expect, Sir John Stowell's caſe does ſufficiently demonſtrat. And my Lord Argyle's motion to your voluntary goeing to London without ſecurity, is as bad as any of the reſt. We beſeech you to heareken to Mr. Bellievre, and encourage his treaty, for it ſtands upon good feete. Q. Eng. is ſending Winter Grant to Irland; and is not without hopes to fynde a way to reconcyle the Nuntio's bruleries there; of which you ſhall [*hear*] more fully by the next. For forraine force, there is no hopes of it, without engagement of the Scots for you, nor of that without Presbiteriall Governement. That is all at preſent. God preſerve, &c. Q. Eng. writes not (we belive) to you by this ordinary. She is at St. Germain's. We have lykewais receaved your's of the 7. and 14. of Sep. *A.D.* 1646.

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher; endorſed by him,* "From L. Jer. and L. Cul. Oct. $\frac{2}{12}$ receaved 17 Oct."

*A.D.* 1646.

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell, 3 Oct.*

THIS Letter will need a preamble; for otherwais, what I ſhall wryte may be eaſily miſtaken. Wherfor know and be aſſeured, that I am ſo well ſatisfied of the loyallty, fidelity, and affection of you three to my crowne, cauſe, and perſon, as what I ſhall ſay heerafter is without any detriment to this my profeſſion; in which if you were not firme, I ſhould not thinke you worthy of this enſewing freedome; I meane two of you; for I cannot in juſtice condem 389 of an error, wherof I fynd him (by your owen confeſſions) innocent. For the chyding part does not concerne him, though I thinke not fitt to ſingle him by my letter. Nor will you two (if you bee ſo good men as I take you to be) beare leſs the frendſhip to him, becauſe his conſcience diſcents not from myne.

I FOUND Davenant's inſtructions to be ſuch both for matter and circumſtance, that my juſt greife for them had been unſuportable, but that the extraordinary and ſeverall kynde expreſſions of my Wyfe (meeting caſually at that tyme) abated the ſharpneſs of my ſorrow. For I fynde myſelf condemned by all my beſt frends of ſuch a high diſtructife and unhard of kinde of willfulneſs, that I am thought to ſtand ſingle in my opinion, and to be ignorant of both my maine foundations, to witt, conſcience, and pollicy. But, muſt I be caled ſingle, becauſe ſome ar frighted out of, others dares not avow, there opinions? And who cauſes me to be condemned, but thoſe who either takes courage and morall honeſty for conſcience, or thoſe who were never rightly grounded in Religion according to the Church of England. As for the two Queenes and Card. I ſhould blame them, if they did not give out ſentence againſt me; conſidering the falſe information of thoſe, who belive themſelfes to be, but are not, true Eng. Proteſtants, nor does underſtand the inſeperable miſcheefe which the Preſ. doctrine brings along with it to that Kingdom wherſoever they are ſetled. Wherfor inſtruct yourſelfes better, recant, and undeceave thoſe whom ye have miſinformed; for belive me there is neede, and ſuch as I thinke not fitt particularly to expreſs. Only one particular I muſt mention, wherwith Davenant hath threatned me; which is 351 retyring from all buſineſſes into a monaſtery. This, if it fall out, (which God forbid) is ſo diſtructife to all my affaires — I ſay no more of it; my hart is too bigg; the reſt being fitter for your thoughts then my expreſſion. In another way I have mentioned this to 351 (my greefe being the only thing I deſyre to conceale from her, with which I am as full now as I can be without burſting), commanding you to remember her, to anſwer me, and helpe to conceall my ſorrow from her as much as may bee; which will be ſome eaſe to it, that of itſelfe is ſo great as were not to bee borne but for the great cordiall of her dayly expreſſions of kyndneſs to me, and that this way I fynde ſome vent for it. I conclude with this true ſaying; that nether anger nor greefe ſhall make me forgett my frendſhip to you. So farwell.

THIS day I receaved from my Wyfe and you two diſpaches; to which I cannot anſwer untill my next.

*A rough Draught by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 3 Oct. by London — to be kept."

*The*

*A.D.* 1646.

*The* QUEEN *to his* MAJESTY.

*Mon cher Coeur,*

JE n'ay point receus de vos lettres ceſt ſemaine, qui me met fort en peine; car nous entendons de London que les Scots ſont reſolus de vous delivrer entre les mains de Parlement. J'eſpere toutefois que la venue de Montreull les empeſchera, quand ils verront que la France prend vos intereſts, comme Montreull a ordre de leur teſmoigner. Il eſt vray que Bellievre mande qu'il les faut contenter dans ce qui touche les Eveſques; laquelle choſe je ſcay eſt toutefait contre voſtre coeur, et je vous jure contre le mien auſſi, ſi je voiois un ſeul moyen de les ſauver, et ne vous pas perdre. Mais ſi vous eſtes perdus, ils le ſont ſans reſource; ou, ſi vous vous pouves encore mettre a la teſte d'une Armée, nous les remettrons: Et pour Moy, ſi je croiois que cela n'en eſtoit pas le moyen, je n'en parlerois jamais. Conſerves vous la Militia, et n'abandonnes jamais, et par cela tout reviendra: Et Dieu nous envoyera les moyens de nous remettre, comme il commence desja a y avoir quelques eſperance; Car. Maz. m'ayant aſſeurée que la Paix generale ſeroit faite devant Noel; et cela eſtant, l'on vous aſſiſteroit puiſſament. Je depeche in Irland, pour tacher y compoſer les noveaux deſordres qui y ſont, et j'en ay tres bon eſperance. Milord Craford eſt arrivé, qui m'a portés de fort grand offres de la part de voſtre party en Scot: Nous ferons tout ce qui ſera neceſſaire la deſſus. Amb. de Suede, qui eſt arrivé depuis peu, m'a faites des grands teſmoignages d'amitié de la part de ſa Maitreſſe. Il y a toutes les apparences du Mond, que ſi vous voules eſtre conſtant, comme vous aves eſté, et comme je crois vous ſeres dans la Militia et vous Amis, et ne point aller a London, ſans pouvoir en ſortir, que nos affaires n'aillent bien. Il faut tacher a avoir les Scots pour nous, ſans pourtant prendre le Covenant, ni rien faire que ſoit deſhonnorable. Je ſcay les peines dans leſquelles vous eſtes, et j'en ay une pitie, qui me fait autant de mal qu'a vous: Mais puiſque que nous avons tant ſouffert, il faut reſoudre d'achever avec honneur. Prenes garde d'accorder les Propoſitions qu'ils vous font devant que vous penſies la voir fait; et ſoies bien reſolu la dedans, quoyque l'on vous puiſſe promettre. Mes eſperances ſont grands; pourveu que vous ſoies conſtant et reſolu, nous ſerons Maiſtres encore; et nous nous reverrons avec plus de joye que jamais. A Dieu, mon cher Coeur!

*Octr.* $\frac{12}{22}$.

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher, endorſed by him,* "From my Wyfe. 12 Oct. receaved 31 Oct."

*The Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER *to his* MAJESTY.

*May pleaſe your M.* *Octr.* $\frac{9}{19}$. *St. Jermains.*

THE E. of Craford came hither ſix days ſince from Scotland by the way of Irland. His buſineſs is to propound to Q. Eng. in the name of Montroſe (whom we expect heere every day), and himſelfe, and many noblemen and gentlemen of the Highlands of Scotland, a deſyne to raiſe for your ſervice an army of 30,000 men, with which hee propoundeth to reduce Scotland this winter entyrely under your obedience; and from thence to march into England (he nameth London itſelfe), and to doe as much.

A.D.1646. much. He hath ſhowed her M. a liſt of all the perſons of quality, that are to be the heads of theſe men, and of the numbers which they are to bring armed with a fuſee, ſword, and target; and affirmes, that they have all engaged themſelfes accordingly, if the Queene and Prince ſhall encourage them ſo to doe. Theire quarrell is to be, to free your M. from empriſonment; for they take you to be under reſtraint, and no better then a priſoner. He demandeth towards this work 6000 men out of Irland; which he ſays the Iriſh will redyly ſend, if they may be ſatisfied in the effect of my L. Glamorgan's articles touching the Romane Religion, and the countenance of P. Charles and Q. Eng. and ſome mony and amunition to begin with, to encourage the ſouldiers; for the perſons of quality, he ſays they expect none. He giveth many reaſons, that the want of Horſe cannot hinder their progreſs in Scotland; confidently beliving that they will certainly ruine with duty and want of proviſions all the worſt that ſhall oppoſe them in Scotland. And he aſſeurs Q. E. that Midleton will joyne with them as ſoon as they ſhall appeare; as lykewais, that they have hopes of a conſiderable part of the Scots army. He ſays, the ſcituation of the Highlands is ſuch, that all the force of Eng. and Scotland cannot hinder their growing into a boddy; and that if either you or P. C. were there, [that] you ſhould be in perfect ſafty. My L. Branford hath ſeene the liſt, and ſayeth he knoweth all the perſons, and that he belives they are able to make good the numbers mentioned in the paper. We only from them make this relation to you, to whom we leave the jugement, as better underſtanding the condition and power of Scotland, and the probability of the deſigne, then we doe. And we the rather acquaint you with it, becauſe Mr. Bellievre in 2 late letters of Car. Maz. (which we ſaw) does ſay, that he can put you in the head of 4 or 5 thouſand Scots Horſe preſently, and in poſſeſſion of one of the beſt places of ſtrenth in your dominions, if you will give ſatisfaction in the Church buſineſs; and preſſeth to know Car. Maz. opinion herein. Perhaps, upon diſcourſe with him, you will fynde ſome expedient to cuple theis 2 deſignes together; and then they will looke hanſomly. Q. Eng. ſends an expreſs inſtantly to the Highlands in her owen name, and P. C. [*in*] his, to deſyre thoſe gentlemen and noblemen to reſpit theire reaſons a little, untill ſhe may more particularly heare from you, and know in what condition your perſon and affaires are. The L. Crawford ſeemes to feare nothing but that they will be tampered with to be taken off with great offers, before they ſhall be encouraged from hence. He much preſſeth to be diſpached, and to returne to them. She lykewais ſends Winter Grant into Irland with all the materialls ſhe can furniſh him with towards the reconcyling the breaches there, and to unite them, if it be poſſible, in your ſervice. We againe beſeeche you carefully to take heed of all the dangers both on the right and left hand, mentioned in our laſt; and praying God to direct your Councells herein, remain

*Your moſt obedient Servants.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The Marquis of Antrim in name of Clandonall | 2000 Men. |
| The Baron of Makleane — — | 2000 |
| The Laird Mackranald — — | 1300 |
| Makleid Oheris — — | 1000 |
| Sir James Mackdonnel — — | 2000 |

The

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Earle of Seforth — — — | 2000 Men. | *A.D.*1646. |
| The Lord Reis — — | 1200 | |
| The County of Athol and Badinogh — | 3000 | |
| Clangragor and Fargiſon — — | 1200 | |
| The Baron of Grant — — | 1000 | |
| Clanhatton and Strethern Men — — | 1000 | |
| The Marquis Huntly — — — | 1500 | |
| The Earle of Ardy — — | 0400 | |
| The Earl of Airthe — — — — | 0700 | |
| Maknel of Baro — — — | 0500 | |
| The Laird Glangary — — | 0500 | |
| The Earle of Nidſdaile — — | 1000 | |
| The Marquis Montroſe — — | 1000 | |
| The Lord of Dalkeeth — — — | 0100 Horſe. | |
| *To.* | 23400 | |

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher, endorſed by him,* "From L. Jer. L. Cul. "$\frac{18}{28}$ Oct. receaved the laſt of Oct."

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell,* 10. *Oct.*

IT much greeves me to fynde by your's of the 28 of Sep. that my argument concerning Religion hath had ſo little effect with you, and, which is worſe, that you are not to be altered; ſo that, but to vindicat myſelfe from the ſlander of willfullneſs (and of that horrid nature as to cauſe the diſtruction of my crowne, family and frends), I would have been ſylent; my deſire of being rightly underſtood by my beſt frends, forcing this anſwer from me.

ALLBEIT it be true that moſt of my arguments runnes upon negatifes, yet I deny it to be contrary to my method in diſcuſſing affaires of this nature. For I always did and doe thinke it the beſt way, when neceſſety brings conſultations of chuſing the leaſt ill, that what is not to be done, ſhould be firſt reſolved; becauſe heereby the degrees of inconveniencys (in my judgement) are eaſilieſt deſerned, and men ar not ſo reddily ſtolen into errors. But cheefly at this tyme I thought it of abſolut neceſſety to fix my negatives; eaſily foreſeeing how I was to be put too it by unhard of unlawfull violence. Theaſe I reduced but to theaſe three particulars, my conſcience, crowne and frends; and I am ſure you will confeſs that none of theaſe three are to be quitted, for any extreamity or miſery that may befale me. And this I will ſay, that the forſaking of any one of them, looſes the other two. For as it is againſt my conſcience to quitt my inheritance, or to forſake my frends, cheefly in diſtreſs, ſo a King's frendſhip will no longer be truſted, but whyles he ſtikes to God and his crowne; and it is as certaine that God is the author, and (by his appointment) the ſubjects love (which is only frendſhipp dilated) is the maintainer of Regall Authority. But, for I conceave the difference of our opinions is not concerning the two later, my cheefe diſcource heerin ſhall be concerning conſcience, and how it relates to policy.

IT was not out of any miſtruſt that my conſcientious arguments were not ſingly ſtrong anufe, that I joyned thoſe of policy with them, but truly

*A.D.*1646. to ſhow you, what unſeperable compaingons they are in relation to Regall Authority. I will ſay, without hiperboly, that there was not a wyſer man ſince Salomon, then he who ſaid, No Biſhop no King. His reaſon was (and this I affirme by knowledge, not by heareſay) that Presbiterian doctrine was incompatible with Monarchy; which at firſt I belived in reverence to him; but ſince, I have too dearely bought the certaine knowledge of it; which, upon my honnor, I have fully examined; and I am not aſhamed to ſay that I want not judgement to diſcerne it. And I muſt tell you, that you are monſtrouſly miſtaken in beliving that the queſtion is ſimply between Epiſcopal and Presbiterian governement: For nothing leſs then the change of the whole frame of Religion is now in diſpute. For they have made a new forme of God's worſhip, new confeſſion of faith, new catichiſmes, and what not new? Nor will all this ſatisfy; for the eſtabliſhing of the Covenant is the *ſine quâ non* (and this upon my reputation is true). Beſides, my Lord Argyle (who to this purpoſe is a moſt authentike author) tould me, that there is a neceſſety (though for the preſent it be not preſſed upon me) that I ſhould take the Covenant. Now, to ſhow you how antimonarchicall this new Religion is, of verry many I will give you but one proufe. Will. Murray abſolutly tells me, that I were as good to give a flat negative to all the Propoſitions, if in my anſwer I doe not leave out the clauſe concerning the oaths of alleagance and ſupremacy. And that this my acerſion is true, both the Wills confeſs; all their argument being, that the only way to diſtroy this wicked governement is to eſtabliſhe it for the preſent; to which, though it were not againſt my conſcience (which I muſt tell you, once for all, [*it*] is, as much as to goe to Meſs, or ſubmitt to the Pope's pretended Supremacy) I cannot yeald to; for I belive not the reaſon of it.

Next, you take much paines to litle purpoſe to illuſtrat the beauty of your deſyne; for it was never denyed but that the conjunction of the Scots, in many reſpects, is the lyklieſt way ſpeedely to reſtore me, and that yet there is no other viſible. Lykwais I confeſs that theaſe conceſſions, in all probability, will produce a war, which will be intituled, for my reſtauration; but ſo far from reality, that the beſt iſſue I can expect from it muſt be, to be a titulary King, except I ſhould reſolve to violat my faith (to which I am ſure none of you will councell me); for otherwais (to uſe your owen words) I can never expect to have that reſtored to me, which I have ſo voluntarily and ſolemly parted withall; that is to ſay, the governement of the Church (the which whatſoever you eſteeme of it, is as neceſſary [*a*] flower of the Crowne as the Militia), and with it the eſtabliſhing of a new (as to England) ſciſmaticall and antimonarchicall doctring. From hence my concluſion is, not to reject your beautifull diſigne; no, ſo far from it, that I have and will imploy all the faculties of my mynde to proſecute it, as far as my grounds of conſcience and policy (I cannot ſever them, whatſoever you do) will permit. In order to which I have made an anſwer to the propoſitions with all poſſible care and induſtrie (I mention not other endevors, as not proper for this diſpach); which I will ſay is ſuch, that if the Scots did not looke to the ſuppreſſion of the eſſentialls of Regall Authority, more then they doe to theire own ſafty, they muſt be ſo contented with that they will make the wiſhed for conjunction. And yet I cannot ſo much as put you in hope that they will. Notwithſtanding, our cauſe is ſo good, that we ought as litle to diſpaire, as gape for a miracle. And we ſhould rather build hopes from the Rebells diſtractions, then give over the game. And certainly God

God may with as litle a miracle reſtore me, as he hath wonderfully poured out his juſtice againſt us all. *A.D.* 1646.

THEASE, I confeſs, ar ſad contemplations, and ſo much the ſadder to you, who have ſwallowed great hopes, that it was in my power, without eſſentiall prejudice to my conſcience or crowne, to make the Scots declare for me. But by what I have now and formerly written, I hope you will be ſatisfied, that I have and will leave nothing undone for the obtaining of the wiſhed for union with the Scots, and that the ſtop hitherto hath been, becauſe I would not part with what I could not, nether as a Chriſtian nor a King. So farwell.

HE who ciphered this is totally ignorant of what I or himſelfe wrytes.

*A rough Draught by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 10 Oct. by London;
"particularly anſwering theire long diſpache. To be kept."

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr.* WILLIAM MURRAY.

*Will,* *Newcaſtell,* 15 *Oct.* 1646.

ACCORDING to my promiſe, I heerewith ſend you both my anſwer to the Propoſitions †, and alſo my ſupplimentary additions; wherin I know you will obſerve, that I have omitted the Great Seale, Irland, and the Univerſities. For the firſt, I fynd it (upon reading and conſidering the article) of ſuch intricaſy (having divers branches in it) that ſeriouſly, without debate and interpretation, I know not what to ſay to it: And conſidering that the cheefe grace of theaſe additions is to be cleare, I thought beſt to omitt it; and the rather, that I fynd it hanſomely mentioned in my generall anſwer. But I authoriſe you to promis in my name, that, ſo all the acts of the true Great Seale may remaine good, I will be content, that all thoſe of theirs, ſhall have full forſe and effect, to all intents and purpoſes; it being done in ſuch a way as may not make it a preſident for future tymes. As to Irland, I have made it ſo full in my anſwer, that I can ad nothing, untill I have certaine intelligence from Ormond. And for the Univerſities, I fynde upon conſideration, that if they be not taken into the debate amongſt the Church affaires, I cannot tell what to ſay. For I clearly perceave the intention of that demand is to tranſpoſe their dependancy totally from the Crowne upon the two Houſes; which muſt not be.

Now as concerning the Church and Militia, as I fynd them not in your note, ſo I have purpoſely left them out of my additionals; becauſe the latitude that I give you therin is not ſo proper for my anſwer, as to be managed for the ſtiring of their reply to me. Wherfore, if you can get a cleare and poſitive promis, under the hands of all the Presbiterian Lords, and ſome of the cheefeſt Commoners, that at fyve yeares end a regulated Epiſcopacy ſhall be eſtabliſhed, then, and not otherways, I will be content that they

† *There occur in this Collection no leſs than three draughts of an anſwer to the London-Propoſitions, differing from each other in many particulars, all authenticated by the King. The firſt, which is probably that here mentioned, is all written in the King's own hand, and endorſed thus by him,* "Draught of "an anſwer to the London-Propoſitions ſent me from a good frend." *This is attended by the additional anſwers mentioned in this Letter, written in the King's hand. Theſe ſupplementary additions, as his Majeſty here calls them, are ingrafted into the Body of the laſt draught, which tallies exactly with that publiſhed in Burnet's* Memoirs of the Hamiltons, P. 209. *and is thus endorſed by the King,* "A particular anſwer to the London Propoſitions, which I intended, but did not ſend, becauſe "rejected by the Scots."

*A.D.* 1646. refuſe my propoſed comitty and conference with my 20 additional Divines, and ad two to the three years for the continuing of the Presbiteriall governement. And for the Militia, rather then to caſt all things looſe, and ſo I may be ſatisfied in Religion and for my frends, I give you two enlargements to worke upon. The firſt is, that inſted of the perſons mentioned in my anſwer, I will be content that the whole power, for ten yeares, be in the two Houſes: Next, if this cannot ſatisfie, to change the terme of yeares, unto all the tyme of my Reing; but with a cleare and perfect aſſeurance, that it ſhall freely return to my Sone and Succeſſors, as Queene Elizabeth and my Father injoyed it; and this not to be mentioned, except upon abſolut neceſſety.

So I leave the managin of all this to your dexterity; knowing that you will not open your packet, but upon ſome neceſſary ſeene occaſions, and as you ſhall fynde it beſt for the ſervice of

*Your moſt aſſeured Frend,*

CHARLES R.

FORGET not to haſten the Biſhop of London's anſwer to me.

REMEMBER that (upon any termes) I will not abjure Epiſcopacy, take, or eſtabliſh the Covenant, nor conſent to that undouted ſacriledge of alienating the Church-Lands. Communicat all things freely with the Duke of Richmond; with others, as you ſhall ſee cauſe.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"For Will. Murray, privat Inſtructions, 15 Oct. 1646."

## *Minutes of a Diſcourſe of Dr.* JOHNSON *with Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

THIS morning about 9 of the clock walking before my door upon the ſtones, Dr. Johnſon, who came into the iſland the laſt night out of France, came to me; and after ſome ſalutations, told me, that my Lord Jermyn bad him remember his ſervice very kindly to me; but the truth is, he ſaid nothing of the Lords, between whom and him he ſaid he thought there was ſome miſunderſtanding; for that when he came to Sir J. Jermyn's, and told my Lord Jermyn that the Lords remembered their ſervice to him, he ſaid it was not poſſible. I aſked him, what their deſign then was in France, and what they hoped from thence; he anſwered me, their deſign was, to make the King a tributary King to them, that the whole buſineſs was laid between the Scots and the French, and that the Scots moved no otherwiſe than they were directed by them; and they intended to declare themſelves ſo far for the King, as might intitle them to do their own buſineſs. I aſked him, whether my Lord Jermyn believed that was their deſign; he anſwered me, that he thought my Lord Jermyn wiſhed it ſo, and that all the French party of the Queen's ſide, deſired nothing elſe; that they were all glad of the loſs of Pendennis, and wiſhed that the King ſhould have no other hope in England but from them. He ſaid, my Lord Jermyn was reſerved in that particular to him, and ſaid little; but one day ſpeaking of the reaſons which were given at Jerſy againſt the Prince's coming into France, he ſaid they were now found to be frivolous; for that, where it was alleged that it would hinder the diviſion between the Presbyterians and Independents,

dents, it was found otherwiſe; for the diviſions continued ſtill between them; and whereas it was ſaid that it would make the King be thought the leſs inclined to peace, that was found otherwiſe too; for the King did all that was in his power to procure peace; and ſeemed much to ſlight all that had been ſaid. *A.D.* 1646.

His Servant Cooly, being by, ſaid, if theſe were all the reaſons? at which my Lord Jermyn brake out into a paſſion, and aſked, if ever he heard of any other reaſons, and ſaid there were never any other given, &c. Then Sir Abr. Shipman and Will. Hinton coming by, I left the Dr. with them, and went to my chamber.

He told me, that my Lord Jermyn ſaid that the Prince was here at Jerſey like a ſchool-boy, no diſtance kept, but all ſuffered to be as familiar with him as if they were his fellows. I aſked him whether that were mended; he ſaid, yes; the Engliſh were kept at a great diſtance, but the French were as familiar with him as could be imagined.

*Jerſey, 16 Oct. old Style, 1646.*

*In Lord Clarendon's hand.*

### *His* Majesty *to the* Queen.

*Deare hart, Newcaſtell, Fryday, 16 Oct. 1646.*

AS I know thou canſt not dout of my perfect reall and unchangable love to thee, and that there is no earthly thing I ſtudy more (indeed none ſo much) then thy contentment (for it muſt always retourne to me with intereſt); ſo it would intollerably ad to my afflictions, if thou ſhould not be ſatisfied with that account which Davenant and theaſe incloſed copies will give thee. Nor I cannot doute but thou will, when thou conſiders that if I ſhould forſake my owen conſcience, I cannot be true to or worthy of thee. Nor ſhould I forgive myſelf, if by a miſinformed or ſtraitelaced conſcience, I ſhould prejudice thy juſt ends. Wherfor I aſſeure thee that the abſolute eſtabliſhing of Presbiteriall governement would make me but a titulary King. And that this is ſo, both the Wills, Davenant and Murray, confeſſes; but then they ſay, that a preſent abſolut conceſſion is the only way to reduce the governement, as I would have it. But I hope that this argument will not be judged ſufficient by 385 and 386. for they confeſs that a flower of the Crowne, once given away by act of Parlament, is not reducible. And if the Supremacy in Church affaires be not, I know not what is. For thou muſt underſtand that (which I finde cleerly miſtaken by all you in France) the difference between the two governements (Epiſcopal and Presbiterian) is one of the leaſt differences now among us, even in points of Religion. For under the pretence of a thorough reformation (as they call it) they intend to take away all the power of the Eccleſiaſticall governement from the Crowne, and place it in the two Houſes of Parlament. Beſides they will introduce that doctrine which teaches Rebellion to be lawfull, and that the ſupreame power is in the people; to whom Kings (as they ſay) ought to give account, and be corrected, if they do amiſs.

This, I am confident, will ſatisfy thee that I have reaſon (beſides that great argument of conſcience) to endure all extreamities, rather than to ſuffer by my conſent the abſolute eſtabliſhing of that governement, which brings along with it ſuch great ruinous miſcheefes. And certainly, if the Scots

*A.D.* 1646. will be content with any thing leſs then the diſtruction of the eſſentialls of Monarchy, I have done that which muſt content them, and make them declare for me, in caſe my offers ſhould be rejected at London, which I expect. Thus I hope (whatſoever becomes of me) to have this comfort, that I ſhall not in any kynde be leſſened in thy opinion, which is the only thing that can make him truly miſerable, who is eternally

*Thyne.*

I aſſeure thee that I was ſo far from preſſing Will. Murray to undertake this imployment, as I towld him plainly, that I wiſhed him not to goe, except he thought he might doe me ſome ſervice therin.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To my Wyfe 17 Oct. by Davenant and
"London. to be kept."

*His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER, *and Mr.* JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

*Newcaſtell,* $\frac{17}{27}$ *Oct.* 1646.

IF what I have offered by Will Murray's jurney to London doe not make the Scots declare for me, in caſe my offers be rejected at London (as I belive they will), the Devill owes them a ſhame; and you may ſee (if you be not blynde), that they will rather hazard their owen ruine then helpe me, except I doe that which will be ſure to make me and my ſucceſſors but titulary Kings. And I belive their flattering themſelfes that theire union with Eng. will ſecure them, though I and Monarchy be ruined, hardens theire obſtinacy againſt me. And this makes me offer an opinion to you, which at firſt I ſuppoſe you will thinke a paradox: It is, that my remaining in theaſe Kingdomes, though I be not a direct priſoner, is the only meanes (in my mynde) to ſecure the Scots, and ſetle a new governement heere, without a breache betweén the two nations. For ſo long as I remaine as I am, though in Scotland, I (being but a cyfer as to power) ſhall be no impediment to the change of governement. And yet the Engſh. will not dare to breake with the Scots, leſt they ſetting me up to claim my right, ſhould raiſe a great party for me in Eng. whereas, if I were in a ſecure freedome any where elſe, I belive the two nations muſt needs fall out, and ſo give me an oportunity ether to joyne with the weaker party, or frame one of my owen; for then men will begin to perceave, that, without my eſtabliſhing, there can be no peace. Now, how ſtrange ſoever this fancy of myne may ſeeme at firſt to you, I earneſtly deſyre you to conſider of it well; for I have diſcurced it with Mr. de Bellievre, who confeſſes that (if my condition ſhould happen to be as I have ſtated it) he knowes not what to object againſt me. And ſeriouſly, if I did not ſuſpect, that the juſt diſtaſt I have to the Scots (eſpecially wanting the liberty of my conſcience) does make me partiall to any opinion which is in order to the quitting of theire company, I would take my oathe that I was never of a righter judgement all my lyfe. Wherfor again I deſire you to conſider well of it; and if you fynd reaſon in what I ſay, that you will thinke to prepare things accordingly.

*A rough draught, by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. 17 Oct. by Davenant."

ARTICLES

*A.D.* 1646.

ARTICLES *of Association entered into between the Lords* CAPEL *and* HOPTON, *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *and Sir* GEORGE CARTERET, *for the Defence of the Iſland of* Jerſey, *againſt a ſuppoſed Deſign of the Lord* JERMYN *to give it up to the* French.

HAVING continued together in this his Majeſty's iſland of Jerſey ever ſince his Highneſs the Prince of Wales, by poſitive command brought hither by the Lord Jermyn (contrary to our humble and earneſt advice) went into France, in expectation of ſome opportunity of ſerving his Majeſty our gracious and royal Maſter, we have received within the ſpace of this laſt month ſeveral advertiſements out of France of a deſign to give up this iſland to the French; particularly, from a worthy Lady who was lately at St. Germain's, that ſhe was told by ſome of the Ladies about the Queen that this iſland was to be delivered up to the French for a good ſum of money, with which their wants ſhould be relieved; then, from a very diſcreet and knowing Gentleman, now reſident at Paris, that he hath received the ſame information, by ſeveral Gentlemen converſant in the ſecrets of the Court, and that the Lord Jermyn was to have 200,000 Piſtoles, for the delivery, and that he was to buy Aubigny from the owners for 50,000 Piſtoles; and that Mr. Cooly, Secretary to the Lord Jermyn, asked a Gentleman how he thought the Iſlanders would like of it, if there ſhould be any overture of giving it to the French. On Friday laſt one of us received a letter in cipher from a perſon of known reputation, that he heard from very good hands, that the Lord Jermyn was to be made a Duke of France, and to receive 200,000 Piſtoles, for which he was to deliver up the two iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey; and yeſterday one of us received another letter from a very honeſt Gentleman converſant in the Court there, in which he mentioned two other letters, formerly ſent by him with the ſame advertiſements (neither of which are come to us); which were, that he underſtood from ſure hands, that the Lord Jermyn was to be made a Duke, to have 200,000 Piſtoles for the delivery of thoſe two iſlands, and that the deſign was that 2000 French were to be levied for the King of England's ſervice, under a pretence of reducing the iſland of Guernſey under the command of the Lord Jermyn; who under that colour ſhould be able to ſeize on both iſlands; that the deſign was ſo forward that ſhips were hiring by the Cardinal for the tranſportation of the men. Laſtly, a Gentleman, who is a known creature of the Lord Jermyn's, coming lately from Paris told us that the deſign of the French was viſibly to make the King of England their tributary, and to aſſiſt him no farther than ſerved for their own greatneſs; being asked, whether the Lord Jermyn believed their deſigns to be ſuch? he anſwered, he thought the Lord Jermyn was of the ſame mind, and deſired no other.

THESE concurrent informations of ſeveral perſons, all ſtrangers each to other, (whoſe names we forbear to inſert, leſt by any accident this paper may fall into hands whereby they may receive prejudice) together with the Lord Jermyn's total neglect of both theſe iſlands, in making proviſions and ſending ſupply unto them according to his promiſe, and of repaying thoſe ſums of money, which were frankly lent by the Iſlanders to his Highneſs at his being here, beſides that we had in the ſame manner received advertiſements before of thoſe counſels which ought to have been the moſt ſecret, as

*A.D.* 1646. the intention of drawing the Prince into France, which was diſcovered by the men in that Court, before the King's Counſellors about the Prince heard of any ſuch purpoſe, gave us juſt cauſe to apprehend the truth, at leaſt the poſſibility thereof, and thereupon to conſider between ourſelves, what would become us to do, out of our perſonal allegiance, and relation to his Majeſty and the Crown of England, our duty and affection to our native country, the Proteſtant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the Engliſh nation, the defence and maintenance of all which hath been our only end, in whatſoever we have done ſince theſe troubles. And upon the whole matter we do unanimouſly conclude, that the delivery of theſe iſlands into the hands, and poſſeſſion of the French, cannot conſiſt with the duty and fidelity of an Engliſhman, will prove moſt pernicious, and fatal to the perſon of the King and his Poſterity, an irrecoverable blemiſh to his cauſe, and will be applied in juſtification of all thoſe ſcandals which have been laid upon the perſons of the King and Queen, and of the proceedings which have been againſt them both; that it will be an irreparable, and perpetual damage and diſhonour to the Crown of England and the Engliſh nation, by enabling the French to be maſters of the ſea, and of the Engliſh trade, having Dunkirk already in their hands; to which thoſe iſlands being added, they muſt have the whole power of the channel, being the greateſt road of trade of the known world, and an opportunity to ſeize on other uſeful iſlands, and ports of England; which damage and diſadvantage no ſucceeding proſperity and greatneſs of England will ever poſſibly recover. And if the condition of Ireland be as bad as is here reported, the loſs of thoſe iſlands will add a great weight to the miſchief which will befall the Engliſh nation. To this may be added, that, as the damage, diſhonour, and infamy, will be unſpeakable and perpetual to the King and Crown and Kingdom, ſo we have no reaſon to believe his Majeſty and his good cauſe can have the leaſt temporary advantage and benefit by it; ſince it is very evident the French intend only their own greatneſs, and have been a principal cauſe of the miſeries and preſent diſtractions of the King's three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and by this opportunity would ſupplant England of the Empire, and Sovereignty of the ſeas, which next under God hath been the principal ſupport of the antient fame and ſtrength, and wealth of our nation; and therefore, we reſolved with the help of God not only never to give our conſents to ſo infamous a tranſaction (which we are confident his Majeſty will abhor,) but to the utmoſt of our power, and with our utmoſt hazard, to oppoſe the ſame and reſiſt the delivery up of thoſe iſlands into the hands of the French or any foreign nation, by what act, power, or authority ſoever the ſame ſhall be attempted, and endeavoured. And for the better performance of our duty herein to our King and Country, ſince it is not poſſible that this poor iſland can defend itſelf againſt the power of France and the forces of the Parliament of England, and that we may receive ſeaſonable and clear advertiſement, what is intended in France and thereupon make ſuch timely proviſion, and preparation as in ſo important a matter is requiſite: We have unanimouſly agreed upon theſe particulars following.

1. That the Lord Capel go with all convenient ſpeed to Paris under pretence to kiſs the Queen's and Prince's hands in his paſſage to Holland, whither he travels for the ſettling of his own affairs; and that his Lordſhip

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in his paſſage and at Paris, and at St. Germain's, inform himſelf, by all thoſe perſons from whom we received our intelligence, of the grounds and foundation of that intelligence, and uſe all other means to underſtand as much of that deſign as is poſſible; that before his departure from Paris he obtain ſo much private diſcourſe with the Prince, as he may inform his Highneſs of the rumour, and find whether he knows of ſuch a thing, and thereupon preſent [*to*] his Highneſs the damage, inconvenience, miſchief, and infamy, will thereby attend his royal Father, himſelf, and the Crown of England; that ſo his Princely innocence may be preſerved, and he be without the guilt, though he cannot be without the loſs, of what may happen. If his Lordſhip finds himſelf ſatisfied that there is really ſuch a deſign, and ripe for execution, then (though he pretend that he will take his journey into Holland) his Lordſhip will make all poſſible haſte back to this place, that it may be conſidered what is to be done; but if he diſcern that it is only in projection, and not yet ripe for execution, then he will purſue his other purpoſe for Holland, taking order at St. Germain's, with ſome truſty perſons for intelligence, and ſettling ſome way of correſpondence between Holland and this place. *A.D.* 1646.

2. When it ſhall evidently appear that the deſign is ready and ripe for execution, it is thought fit and agreed that Sir George Carteret ſend ſome diſcreet truſty meſſenger or letter to the Earl of Northumberland, or ſome other perſon of honour, as ſhall be agreed; in which he ſhall declare that he is truſted by the King with the cuſtody and government of this iſland, for his Majeſty's uſe, which he hath and will faithfully perform, and in which he hath done nothing but what becomes an honeſt man, veſted with ſuch a truſt; that he is informed that there is a deſign and intention of putting this iſland, and that of Guernſey, into the hands of the French, which as a ſervant, and ſubject to the King and Crown of England he will never conſent unto, and on the behalf of the whole Engliſh nation (of which he hath always and doth account himſelf) he abhors it as an unſpeakable and irreparable loſs and damage, and diſhonour; that he doubts not the conſequences of it will be eaſily underſtood; and therefore, that a ſeaſonable remedy may be applied; that though he be reſolved not to give it up, he cannot be confident that he ſhall be able long to keep it, without ſeaſonable and fit ſupply for his aſſiſtance, which he knows not where to ask but from England, for whoſe honour, benefit, and intereſt, he is to keep it; that he hopes that his fidelity and affection to the Crown, and nation of England, ſhall not be ſo ill interpreted, as to be made an occaſion, of any propoſition or overture to him of giving it up to the Parliament, againſt his faith, and promiſe to the King, which he will by the help of God inviolably obſerve againſt all difficulties and dangers that may threaten him; but if they think the intereſt and ſtrength of this iſland worth the preſerving to the Crown of England, and will thereupon aſſiſt him in that manner that he may not loſe that to the French which he will not give up, he doubts not to be able to keep this iſland and caſtles 'till, after a good underſtanding between his Majeſty and all his ſubjects, the ſame ſhall be diſpoſed otherwiſe; and in the mean time no prejudice or act of hoſtility ſhall be exerciſed from this iſland againſt his Majeſty's ſubjects of England. And for the punctual obſervation of whatſoever ſhall be agreed, they ſhall not only have his own faith, but the engagement of perſons of honour and intereſt now in the iſland, who have always faithfully performed what they have undertaken.

*A.D.* 1646. If this propoſition of his ſhall be refuſed, and thereby any inconvenience ſhall befall the Crown, and intereſt of England, he ſhall be held by all moſt excuſable to God and man.

3. If the Lord Capel return not hither, but upon the reaſons aboveſaid take his journey into Holland, and ſhall receive advertiſement from France (which he will carefully provide for) that this deſign is advanced, his Lordſhip will (as he ſees opportunity) endeavour to make that nation ſenſible of the damage they ſhall ſuſtain by the French being poſſeſt of thoſe iſlands, and thereupon ſolicit relief from thence; and his Lordſhip will with all expedition tranſport himſelf into England, and there in ſuch a manner as he ſhall think fit, and upon the grounds of the precedent reſolution, uſe his beſt means to effect that which is agreed to be deſired, and will ſpeedily advertiſe thoſe who ſtay here of what is to be depended on, and expected from thence, and will himſelf take care (if it ſhall be conſented unto there) for the levying and raiſing of [*ſuch*] a number of honeſt men faithful to the King as ſhall be thought neceſſary for the ſafety of this place, and tranſporting them hither.

4. What is fit and in our power to do in order to preſerving the Caſtle of Guernſey ſhall be done according to our beſt skill, as ſoon as the buſineſs is ripe enough for us to take notice of it.

5. And, becauſe it is poſſible in the managing and ordering this great work we may be divided in place one from the other, which is not to be but by joint conſent, that every one may have about him the grounds and rules he is to ſteer himſelf by, which we do faithfully promiſe not to ſwerve from, we have each of us ſigned four draughts of theſe reſolutions, one of which is with all due ſecreſy to remain in the hands of every one of us, and not to be farther or otherwiſe communicated, than ſhall be agreed between us, or by the major part of us.

Arthur Capel. Ralph Hopton.

*Jerſey, the old ſtile this 19th of Oct.* 1646.

Edward Hyde. G. Carteret.

*An Original.*

*Copy of the Engagement of the Lords* Capell *and* Hopton, *and Sir* Edward Hyde, *to Sir* George Carteret.

SINCE it is very probable that upon this exigent and approaching danger Sir George Carteret may be inforced to engage his and his friends eſtates for the ſudden proviſion of neceſſaries, and in making fortifications to encounter ſo preſent an attempt; to the which if it would ſtand with our preſent abilities we would contribute our ſhare; but that being not in our power at this time, we have thought fit, and do of ourſelves hereby voluntarily promiſe Sir George Carteret, that if God ſhall bleſs us in ſuch manner, that we may be of uſe to him, we ſhall uſe our utmoſt power to procure him full ſatisfaction for thoſe ſums already diſburſed by him in this iſland for his Majeſty's ſervice; and for what he ſhall now diſburſe either in fortifications or proviſions upon this occaſion, we do oblige ourſelves to him (if we ſee him not ſatisfied by the public, for whoſe benefit it is laid out) to pay three parts of thoſe diſburſements out of our own eſtates, as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore them to us; holding it moſt unjuſt and diſhonourable, that a perſon of ſo extraordinary merit towards the Crown and Nation

Nation of England, and his Family, ſhould be ruined or impoveriſhed for doing ſo unſpeakable a ſervice for the Kingdom. And how vain and uſeleſs ſoever this promiſe and opinion of our's may now appear, yet we have intreated him to receive it from us, out of a hope and confidence that there will be a time when[ever] this engagement and teſtimony of our's (which they who know us, know could not have proceeded from any motive but of honour and juſtice) will be of uſe to him or to his poſterity; at leaſt it will oblige us, and all that depend upon us, to a juſt acknowledgment of his merit. *A.D.* 1646.

*24th Oct.* 1646.

*In Lord Clarendon's hand.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to Mr.* WILLIAM MURRAY.

*Will,* *Newcaſtell,* 22 *Oct.* 1646.

IF it wer true, as you ſuppoſe, that I had revealed to any other what privat inſtructions I gave you, you have reaſon to take more exceptions then ye doe againſt me. But you ought nether condem me upon ſlight grounds, (for you know I uſe not to make errors of this kynde) nor acknowledg to any boddy what you have, upon theire geſſing at the ſubſtance of what you have. For my grounds are ſo univerſally and clearly knowen, that it is no ſtrange thing to gueſſe at what is poſſible for you to have. And I aſſeure you, upon the word of a Chriſtian, that I acquainted none, directly nor indirectly, with what you carried, more then what I tould you of the French Ambaſſador; and that was only concerning that fancy about Religion, of which I had no opinion of ſucceſs. But for the Militia, or any thing elſe, no living ſoul knew a title, nor yet does; but by way of diſcurce (at leaſt two days ſince I writt to you), and that in generall termes, and with ſeale of ſecreſy, I have ſayd ſumthing to the French Ambaſſador about the Militia, and other particulars; ſo that, upon my credit, whatſoever was pretended to you, as by knowledge from me, was a damnable abuſe, only *pour tirer les vers du né.*

As for any propoſitions which Grignon hath made, I diſclame them as coming from me. And for the Covenant, you know I never gave you the leaſt hope of approving it, nor can I give you any other latitude. And for other things, I conceave to have given you as much latitud as I promiſed you; having cloged none of my conceſſions either in preambles or conditions, which I did not tell you of. And as you deſyre me, ſo lykewais you muſt remember, that your motion of making additional anſwers was but verry ſudden before you went: Wherfor it was eaſy for us to miſtake one another. But I am ſure you know that the particular of the Militia went ever upon ſuch ſteps, that it was impoſſible to forme it into a propoſition; it being of neceſſety to be managed by your dexterity. For I ever tould you, that I would not have that great latitude mentioned (of changing the terme of yeares unto all the tyme of my Reigne) but upon the laſt extreamity, and with aſſeurance that it might *porter coup*; as alſo, that the returne of it to my Sone and Succeſſors might be neat and certaine. For by your favor I was never ſatisfied (nor in this did I think that you had differed from me), that the mention of a returne to the Crowne both of the Militia and Offices, was not moſt neceſſary; and I thinke ſo ſtill. As for the danger, you

*A.D.* 1646. know that I have long agoe reſolved rather to ſhipwracke my perſon, than ether my conſcience or honnor. And certainely, if I thought myſelfe upon equall termes with my Parlament, nay, if I did not thinke myſelfe in a deſperat condition, I would not ſo much as thinke upon moſt of thoſe conceſſions I now make. And if I be ruined, I ſhall nether fall alone, nor doubt of God's mercy upon my Wyfe and Poſterity, who, I am confident, will not be puniſhed for my falts, nor thoſe want theire due reward, who hath cauſed and continued theſe great miſcheefes. Upon the whole matter, my concluſion is, that, yout ſommons being late, your exceptions many and intricat, and I ill at ſuddaine changes, I know not how to ſend you any new anſwer, but leave the managing of what you have to your beſt judgement. Yet if you can frame one there (not adding to, nor varying from, thoſe grounds I have alreddy layed you) which you belive may doe good, I ſhall not ſtand upon preambles or phraſes, but willingly follow your advice. And ſo I reſt

*Your moſt aſſeured frend,*

CHARLES R.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To Will. Murray 22 Oct. in anſwer to his
"of the 18. 1646."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lady* DALKEITH.

I HAVE now recovered eaſe enough to think and write; which I could hardly do when you heard from me laſt, and I ſhall be much revived that you are perfectly recovered; for by your's I found you were not then well. Take heed theſe lewd times, and the unpleaſantneſs of your own fortune, make not a greater impreſſion upon your mind, than they ought to do; for you then begin to be, when the comfort and conſcience of your own innocence is not a greater pleaſure than the guilt of others an affliction to you. I hear no news from England or France, but of a multitude of men of honour running to compound. I neither envy nor cenſure them; though I confeſs I am not able to tell myſelf, how that comes to be lawful now, which would have appeared 3 or 4 years ſince very odious to moſt men; or, that any thing can be honeſt to recover an eſtate, which had not been ſo to have preſerved it. And truly, though I muſt confeſs we have by our own groſs folly and madneſs loſt a game that might have been longer played, I do not know that any man doth now undergo a worſe condition, than he had reaſon to expect, when upon ſuch infinite diſadvantages he firſt engaged himſelf in the King's good cauſe; nay, I am confident he hath not now ſo many againſt him, as he had then; but it ſeems conſcience, that was then a good motive, is not thought a good end now. I confeſs the ſtraits men of all conditions are forced to ſubmit to, are very unpleaſant, and were not to be ſubmitted to, if God Almighty had only forbid us to be impious, or ſacrilegious, or rebellious, as long as we could keep our eſtates, or to depart from good conſciences till we are in danger to be baniſhed, or ſtarved. I know that all ſober reliance upon God's providence is now called expecting of miracles, and the fixing upon honeſt principles, which all moral men muſt acknowledge, is reproached and laughed at, as delighting in metaphyſical notions, and imaginary ſpeculations. Yet ſure, when men do a little conſider either the being ſaved in the next world, or

their

their being fairly mentioned after their deaths in this (which is the moſt glo- *A.D.* 1646.
rious and deſirable bleſſing after the other), they will find that this negligent treating with their conſciences, is not the way to either. Oh my Lady Dalkeith, I pray God preſerve poor England from being invaded by the Turks; for ſure, men would give their Chriſtianity and two years purchaſe for the preſervation of their eſtates. I had word ſent me laſt week by a gentleman, that now all men made haſte over, for all were admitted to compound at two years purchaſe; he never reckoned how many oaths, and how many lyes they paid more; ſure they would treble the latter, to ſave ſix months in the former. I intended not to have troubled you ſo long. God bleſs you, and keep me honeſt!

*Jerſey, 24th Oct.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *The Prince of* WALES *to the Marquis of* ANTRIM.

*Charles P.*

RIGHT truſty and right well-beloved Couſin, we greet you well. As your zeal and merits in the ſervice of our Royal Father the King were formerly not unknown to us; ſo have they now been more particularly repreſented to us by our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin the Earl of Crawfurd; who hath likewiſe acquainted us that you ſtill continue in the ſame diſpoſition, and deſire to ſerve our ſaid Royal Father; and hath for that purpoſe in your name made us an offer of your ſervice and aſſiſtance; which we receive with much thankfulneſs and acknowledgment, and deſire you to preſerve that reſolution, and to keep your men together, untill we ſhall find means to ſend you further order and direction, what we ſhall deſire you to do. In the mean time, we aſſure you, that we are highly ſenſible of your virtue and loyalty, and ſhall not fail, when it ſhall pleaſe God to enable us, to expreſs to you how much we value your ſervices, by all the returns of gratitude and kindneſs which it ſhall be in our power to make you. Given at St. Germaine en Laye, 26th of October 1646.

*A Copy.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Dear Sir,*

I WAS ſo far from wondering (without thinking of the driver) to hear that you were at Caen, that I have been in one fit of wonder (not without a great mixture of trouble and fear) above this month that you were not come thither; whither I heard out of England you had deſigned yourſelf and family by the end of September. And when I heard my Lady had the courage to accompany you, I gave over the hope (which 'till then I retained) of enjoying you at Jerſey; becauſe I preſumed ſhe would be out of the apprehenſion of being driven to a ſecond remove. Well; I have an unſpeakable ſatisfaction, that you are at ſo near, and ſo convenient a diſtance; and 'till we may fitly bring ourſelves together, ſhall extremely rejoyce and comfort myſelf with this correſpondence, which you ſhall infallibly receive from me weekly; and ſo often you may ſecurely ſend to me, except ſome accident of winds keep the boats from ſtirring 2 or 3 days, as it ſome-

*A.D.*1646. times happens in the winter; but you may be assured that I am every Friday at 3 of the clock writing to you, as you were heretofore that you should meet me at 4. at Oriel College.

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You tell me you have the King's approbation for living in that City, 'till you shall receive his further pleasure; otherwise, that you had been like to have visited Jersey. I pray tell me, whether that approbation implied any disapprobation of this island, or any persons in it: and if you have any correspondence with Newcastle, find some means to keep up that reputation of your friends their faith and integrity do deserve, which their enemies cannot blemish, though it may be some of their friends at this time are forward and active enough to discountenance.

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For your Presbyterians and Independents, I am not yet grown learned enough to know which side to be of, nor charitable enough to know which to pray for; though my Lord of Berks. was clear, that the Independents were far the honester men, and satisfied himself with an assurance, that, if they prevailed, they would suffer no Scotch-man to come to the Court, without considering that they would suffer no Court for Englishmen to come to neither. The truth is, I take many who think and find it necessary and safe to pretend to be of one side, are indeed of neither; but they who abhor Presbytery in the Church join with the Independents, and they who tremble at Independency in the State, join with the Presbyterians; and yet both would be as willing to have the heads of their own Party hanged, as you or I would. But the first form of either party, I take to be as devout enemies to Monarchy, at least to the King and his Posterity, as the other; and therefore I expect no great good from either, 'till they have bettered their understandings, and reformed their consciences by drinking deep in each other's blood; and then I shall be of your opinion, that whosoever shall by God's blessing be able to preserve his conscience and his courage very few years, will find himself wished for again in his country, and may see good days again, if the Turk in that time prove not strong enough to send them another Covenant. But believe it Mr. Secretary, it is not possible to see peace in England, 'till there be some great examples of God's justice and indignation upon the principal heads of this Rebellion; and I fear equal judgments upon the atheism of those, who have been enemies enough to the Rebellion; of which I expect some instances upon them, who foolishly, as well as impiously, make such haste to buy damnation at two years purchase; as if the observation of all Christian and moral duties were enjoined to us, under no stricter obligation, than as long as conveniently and profitably we may. I doubt not you have some friends in France, who (comforting themselves with their old subtle resolutions, of breaking any agreement as soon as it shall be in their power) do heartily wish (so there might be an act of oblivion for themselves) that the King would sign every article of the propositions.

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I concur fully with you in your zeal and conclusion in the case of alienating the Church Lands; but why have you contracted your consideration of the Church to that point only? Is your opinion altered in the point of discipline

discipline and government? if it be, let us dispute a little, for I would fain not be divided from you in that point. *A.D.* 1646.

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INDEED the business of Ireland is a very sad business. I cannot imagine the Marquis of Ormond will do any dishonourable thing; but I think he chose the better, rather to give it up to the Parliament, by which means it will at some time be restored to the Crown of England, than suffer it to be won by the Rebels. I wonder how his Lordship and my Lord Digby will dispose of themselves. My Lord Digby, when he found that I was not to be persuaded to go into France, most importunately urged me to go with him into Ireland; but (saving our old kindness to each other, which truly I think was hearty) our opinions of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and what was to be done in either, were so diametrically contrary, that I could not accompany him. Since, upon the conclusion of peace, I had most conjuring Letters from him and my Lord Lieutenant to repair thither; but I liked not the season of the year, and returned my answers by your honest Brother Butterworth, who I fear hath an ill journey of it. I pray send me word if you hear what is become of him. I believe your Protestants in France rather will not, than do not, understand the true state of the King's cause; and are more inclined to a Popular than Monarchial Government; but your English Clergy in France have neither language nor reputation to convince or reform them; and other of your friends have felt no more of the civil wars of England, than the Close-Committee hath done, and I believe have gotten little less than they by it.

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AND now I have run through all the particulars of your Letter, according to my laudable custom, I will tell you my own tale, hoping that you will give me hereafter occasion, by questions, to satisfy you in any particulars, especially if you have met with any misreports, or yourself have any misapprehensions of our general, or my particular demeanour since we parted; in both which truly I know nothing committed unfit for honest men, of competent understandings. After we had brought our young Master to this island, upon such grounds and reasons as were agreeable to our duties, and found this island so fit, and unquestionably secure for his abode, and the wisdom and integrity of the Governor (who is an excellent man and a right Gentleman) and the affections of the people so great and exemplar that within a week after his coming hither (he having not £ 20. in the world) they lent him 1500 Pistoles for his support and expence, we thought his Highness and ourselves very happy, and that he might in this entire part of his Father's dominions repose himself, 'till God should open a larger door for him, to a more princely Government; and that in the mean time he might not unprofitably for himself or his Father have spent his time here. But when his remove into France was so passionately and positively pressed, and against all the reasons we could, and did give not the least sober argument applied to us, but will and command, of those whom we thought ourselves not so implicitly obliged to obey, and when my Lord Jermyn and other of your friends had so far prevailed on his understanding and obedience, that he was resolved for his journey. We, who had in our souls much horror of the Counsel, and found that we could be of no further use to him, disagreeing in these principles by

*A.D.* 1646. which we ſaw the future courſe muſt be ſteered, reſolved (though we could not avoid the inconveniencies, nor, probably the imputation and cenſure) to preſerve ourſelves from the guilt of the reſolution, and ſo obtained a pardon for our further attendance. If you deſire to be further informed of any particulars, I ſhall do it; having kept a very exact memorial of all arguments and paſſages throughout that great (and I fear ſtill) fatal buſineſs.

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For our invitation to ſtay here, we had the extraordinary kindneſs and friendſhip of the Governor, (the moſt generous man in kindneſs, and the moſt dextrous man in buſineſs I have ever known) and his wife, a Lady worthy ſuch a huſband; who will not ſuffer us to want any thing we deſire. This, with the ſatisfaction of being in a loyal part of the King's dominions, and an expectation that the other honeſt baniſhed men would rather chuſe this corner, than the wilderneſs of a foreign Kingdom, and that ſo we might watch an opportunity, and it may be deviſe one, to ſerve our country, eaſily perſuaded us to ſtay here, where we have with wonderful contentment now enjoyed ourſelves full ſix months, ſince the Prince's remove. The death of my Lord of Eſſex bred that diſorder to my Lord Capel's eſtate, that for the drawing ſome friends to him to confer, and eſpecially to get his two eldeſt ſons over (neither of which could be compaſſed whilſt he ſtayed here) it was neceſſary for him to take a journey into Holland, where when he hath deſpatched, I believe he will be quickly with his old friends. In the mean time we have ſettled a correſpondence; ſo that here are only left my Lord Hopton and myſelf (beſides ſome very honeſt Gentlemen, Sir Edward Stawel, William Hinton, Auditor Kinſman and others) who make very much of one another, which they ſay our friends in France do not: and here we reſolve to ſtay. It is true, the iſland is not impregnable, yet I think not to be taken but by a very ſtrong army, bigger than your friends of England are like to ſpare 'till they have ſubdued Ireland and Scotland; and then we will betake ourſelves to the Caſtle, where the good Governor hath provided us good lodgings; and there we will ſtay till the three Kingdoms have recovered their underſtandings and honeſty. We make one very good meal a day, and go to Church Wedneſdays and Fridays, and have a good Sermon upon Sundays; for we have two or three very honeſt Engliſh Clergymen with us; and I think of my conſcience, you will hardly find ſo many that love one another of your Maſter's old ſervants, in either of his Kingdoms, taking France for one, as you may in Jerſey, where the honeſt Governor (who hath great gratitude to you, as to his firſt friend) provided a horſe for you; but it ſeems that hope is over. As ſoon as I found myſelf alone, I thought the beſt way to provide myſelf for new buſineſs againſt the time I ſhould be called to it (for, Mr. Secretary, you and I muſt once again to buſineſs) was to look over the faults of the old; and ſo I reſolved (which you know I threatned you with long ago) to write the hiſtory of theſe evil times, and of this moſt lovely Rebellion. Well; without any other help than a few diurnals I have wrote of longer paper than this, and in the ſame fine ſmall hand, above threeſcore ſheets of paper. I begin from the death of King James with thoſe accidents and errors which contributed and indeed were the grounds of all the ill that hath followed.

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I WRITE

I WRITE with all fidelity and freedom of all I know, of perſons and things, and the overſights and omiſſions on both ſides, in order to what they deſired; ſo that you will believe it will make mad work among friends and foes, if it were publiſhed; but out of it enough may be choſen to make a perfect ſtory, and the original kept for their peruſal, who may be the wiſer for knowing the moſt ſecret truths; and you know it will be an eaſier matter to blot out two ſheets, than to write half an one. If I live to finiſh it (as on my conſcience I ſhall, for I write apace), I intend to ſeal it up, and have it always with me. If I die, I appoint it to be delivered to you, to whoſe care (with a couple of good fellows more) I ſhall leave it; that either of you dying, you may ſo preſerve it, that in due time ſomewhat by your care may be publiſhed, and the original be delivered to the King, who will not find himſelf flattered in it, nor irreverently handled: though the truth will better become a dead than a living man. Three hours a day I aſſign to this writing taſk; the reſt to other ſtudy and books; ſo I doubt not after ſeven years time in this retirement, you will find me a pretty fellow. In earneſt I ſtudy hard, and, I thank God, was never better in body or mind in my life, and flatter myſelf with an opinion that even this retirement is not abſolutely unprofitable to the publick. Now I have told you this long tale, you are obliged to give me your advertiſements, and ſend me thoſe informations of all kinds, with which you can plentifully ſupply me. If I had my own papers which I left in Oxford, they would help me. I pray bethink yourſelf of the buſineſs of Ireland; and whatever you have of it, or can recollect upon your memory, ſend to me. I have ſent to London for many papers, books, and ſome records, which I have great hope of obtaining; and if I can ſettle a ſafe correſpondence with that opulent city, all will be well. I expect now from you that you tell me of all our old friends, who have failed in honeſty, and who in kindneſs; what they all intend to do, when the articles of Oxford are expired; what my Lord Keeper does, what my Lord Southampton, how his melancholy held out, and what he means to do; for ſure he cannot do ill. What is become of my Lord Kingſton? I take him to be well built. What do my Lord Marquis, Seymour, Dorſett, Chicheſter? What is become of my Lord Hatton? and what was his ſtory, for I never heard it? did the cloud vaniſh? or was there ſomewhat that ſtuck? I took notice that to your articles of Oxford, or any of thoſe tranſactions his hand was not; what was the reaſon of that? Where is Philip Warwick, Geoffry Palmer, the Solicitor? Does Bridgeman take the Covenant? and does the Attorney General rejoice? So much for queſtions, only you muſt tell me what your brother Dean and our honeſt friends of the Clergy do, where and how they live; when all is done, they muſt erect a College here in Jerſey. 'Tis time now to come nearer home, and to thank you for your infinite kindneſs to my wife, which I aſſure you ſhe acknowledges with all poſſible gratitude; and I doubt not but will teach her children to grow up in a firm affection to your family. Indeed I am ſo full of it, that I know now how to expreſs the ſenſe I have of it, only do give you my word, that it ſhall never be out of my memory. My wife hath by ſeveral Letters told me what money ſhe received, but theſe Letters are not by me. I pray ſend me word, whether I owe you 2 or 300 for though I am not ready to make you preſent payment, I ſhall take care that it ſhall not be a deſperate debt; and hope by degrees to pay you ſome, though not all together. I am not the leaſt loſer by the death of my Lord

*A.D.1646.*

*A.D.*1646. Eſſex; who had no contemptible ſum of money in his hands of mine, and would ſurely have paid me juſtly; how I ſhall be now dealt with I know not, and am afraid to enquire. This bearer is a truſty meſſenger, ſo that you ſee I write freely, without a cipher, and returns hither ſpeedily, and brings me a ream of paper; ſo that I ſhall be able hereafter to write you longer Letters, which at worſt will preſerve the memory of Sir John Pennington with you, or keep you in breath againſt you return to a correſpondence with Mr. Avery. I am neither ſatisfied with you, nor your Secretaries, that you part in thoſe neceſſities; they might have been kept as cheap as other ſervants; and being in England, they may be examined to your diſadvantage, and could not but know many things miſchievous to be publiſhed. Are they honeſt, and will they not be compelled to differve you? Why would you be brought to deliver up the Signet, which would have endured a different debate with any of the other Seals? Well, well; 'tis time to let you alone, and therefore if you will remember my ſervice to my Lady, and bring me acquainted with all your Children, I will let you alone 'till the next week, and then you ſhall hear more at large from, &c.

*Jerſey, 15th Nov.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord Treaſurer* COTTINGTON.

*My very good Lord,*

I RECEIVED your Lordſhip's of the 12th of November your ſtile, but yeſterday, it having lain ſome days at the water ſide by reaſon of the winds; which ſometimes in the winter give us a little interruption; otherwiſe, our letters go and come weekly with great ſecurity. 'Till the receipt of that I was not confirmed in your being or ſtaying at Rouen: otherwiſe you know, the not writing letters, or the writing ſhort letters, hath not been reckoned among my faults: Hereafter, you may be as ſure, that I am every Friday at 3 of the clock writing to your Lordſhip as you were heretofore that I would dine at Oriel College, when there was a paſty of Veniſon. I beſhrew the ſeveral perſons (for I truſted more than one) who undertook to give you particular advertiſements of our ſtay here, and particular information of the conſtitution and condition of this iſland, which I had a great opinion you would have choſen; and that being an approved good officer, you would have thought it nobler to have betaken yourſelf to one of the King's garriſons, than to the ſervice of a foreign Prince. And in this argument I conceive myſelf ſo eloquent, that if Rouen were not within one or two days journey of another village, which you would tell me I were obliged in good manners to viſit too, I would have been before this time with you, in confidence to have returned ſpeedily hither. The truth is, we are here a handful of very honeſt fellows, who love one another heartily (which they ſay is a charity not yet tranſlated into the language of the climate, in which you inhabit). This poor iſland being like St. Urſula's field by Cologn, where if you bury any body 10 fathom deep, if it be not a virgin the earth caſts it up within four hours: ſo here, who is not the ſame honeſt man he pretends to be, is in one night's ſpace rendered upon part of France. Indeed, I am abundantly ſatisfied with our condition here; and as our firſt reſolution of ſtaying here was not raſhly made, nor without conſideration

consideration of the possible and probable hazards and inconveniencies, so I believe we shall not be easily frighted away, but shall do our duties like very honest men, against what attempt soever. It is true, the island is not impregnable, though not to be taken by an ordinary force in any case, and in some cases not without a good army; then we betake ourselves to the Castles, where we have convenient accommodations, and the kindness of as generous a person, and as worthy a Lady, as I ever knew. Be assured there shall be nothing left undone here that becomes sober and honest men; and we shall think ourselves much the more secure, for the good advice and information we shall always receive from Rouen. Well; if I were my Lord Treasurer, and as learned in fortifications and approaches, as he is, I would not sleep well 'till I had built me a fine little lodging in this Castle, where I would see an end of all the villainy now acting in England; and in the mean time I would be contented with one of the huts that are already there. If you find not greater civilities from St. Germain's than your poor friends at Jersey have done, you will be weary of farther provoking them. Indeed, though their good natures have not much deceived me, their skill and prudence is not so miraculous as I expected. Oh my Lord, it breaks my heart to see that the hopes of the King and recovery of the Kingdom, must be carried on, and depend upon the Counsels and principles of a nation which hath brought all these miseries upon us, and I fear hath not a less fatal projection at this time upon the honour and interest of the King, than they have hitherto had. I confess the infamy that attends being so grossly cozened, is more grievous than the ruin itself. I presume my Lord Capel informed you of all passages here, before the Prince's going into France; and then I hope you do not believe us so faulty as I hear we are given out to be. As I am not wise enough to make any guess how your affairs in England (which I do not think were at a crisis) will go, so I cannot imagine why those Lords and other Gentlemen, who resolve not to take the Covenant, do stay in England, except they are of Jack Mince's mind, that a London Gaol and Drink &c. You will meet with the other part of the Song in your Bowling Green. I believe my Lord of Essex's death (which hath not happened without some inconvenience to myself) may discompose my Lord Marquis much in his resolution; but what intends my Lord Seymour? Will my Lord Southampton trust himself between the fears and jealousies of the Presbyterians and Independents? either of which party will be able to ruin whom they please, but cannot preserve any body, who keeps not a thorough pace with them. Methinks, your Independents are like butchers in a Fence-School; who with boisterous downright blows beat men from any guard or posture; and as there, he who uses most skill, shall receive most knocks; so they that guess at the intentions of the other, by the rules of reason, or precedents in story, will be furthest from what they mean. Without doubt, they are not a people to be compounded with; but having the same pride, ambition, and avarice, that other men have, and not suffering any rules or bonds to be applied to either, will be sooner oppressed, by their own confusion, than by the power of their adversaries. I told you in my last what I was doing here; which I did not only in discharge of the account I am always to give you of myself, but that I might receive some advertisements and directions from you. I remember your favourite Sir Toby Matthews once pretended a design of publishing a Volume and collection of choice English Letters for the honour of the nation; and under that title had the

*A.D.* 1646.

*A.D.* 1646. liberty of ranſacking many Ladies' cabinets, to whoſe beauties many addreſſes had been made by the moſt exquiſite ſpirits of the time; and ſo he grew to know many ſecrets, which otherwiſe he could never have arrived to. I have not had ſo good luck, having not been able yet to procure the contribution of one diurnal towards my great Volume: but now you and Mr. Secretary are ſo near me, I look for notable ſupplies.

We are in great impatience to hear at large from my Lord Capel, ſince his return from Paris. I hope you have ſettled a correſpondence with him whilſt he ſtays in Holland, which I cannot believe will be long. Has your Lordſhip any correſpondence with Newcaſtle? or do you hear particularly from the King? Your Pupil, my Lord Hopton, wants ſome good counſel from you, his head is ſo full of iſlands and plantations, to ſettle him: ſometimes he thinks of going againſt the Turk, to hinder him from joining with the Independents in England; ſometimes of going to ſea, to diſcover the errors of Hacklnitz's Voyages; and now he threatens me to write a whole letter of invectives againſt me, to you: preſuming that having been of the Spaniſh Faction before me, you will take his part. But I ſay you are bound by your place to protect me. I beſeech your Lordſhip preſent my ſervice to my Lord Ambaſſador; his nephew, I fear, either not doing at all, or more perfunctorily than is agreeable to the great value and eſtimation I have of him. Indeed I ſhall be in great pain, 'till I ſhall give myſelf ſome hope of finding a means to ſee you, being with a moſt entire and faithful heart

*Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*Jerſey, 15 Nov. 1646.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to Lady* Dalkeith.

THAT I hear not oftener from you I impute to the wind, which hath now kept us above theſe ten days from any correſpondence with Normandy; there having not come from thence in that time, one boat hither, and but one from hence thither. However, your writing or not, is no rule to me for the performance of my duty; therefore, if you have not every week a letter from me, you muſt conclude it is not my fault, for you may be as ſure that I am writing to you every friday, as you might be ſure I would be with you, if it were in my power, that is, if it were convenient and fit; and in this ſenſe, conveniency and fitneſs are not improper expreſſions. My man is at laſt returned with great good news to me, which is, with incredible ſtories of my wife's courage and magnanimity; and, that though ſhe be like to want every thing, ſhe will be caſt down with nothing. Indeed whilſt I hear that ſpirit in my friends, I ſhall be very well: but when that fails, I fear temptations, for believe it, whoever is extremely dejected with this affliction, is finding and projecting ways to get out of it; and that projection will quickly rob us of our innocence, which is the only juſt and juſtifiable argument of our hope and confidence in God Almighty. For if we think to ſuppreſs Rebellion or recover our miſerable Country, by perjury, or to recover ourſelves, or our eſtates, without recovering and reforming our Country, we ſhall do more prejudice to the good cauſe we have ſuffered for, than they have done who oppreſs us; and make it evident that

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it prospered not better, because (which on my conscience is the true cause) it was in the hands of persons void of all Religion and Integrity. For if we ever had any, how comes it to fail us now? For God's sake send me word that you are well in health, and that you are so well in conscience, that no unkind usage (which I hope you will not meet with) can rob you of any of that ease and quiet which is due to you. I do not know why you should not take an opportunity to write to Duke Hamilton in your own behalf, to do you justice with my Lord of Morton and that Family, in the observation of the agreement between you. You have never written me word, whether you hear at all from your husband, and how matters stand there. God of Heaven make you happy, whatever becomes of,

*A.D.* 1646.

*&c.*

*Jersey, the 20th of Nov.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by himself.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it please your Majesty,*

AS soon as his Highness left this island, my Lord Capel, my Lord Hopton, and myself, presented our duty, and an account of ourselves to your Majesty, and besought your Majesty's commands how to dispose ourselves to your service. Whether that humble address of our's had ever the happiness to be presented to your Majesty, I know not. The bearer hereof goes with more confidence of admission into those quarters, than many other very good men can yet entertain, who wait the opportunity with the same alacrity and devotion; and therefore I thought it very agreeable to my duty, by this, or any other possible occasion to cast myself at your Majesty's feet, with the confidence of a man that hath never deceived the least trust reposed in him by your Majesty, or committed any fault against you. And therefore presuming that I am not, by the public misfortunes fallen in any degree from your Majesty's gracious acceptation, I am so far from begging your leave to wait on you (though it be the only happiness I am capable of in this world) that I beseech your Majesty not to vouchsafe the least thought or consideration of me, when it may collaterally give any interruption to what may else seem useful to your service; and not being able to make any alteration in myself in those opinions (which your Majesty hath heretofore allowed me the freedom of) which I perceive grow every day more obsolete, I think myself much fitter for contemplation, than action; and flatter myself with an opinion, that I am doing your Majesty some service, in this excellent island, whilst I am preparing the story of your sufferings, that posterity may tremble at the reading of what the present age blushes not to execute. Amongst your Majesty's prosperous Councils (since these distractions) there are very few, in which you have greater cause to rejoice, than your disposing this island to the government of this prudent and dextrous Lieutenant Governor, who reduced it not with greater skill and discretion, than he hath kept it. Your Majesty will easily believe every loss you have sustained in England, hath increased the difficulties of preserving this, it depending and subsisting so absolutely by the trade of wool from thence, with which the manufacture of stockings is supported. And therefore, if by your Majesty's command any expedient might be found for supplying of wool from the North of England, it would be a sure way to

*A.D.* 1646. compoſe all fears and apprehenſions here; and a little encouragement from thence would quickly reduce the iſland of Guernſey, the Caſtle being ſtill in your Majeſty's obedience. I need not preſent to your Majeſty the importance of theſe two iſlands, being ſo well known to your Majeſty to be a principal foundation of your Sovereignty in the narrow ſeas. But if either the Rebels ſhould be able to gain them, or (which is worſe, for whatever the Rebels do get, will infallibly in God's good time revert to the Crown of England) ſome foreign State ſhould poſſeſs them, upon the advantage of the civil diſtractions, your Majeſty's loſs would be unſpeakable, and in that laſt caſe the damage to the Crown of England, irreparable; and which no glorious ſucceſs at home would ever repair. But a very little care this winter will prevent any poſſible inconveniencies.

GOD of Heaven preſerve your Majeſty's perſon, in whom we all live, and your honour, the fame and renown whereof is the ſalvation of this world, and your conſcience, upon which the hope of the next depends; and then all afflictions will be ſupportable.

*Sir,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful*

*and moſt obedient Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman; endorſed thus by Lord Clarendon,* "My Letter of the 21ſt of Nov. 1646. "to his Majeſty; never delivered." *

## *The* QUEEN *to his* MAJESTY.

*Mon cher Coeur,* *St. Germaine ce* $\frac{13}{23}$ *No.*

DEPUIS ma derniere lettre par l'ordinaire, j'ay receue une des voſtres, par laquelle vous mandes que W. Murray vous demand des nouveaux pouvoirs, & vous perſuade de prendre le Covenant. J'ay eſté ravie de voir que vous eſtes ſi reſolus a ne le pas faire. Car pour moy, je ſuis d'avis que vous eſtes ruinés ſi vous le faites. C'eſt pourquoy je vous conjure de continuer firm dans ceſte reſolution. Et prenes garde auſſi dans autres choſes de vous laiſſer aller petit a petit, comme ſont les eſperances de ceux de Londre, & s'en tiennent aſſeurés que vous leur accorderes toutes leurs propoſitions inſenſiblement. Et j'apprehende, & avec raiſon, que leur deſſein eſt de ſe ſervir de moy pour noſtre ruine, & de me faire travailler aupres de vous autant que ſe peut. Car ils ſont bien aſſeurés que je n'iray plus loin que ce que je crois ne vous peut pas faire du mal; comme j'ay fait, conſiderant le temps ou nous ſommes. Mais eux ſous ombre de cela pretendent gaigner le reſte de tout ce qu'ils deſirent. C'eſt pourquoy, ſoies tousjours ſur vos gardes, & prenes une conſtante reſolution de ne plus rien accorder du tout plus que ce que vous avés fait par W. Murray, quoyque l'on vous puiſſe perſuader, ſi ce n'eſt dans le governement Presbiterinall; dans lequel je crois vous deves contenter les Eſcoſſois, pourveu qu'ils ſe veulent joindre avec vous, ou pour une bonne paix, ou pour une Guerre. J'avoue que je ne le voudrois pas donner pour rien, comme vous aves fait pour 3. Ans; & permettes moy de vous dire, que je crois, ſi je ne pouvois diſpenſer d'une choſe que je croiois contre ma conſcience pour 3. Ans, & pour rien, j'irois plus loin pour ſauver mon Royaume. Mais pour toutes autres choſes, n'accordes plus rien.

* *It appears by another Letter that Colonel Collins did not go.*

Vous n'aves desja que trop accordé en la donation des toutes les places. Vous devies garder cela, pour en tirer quelque profit a la fin de tout, & vous leur aves donné a cette heure pour rien ; auſſi que les Eveſques pour 3. Ans. J'entend que W. Murray deſire que vous authoriſies leur grand ſçeau, qui eſt une choſe que vous ne deves jamais faire ; car en ce faiſant vous confeſſes & attires ſur vous les malheurs d'Angleterre : Et ſi dans une concluſion du tout il eſtoit trouvé á propos de le faire, il faudroit que ce ſoit pour quelque choſe de fort avantageux, que je ne vois point encore. Mais s'en eſt fait de l'un, il ne faut pas faire l'autre ; & taches a remedier a ce qui eſt fait ; qui eſt, de ne plus rien accorder de d'avantage. J'oſerois dire que, quand vous aves fait ce Meſſage que vous aves, ne faire rien fort deſavantageux pour vous, & que vous aves eſté trompés. C'eſt pourquoy il faut avoir un grand ſoign. Voici le dernier coup de la parti, & ſans reſource, ſonges y tousjours ; & je repete encore, de ne plus rien accorder, & tout ſouffrir pluſtoſt que de donner la Militia autrement que vous aves fait ; ou d'abandonner vos Amis, ſous ombre de leur faire du bien, comme l'on vous pourra perſuader ; ni Irland, (je la conſidere comme une reſource) ; de ne point prendre le Covenant ; ne point approuver leur grand ſçeau, ni nullifier le voſtre. A Dieu, mon cher Coeur !

Vous ne deves non plus impoſer le Covenant aux autres, que de la prendre vouſmeſme. Car tous ceux qui le prenderont jurent de punir tous ceux qui ſont Delinquents, & cela eſt tous ceux de voſtre parti, & moy la premiere.

*A Copy, by the King, taken probably from the Original in Cipher ; endorſed by him,* "From "my wyfe $\frac{21}{11}$ Nov. receaved $\frac{8}{21}$ Dec. Nov. to be kept."

*His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN.

*Dear Hart, Newcaſtell, Saterday,* 21 *No.*

ALBEIT that, in writing to thee, preambles (as to the ordinarie uſe of procuring favorable attention) ar not needful ; yet before I anſwer to thy two laſt letters I aſſeure that I clearle ſee it is thy affection to me which makes thee preſſe me to doe that which is ſo unpleaſant to me. Wherfor be confident, that no man can ſtuddy any thing more then I have and ſhall alwaiſe do to give thee all contentment. For if my judgement were as perfect as my love to thee, I might with reaſon pretend infallebility ; howſoever, I hope my errors in the former will be excuſed by the latter. And yet I muſt tell thee, that I am confident that it is only miſinformation or miſtakings which cauſes in moſt things our differing in opinion. For am not I miſtaken, when thou apprehends that I have but a ſmale eſtimation of the Militia ? Muſt my heightening the cauſe of Religion, be the abaſing of the other ? No, ſweet hart ; for I will defy the cunningeſt ſofiſter to prove by any of my letters, that I ever ſhewed the leaſt inclination in yealding any thing concerning the Militia, more then thou would have me. Indeed, I am ſtill of opinion, that, except Religion be preſerved, the Militia will not be much uſefull to the Crowne : Nay, without that, this will be but a ſhaddow. For though it be moſt true, that the transferring of the right of the Militia unto the two Houſes, dethrones the King, yet the re-

*A.D.* 1646. taining of it is not of so much consequence (I am far from saying, none) as is thought, without the concurrence of other things: Because the Militia here is not, as in France and other Countries, a formed powerfull strength; but it serves more to hould off ill then to doe much good. And certainly, if the pulpits teach not obedience, which will never be, if Presbiterian governement be absolutly setled, the Crowne will have littel comfort of the Militia. But my resolution is fixed never to part with the least title of right to the Militia, or to admit of any copartners with me in it.

Next, I am much mistaken about my three years concession of Presbiteriall Governement: For nether was it extorted from me by importunety, or fynding out the discovery of a new necessety; nor have I therby any whit abandoned the great and not to be forsaken argument of my conscience. For, upon my faith to thee, my earnest desyre of giving thee satisfaction was the cheefe (I may say, only) cause that made me fynde out this way; to show thee (and, as I thought, demonstratively) that the Scots will not joyne with me but upon such conditions, as are distructive to Monarchy: For if it wer not for adhering to the Covenant, this could not but content them. Then, for my disclaiming the argument of my conscience by this offer, it is so strange a construction, that it is made by none that I can heare of, whether at London, Edenbourgh, or this place; but, by the contrarie, my constancy to Religion is, by this, the more belived by every boddy; and I never hard that any right was given over, so long as the claime was kept afoote: Which certainely in this case is clearly done by the debate of Divines (whereof 20 of my chusing) how the Church shall be governed; the determination thereof being kept free to me and the two Houses. So that, if my conscience be injured, I can lay the blame on nothing but on my owen want of courage.

Now, as for those things in which thou and I do fully concur in judgement, as not abandoning my frends, nor taking the Covenant, &c. the naming of them, I hope, is anufe to assеure thee of my constancie; seing thou art only afrayed that I may be cousened in them, as I was concerning the perpetwall Parlament. Indeed, with greefe I must acknowledge the instance; nor can I promis not to doe the lyke againe, when I shall, as I then did, suffer myselfe to sinn against my conscience. For the trueth is, I was surprised with it instantly after I made that basse unworthy concession concerning Straford; for which, and lykewais for that great wronge and unjustice to the Church, of taking away the Bishops' votes in Parlament, I have been most justly punished. Yet I hope that God will so accept of my harty, however weake, repentance, and my constant adhering to my conscience, that at last his mercy will take place of his justice. But a new relaps (such as abjuration of Episcopacy, or my engagement, without reserve, for the perpetwall establishing of Presbiteriall Governement) will both procure God's further wrath upon me, as also make me inconstant in all my other grounds, such a negligent dispaire must in such a case possesse my spirit. Wherfor, dear hart, albeit thou may be sorry for my perswasion, yet I know that what I have sayd will make thee desyre me, rather to be constant, then change my resolution. And the rather, because thou wilt fynd that what thou desyres me to doe will not produce the expected effects. For if I can judge of any thing, the Scots will not engage for me, except I promis to establish the Covenant (and in this opinion the Ambassador and Montereull fully concurs with me), to which I belive thou wilt not per-

fwade

ſwade me. This is the ground, which hath made me (as thou haſt rightly obſerved) draw my anſwer rather conducing to a peace, then to pleaſe the Scots; who, I am confident, will not aſſiſt me but upon conditions, diſtructive to regall authority. So that, under favor, I think not to have ſwarved from my firſt foundations, the contenting of the Scots being only in relation to theire aſſiſting me. *A.D.*1646.

ALL this I have ſet doune rather to cleare my conſcience to thee, then out of any hope of drawing thee to my opinion, or freing myſelfe, in thy judgement, from the heavy ſenſure of diſtroying by my willfulneſs all that is deare unto me. Upon which conſideration, I have preſſed the Ambaſſador to goe to the Scots Parlament, in perſuance of that way which thou haſt laid doune to mee; but indeed upon condition, that I ſhould have nothing to doe with the performance of any capitulation he was to make, more then to give 364 full power to exerciſe my authority. This he hath abſolutly refuſed, as not having power to engage for any body but myſelfe; beſyds, that it is againſt his judgement, that I ſhould upon any termes put off my authority, though it were but for a tyme. Now upon this, my verry earneſt deſyre to thee is, eather to procure the Ambaſſador a command to accept this my offer, or elſe that thou wilt hartily joyne in my way without further diſpute. And really, I ſhall be glad for the trying of thy owen way according to my offer; becauſe I am moſt confident that within verry ſhort tyme I ſhall be recaled with much honnor, and all my frends will ſee that I have nether a fooliſh or piviſh conſcience. Whereas otherwais I ſhall (I know not how long) lye under (excuſe me to ſay it) an unjuſt ſlander.

I CANNOT end this tedious letter without conjuring thee, by all that is deare unto thee, that thou wilt ſeriouſly conſider all that I have now written unto thee; being confident, that as thou canſt not miſtruſt my affection, ſo at laſt thou wilt not much blame the judgement of him who is eternally

*Thyne.*

I HAVE newly receaved thyne of 16 of No. but have not yet decyfered it.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To my Wyfe 21 No. by London. To be kept."

## *The* QUEEN *to his* MAJESTY.

*My deare hart,* *No.* $\frac{20}{30}$. *St. Jermain.*

DAVENANT hath given me a large account of the buſineſs where you are; upon which I muſt conclude with more feare then hope. Yet I may belive that if the Scots could fynd ſecureity in performing theire duty, they will not conſent to deſert you, much leſs baſely to deliver you up to them at Weſtminſter. That which they have propoſed concerning the coming of perſons from me to you (upon the occaſion of giving you ſatisfaction, and receiving the lyke from you) may be of great uſe to your affaires in many reſpects; therefore I have appointed him (by a Letter to W. Murray, who will acquaint you with the particulars) to encorage them in it; that they may again invite thoſe perſons with ſuch aſſeurances as are fitt for theire ſafty, and the buſineſs. Pray doe your part therin; and it

*A.D.* 1646. may be an eaſe to you to refer the conſideration of other things (unfitt for you ether to grant or deny) to theire coming. The laſt night I receaved your's of the 1 of Nov. and your other melancholy one to Jer. Cul. and A. † together with the copy of the anſwer to the Propoſitions ſent you from London. To the later I am very ready to give you my opinion, which is, that you were better at once to grant all the propoſitions than ſend this, it being in effect the ſame thing; only with this difference, that in the other there is theire ingenuity of plain dealing in aſking, and your grace in granting; but in this there is the reproach of deſygne to couſen you into what they would have. For by it you do no leſs than totally abandon yourſelfe, your authoryty and your frends; therfore I ſhall therein rely upon the promis of your conſtancy to thoſe principles which alone can preſerve you.

For the other (your ſad propoſition) it is of that nature that you muſt not expect any preſent anſwer. I have appointed L. Jer. and L. Cul. (for J. A. is immediatly to goe to the Haghe, the Jewells [which] will otherways be loſt, and to ſetle a frendſhip between P. C. and P. of Or.) to attend Car. Maz. and to take his opinion concerning that buſineſs, and then you ſhall heare farther from me by an expreſs. In the mean tyme communicat it to no body elſe; for it may be miſinterpreted. I have one thing more to ad, which is to conjure you that 'till the Scots ſhall declare that they will not protect you, you doe not thinke of making any eſcape from Eng. They are ſtartled heere at the naming of it; and in ſo doeing you would deſtroy all our hopes (beſydes the danger in the attempt) in the generall peace, which ‡ well aſſeurs me is lyke to be made very ſuddainly. This is all for the preſent. God keep you, my deare hart.

*A Copy, by the King, probably taken from the Original in Cipher; endorſed by him,* "From "my Wyfe $\frac{1}{10}$ No. receaved $\frac{8\text{ Dec.}}{28\text{ No.}}$ to be "kept, being the advyce, not ſtur before," &c.

*Heads committed to Monſieur* RINUCCINI, *the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland, to be performed in Ireland, with power to add, or diminiſh them, according to the ſtate of the preſent affairs, and according to the occurrences which may be beſt known in thoſe parts.*

I. THAT the King of Great Britain, effectually grant to the Kingdom of Ireland, the free and publick exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion, permitting that the Eccleſiaſtic Hierarchy be reſtored, together with all the Churches, and goods, to the Catholicks; conformably to the right of the ſaid Religion. And as for the Monaſteries pretended to have been releaſed to the Poſſeſſors, by the Cardinal Pole, Legate in the time of the Queen Mary, let it be conſulted with the free Parliament of Ireland, what may, and what ought to be done. As alſo of the three Biſhopricks, Dublin, and the two others, which are found in the hand of the Heretic Proteſtants under the obedience of the King.

II. THAT his Majeſty annul and revoke all the penal laws, and others at any time made againſt the ſaid Catholicks, in conſideration of the Religion, from the beginning of the defection of Henry the VIII. until this preſent day.

† *Neither of the Letters here mentioned occur in the Collection.*
‡ *Here ſeems to be a Name omitted, probably Car. Maz.*

III. THAT

III. That for a greater eſtabliſhment of the free and public exerciſe of the Catholick Religion, and for a greater aſſurance and ſecurity of the revocation of all the ſaid laws, the King grant a free Parliament in Ireland, not depending from that of England. *A.D.* 1646.

IV. That the command of the Kingdom of Ireland, and the chiefeſt offices, be put in the hands of the Catholicks, and that the Catholicks be equally capable of, and promoted to the offices, honours and dignities of the kingdom, as hitherto the Proteſtants have been.

V. That the King put in the hand of the Iriſh Catholicks, or at leaſt of the Engliſh Catholicks approved of by the higheſt Council of Ireland, the place of Dublin, and the two others, which are held under his Majeſty's name in Ireland.

VI. That he may join his forces with thoſe of the Iriſh, to drive the Scots and Parliamentarians out of Ireland.

VII. These things being done by the King, together with what may be in Ireland added or diminiſhed from theſe Heads by Monſieur Rinuccini, his Holineſs is content to pay unto the Queen of Great Britain One hundred thouſand Crowns of Roman money.

VIII. That the ſaid King revoke all the laws made againſt the Catholicks of England, and particularly the two oaths of ſupremacy and of allegiance, in ſuch a manner as they may enjoy the goods, honours, freedom and prerogatives, which other Lords of the Kingdom do enjoy; ſo that, the being Catholicks, bring no kind of prejudice unto them. And that in the firſt Parliament, or other eſtabliſhment of the affairs of England, his Majeſty ſhall cauſe the ſaid revocation to be confirmed and approved, and ſo that they may really enjoy all kind of equality with the Proteſtants.

IX. That the King may agree and the ſupreme Council of Ireland, to conduct in England the body of an army of twelve thouſand foot, under Captains and Officers Iriſh; unto which ſhall join three thouſand, or at leaſt two thouſand five hundred horſes Engliſh, under Catholick Captains, with conditions to help one another amongſt themſelves, about the government of the army, ports of diſembarking, and places of ſecurity, that ſhall be judged juſt and convenient.

X. When the ſaid forces ſhall be entred into England, and united together in ſome part thereof, his Holineſs ſhall pay the firſt year one hundred thouſand Crowns, of Roman money, every month, the proportion thereof, to follow afterwards the ſecond year, and the third, according as the ſaid forces ſhall behave themſelves, and according to the progreſs that the ſaid armies ſhall make.

XI. And finally, becauſe the firſt ſix Heads may be ſuddainly effected, his Holineſs ſhall notwithſtanding expect for the execution thereof ſix months after the date of theſe preſents; and for the eighth and ninth, which, may be, require more time, he ſhall after the ſix months, expect four months more, beyond which his Holineſs will not be bound to this preſent promiſe. In Rome, the 30. day of November 1646.

Camillo Cardinale Panfilio.

*A Tranſlation from a Copy in Italian, endorſed thus by Lord Clarendon,* "The "Pope's Promiſes by Sir Ke. Digby, "Novemb. 1646."

*A.D.*1646.

*The* QUEEN *to his* MAJESTY.

*Mon cher Coeur,* *Paris, De.* $\frac{1}{11}$.

J'AY recue voſtre lettre daté du 14 No. avec voſtre reſponſe aux Propoſitions de Lond. qui m'ont fort ſurpriſée de voir que vous aves accordé la Milice pour 10 Ans entre les mains du Parl, & non pas ſelon que vous nous avions eſcrit ſi ſouvent; qui eſtoit, de leur permettre la nomination de perſonnes; ainſi le pouvoir eut demeuré tousjours entre vos mains, ou a cette heure ils ont tout entier. Et par cela auſſi vous leur aves confirmé le Parl. pour 10 Ans; qui eſt autant a dire, que nous [*ne*] verrons jamais une fin a nos malheurs. Car tant que le Parl. durera, vous n'eſtes point Roy. Et pour moy, je ne remettray pas le pied en Ang. Et avec le biais que vous aves accordé la Milice, vous vous eſté coupé la gorge. Car leur ayant donné ce pouvoir, vous ne leur pouves plus rien refuſer, pas meſme ma vie s'ils vous la demandent; mais je ne me mettray pas entre leur mains. J'oſerois dire que ſi vous euſſies ſuivi nos Avis, que vos affaires ſeroient dans un autre eſtat, qu'ils ne ſont. J'eſpere que vos offres [*ne*] les ſatisferont pas a Londres; & ſi nous ſommes ſi heureus que cela ſoit, je vous conjure pour la derniere fois, de ne plus accorder rien du tout. Si vous tenes bon, je vois une apparence de retour a nos affaires; mais abſolument, il ne faut rien plus accorder que ce que vous aves fait, puiſqu'il n'y a plus moyen de le rappeller. Et s'il eſt encore poſſible de rappeller la Milice hors de mains du Parl. & que ces propoſitions ne ſoient pas encore parties, ne le pas faire. Mais s'ils le ſont, & ſoient refuſés, de ne plus hazarder de leur de donner de cette façon, quelque condition que vous puiſſies jamais avoir pour cela. Je vous ay ecrit tant de fois la deſſus, de ne plus rien accorder, & inſenſiblement vous vous engages a le faire. Croyes vous que lors que je vois que vous eſtes ſi reſolu dans l'affaire d'Eveſques, & ſi peu dans ce qui vous concerne & voſtre Poſterité, que je n'ay pas des grands deſeſpoirs, apres vous avoir ſi ſouvent adverti comme j'ay fait, & que cela ne produiſe rien? Voici pour la derniere fois que je vous dirai encore, que ſi vous accordes d'avantage, vous eſtes perdu, & je ne retournerai jamais en Eng. mais j'irai prier Dieu pour vous. Vous demandes mon opinion pour l'affaire d'Irland: Je vous en ay eſcrit desja pluſieurs fois. Il ne faut point abandonner Irland, ſi premierement vous ne voies une paix & advantageuſe & aſſeurée, mais dire la reponſe que nous vous avons mandé. Je m'eſtonne que les Irlandois ne ſe donnent a quelque Roy eſtranger; vous les y forceres a la fin, ſe voiants offerts en ſacrifice. Je me remets a L. Jer. & L. Cul. a vous dire d'avantage, & auſſi a Mons^r. Bellievre, qui recevera des ordres de France tres advantageuſes pour vous. Et ſi vous voules eſtre auſſi reſolu dans l'affaire de la Milice, que vous eſtes pour les Eveſques, j'eſpere que tout ira bien encore. Pour le Covenant, je ne vous puis donner conſeil de l'impoſer ſur perſonne. Je crois qu'il y a autant de mal de le faire prendre aux autres, qu'a ſoymeſme; & je crois que vous ne le pouves prendre ſans vous perdre. Soies donc conſtant la dedans, comme auſſi de ne vous fier a nul promeſſe que l'on vous puiſſe faire pour la ſeureté de vos Amis, que par un Acte d'Oblivion. Je finis, ayant priſe Medecine, priante Dieu de vous aſſiſter. Adieu, mon cher Coeur!

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher.*

*The*

*A.D.* 1646.

*The Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,* *Paris, De.* $\frac{1}{11}$.

MONSIEUR Bellievre is directed by Car. Maz. [*to*] ſhew you his Diſpach, by which you will perceave [*how*] much he is ſtartled at the aprehenſions, that your over earneſt deſyre of going to London will engage you in thoſe things which will uterly deſtroy both your intereſt and hops, and with them Monarchy itſelfe in all your Kingdomes; as lykeways how deſyrous this Crowne is to give you ſuch reall aſſiſtance, and the aſſeurance thereof to them with whom your M. is, as, if they ſhall not faile on theire parts, may rendre your recovery verry hopefull. That which we have particularly in charge from Q. E. is to obſerve to you, how dangerous the variations in your intended anſwer from that other ſent to you from hence, may prove to you; and thereupon, to offer to you ſome expedients, which may hapily conduce to the remedy thereof. Therein the principall difference is that of the Militia. Our former anſwer perſues the preamble (which boldly avowes both your right and the abſolut neceſſety of it, as to Kingſhip itſelfe, and only gives way to a temporary ſecurity) and places the Militia by power derived from you, as to that ſecurity, only in perſons to be nominated by the Houſes, and lyable to a truſt for you as well as for them. But your preſent anſwer places that power of the ſword in the verry body of the Parl. who will not receave it as a power granted upon truſt, but declaratively (for the penning of the act is to be theirs) as to theire full right, excluding your's. Nether will your clauſe of Q. Eliz. and King James his tyme ſecure you from this danger; the Parlament boldly (but moſt injuriouſly) affirming upon diverſe occaſions (and particularly at the treaty of Uxbridge) that nether of thoſe Princes, nor any other Kings of Eng. ſince *Magna Carta*, had any legall Right, but only an uſurpation, in the Militia: So that having deveſted yourſelfe of the power of the ſword (without which the Kingly office ſignefyes verry litle) and placed [*it*] in the body of the Parl. (in this caſe your profeſſed Competitours) it will be underſtood that therby you have acknowledged the Supreme Power to be in that body (to which no particular perſons ſo nominated could have any poſſible coulor of pretext). And of what dangerous conſequence ſuch miſtakes would be, we all dreade to thinke. Nether have you hope that a body ſo poſſeſt of Soverainety for 10. years, will be afterwards diſtinguiſht out of it. The former anſwer with great care was ſo penned, that we might juſtly be confident, that they whoſe ambitions looked after this tree of life, ſo fynding it placed in particular perſons, and not in theire own body, would therfor refuſe your Grace; whereby you ſhould have the full benefitt of that moſt reaſonable offer for ſecurity, and yet no prejudice by the offer itſelf; but theire temptation is now ſo great, that, if they ſhall let ſlip the opportunity, you ought to rekon it among your greateſt deliverances. The advyce which we moſt confidently offer to you, is, that, if your anſwer be not ſent, you ſhould not in this point exceed one title of the former; and, if it be ſent, that, if they ſhall formaliſe upon it, preſſing what they demand in the propoſitions, ether conducing to farther tyme or power, or refuſing to conſent to your coming to London with honor, ſafty and freedome; that then, in ether of thoſe caſes, you upon no termes proceed farther in that offer; but thereby accounting yourſelfe free from it, carfully avoid all occaſions of being drawen to this

*A.D.* 1646. ſtake againe. But if they ſhall frankly accept of what you have offred, all you have to doe, is, by the power of the Scots and the Presbiterians (who probably will fynd theire intereſt [*in*] aſſiſting you heerin againſt the Independants) to endevor to have this *why not* forgiven you. We are lykewais in pain for your leſſe ſeaſonable abandoning the whole Iriſh nation, and your hops in them in caſe of a war (without which, to deal plainly with you, we expect litle good). But all we can ſay in that particular, is, that, if the meſſage be not ſent, you ought to remedy it, if it be gone, and refuſed upon other points, it will remedy itſelfe: Otherwais, you may poſſibly, if you come to debate it, be admitted to ſome ſuch qualifications of your generall words as may mitigat the ſafety † of them. Som things in your anſwer we acknowledge ar much mended; as your making your coming to London in honor, freedome and ſafty, to paſſe thoſe acts, to be a condition to them, and your demand of a generall act of oblivion. But why you ſhall feare to demand the taking of the innocent oathe of allegence (we confeſs ſomething is to be ſaid to that of ſupremacy) as ſeſonable as undoutedly legall, we cannot imagen. Our wiſh ſtill is, if the Scots will really declare for you, that you would yet ſatisfy them more frankly in the Presbitery (though we cannot ſee what they can object againſt the ſame tyme which theire ordinance limited; but we fynd litle cauſe why (if ther intentions are ſincere) they ſhould preſſe you about the Covenant, and no ſufficient reaſon why you ſhould ſatisfy thoſe their importune demands.

We ſhould ‡ not returne to you any anſwer to the ſad propoſition you ſent us, but that you are pleaſed to lay your ſtrict commands upon us: And all we now reply, is, that though it muſt be acknowledged you have by it made many expreſſions of kyndeneſs and tenderneſs, yet it being no other [*than*] the iſſue of your more melancoly thoughts, it ought not any more to be reſumed, much leſſe to be communicated to any perſon, it being verry lyable to dangereous miſinterpretations.

Least Mr. de Bellievre might not be with you, you may take notice, he now re[*ce*]aves order from Car. Maz. to aſſure the Scots not only as he hath done before, verbally, but to enter into a reall treaty with them, and ſygne in the name of France theſe aſſurances; that when the Ge. peace (which is now dayly expected) ſhall be made, France will openly declare for you, and that without relation to any thing required of the Scots; that in caſe the Scots ſhall declare for you, then France will alſo declare, though the Ge. peace be not made, and furniſh the Scots, as ſoone as they ſhall declare, with the ſume of an hundred thouſand piſtols, and doe, [it] beſyds, all other things that are the conſequences of a declaration.

Theire is one conſideration of importance in the grant of the Militia to perſons for 10. years, relating to the continuance of the Parl. during that tyme, which is not incerted here, becauſe you will fynd it at large in Q. E. lettre. One other thing wee deſyre you never to forget; which is, if after any terme of years you agree that it ſhall be in the King and Parl. it will be the ſame thing as if you had grant[*ed*] it to the Parl. only, they claiming the interpretation of all things, and affirming that [*the*] King is ſuppoſed alwais to be preſent with them and concluded in and by them. Such theire affirmations (they having had 10 years poſſeſſion) will be authority enough for the continuance of it for ever.

† *MS.* ‡ *MS.* ſhall.

The

THE verſes of ſcripture recommended to our reading by you, doe (according to the fate of all texts of ſcripture) receave different interpretations amongſt us; ſo that, without your coment upon them, we are not able to returne any anſwer to you. *A.D.* 1646.

*Your moſt humble*

*and obedient Servants.*

PRINCE Rupert is choſen Ge. of all the Eng. Forces heere. Q. E. and P. C. have anſwered for your conſent; and therupon he hath alreddy accepted of it, deſyring your leave.

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher; endorſed by him,* "From "L. Jer. and L. Cul. $\frac{1}{11}$ De. re $\frac{10}{20}$."

## *The* QUEEN *to his* MAJESTY.

*The* 14. *of De.*

THIS day I received your's of the 21. to which being ſtreightened in tyme I ſhall anſwer in Eng. that it may be ſooneſt put into cypher. In the firſt place, you conclud right, that nothing but the abundance of my love could make me take upon me the harſher part of preſſing things which are inacceptable to you. But where I find your intereſt ſo much concerned as it is in your preſent reſolution, I ſhould be faultier then you, if I would ſuffer you to reſt in ſuch an error as would prove fatall to you. Therefore you may ſafly belive that no duty which I performe to you is accompanied with more kyndneſs then when I oppoſe thoſe opinions. I acknowledge that miſtakes ar the grounds of our differences in opinion; otherwais you would not ſo confidently thinke that your An. to the Propoſitions ſent me laſt weeke, grants nothing about the Militia but according to the advice you have had from hence. Therin I ſhall refer you to the duplicat heerewith ſent you; to which I will only add my deſyres that you will carfully compare the draught ſent you from hence with the other; and then you will find to what purpoſe the preamble ſerves, and what care there was taken here to make it and the grant to perſons of truſt to be of a peice. If your meſſage be not gone, there is no hurt done: If it be, get off from this rock as well as you can, according to the advice in thoſe duplicats, and to your reſolution expreſſed in your letter, not to admit any copartners therein. Touching the pulpits and Pref. governement, &c. I not any more enter into diſput with you; finding that arguments of that nature have nether done you nor your buſineſs any good: Only I may conclud that if your offer ſhall not ſatisfy the Presbiterians, whom you deſire to make your's, you muſt begin againe, or leave the worke undone. Nether can you expect this your ſubtillty in reſerving the laſt determination after three years to you and the two Houſes, will doe the feate; no; they with whom you have to doe † will be cunning enough to put you [*to*] explaine yourſelfe. I ſhall reſt confidently upon your reſolution now expreſſed touching your frends, becauſe you ſufficiently know how much your honor and juſtice as well as policy is in the caſe. All I deſyre therein is, that you recede not from your de-

† *MS.* you haſt tell doe.

A.D. 1646. mand of [*a*] generall act of oblivion; for nothing leſs can ſecure you and them. The lyke was done to you in Scotland; which will be a generall preſident here. For the Covenant, you know my opinion; after the entire conſideration of it, we both fully agree therin; nether, as we are advertiſed from London, will it be ſtifly inſiſted upon there; yet poſſibly if the Scots ſhall prevail, * and that only difference were in the caſe, they may conſent to ſuch alterations in it as may ſatisfy all of us, and confirme ſuch a conjunction as you ought to deſyre. Therfor I againe deſyre you, upon conference with Will. Murray, or otherwiſe, to uſe your utmoſt endevurs that ſome [*per*]ſons may be admited to come privatly to you and the Scots, to ſee upon a full debate with them if all things may not be reconciled to your and theire ſatisfaction. If the[*y*] would conſent to ſuch a meeting, I would have ſome † hopes of good ſucceſs: For the preſent there appeares to be poiſon in the pot; do not truſt to your owen cooking of it. For the propoſition to Bellievre, I hate it. If any ſuch thing ſhould be made publick, you are undon; your enemis will make a malicious uſe of it. Beſure you never owen it againe in any diſcource, otherwais than as intended as a foile or an hyperbole, ‡ or any otherways except in ſober earneſt. Conſider well what I have written of; away [*with*] your meſſage preſently without ſharing the Militia, and abandoning Irland. Strike out the 10 years out of the clauſe concerning offices or the clauſe itſelfe, which you will; it may be added in the cloſe, and the naming 10 years implys that this Parl. ſhould ſit ſo long; obtaine the admitting § of perſons; and then we ſhall agree in the whole buſineſs; [*n*]either ſhall I then deſpaire of ſeeing you againe with comfort, which is the fulleſt happineſs I wiſhe for in this world. A Dieu, mon cher Coeur!

Concerning the buſineſs of Conſtantinople nothing can poſſibly be done 'till we heare further from Sir S. Crow, to whom I have ſent ſome papers in your name may perhaps doe him good. You muſt avow it, if it come to be queſtioned. But if Sir S. Crow be of neceſſety to be recaled, Sir W. Killigrew['*s*] pretence is next; and he writs that he ſhall get the conſent of the company, and the Parl. And next to him, you are engaged for Sir R. Brown.

*A Copy, by the King, probably from the Original in Cipher; endorſed* ‖ *by him,* "From my wyfe "Decem. $\frac{1}{11}$, and $\frac{4}{12}$. re. $\frac{16}{18}$. to be kept, it be- "ing the reaſon that Part. Anſ. went not."

## *His* Majesty *to the* Queen.

*Deare Hart,* *Newcaſtell, Saterday,* 5 *De.*

THYNE of the 23. gave me much comfort to fynde thy judgement of affaires ſo right in all foundamentalls, not without ſome wonder that in ſome particulars thou canſt be ſo much miſtaken. For wheras thou rightly perceaves that thou art ſought to be made uſe of to my prejudice, it is ſtrange thou ſeeſt not how; which to me is verry viſible,

* *MS.* prpuereal; a miſtake, probably, in the Cipher.
† *MS.* ſuch.
‡ *MS.* hoperbol.
§ *MS.* miting.
‖ *This Endorſement refers to both the laſt Letters which are written on the ſame Paper.*

there

there being nothing they can worke by (in this kynde) but only the Pres^ll. Gover^nt. In all other things they know thee too cleare ſighted. See if ever they trouble thee concerning the Militia, or my frends? I warrant thee, no: But if, by thy meanes, they could obtaine the Preſ. Go. abſolutly ſettled, they would be confident, and with reaſon, piece and piece, to worke all the reſt of theire ends. So that it is a marvellous thing to me, that thou, who ſo wiſely bids me be upon my guard not to looſe my grounds litle and litle, yet ſtill art perſwading me to doe that, which thou gives me warning to eſchew. Wherfor I ſee plainly that it is only miſinformations, which cauſes miſtakings, that makes us to differ in opinion. For otherwais thou could not call my 3 years conceſſion, a diſpenſation againſt my conſcience; when indeed it is but a temporary permiſſion to continue ſuch an unlawfull poſſeſſion, which for the preſent I cannot help, ſo as to lay a hopefull ground for a perfect recovery of that, which to abandon were directly againſt my conſcience, and (I am confident) diſtructive to Monarchy. *A.D.1646.*

Now, as for thy negative councells, I fully approve, and will be conſtant to them all; being particularly glad that thou ſo rightly underſtands the Covenant, as to judge it unfit for me to authoriſe. Yet, let me tell thee that an act of oblivion may reaſonably ſolve the reaſons thou gives, but that which makes it never to be yeald[*ed*] to, is, that (albeit all the promiſory part of it were not againſt honeſt men's conſciences, yet) the frame of it is ſuch, as the eſtabliſhing of it is a perpetuall authoriſing of Rebellion.

I HAVE, as thou deſired me, done my part concerning Davenant's Propoſition for the ſending of perſons from thee to me, with fitt aſſeurances for theire ſafty: For I was faine to interpret his letter (though I could not read it), as well as recomend the buſineſs, becauſe the Chipher was miſtaken.

I WILL, according to thy conjuration, not thinke of an eſcape, untill the Scots ſhall declare that they will not protect me. By which I perceave the opinion is (I ſay not it is thyne), that it is leſs ill for my affairs, that I ſhould be a priſoner within my dominions, then at liberty any where elſe (for I cannot eſcape, if I ſtay 'till the Scots declare againſt me). And indeed it may well be ſo, in caſe my frends will, upon my reſtraint, immediatly and frankely declare for my releaſe; of which I am ſure thou wilt have a care; and therfor will ſay no more.

I HAVE deſyred Mr. de Bellievre, which he hath willing[*ly*] promiſed, to write at large to 352. and Car. Maz. that ſuch offices may be done, now upon the concluſion of the generall peace, as to make all the Princes underſtand, that my caſe is not ſingly myne, but that it concernes all the Monarkes in Chriſtendome to advert unto. And particularly, that ſomewhat may be done, which may oblige Spaine not to medle with Irland, I deſyreing thee to further theaſe motions to what thou may with 352. and Car. Maz.

I AM ſo preſſed to ſend my anſwer to London, that my laſt ſhift of delay is, firſt to ſend it to my frends in Scotland, to ſee how far I can engage them; ſo that I ſee not how to ſhun the ſending it ſome tyme the next weeke to London, if in the meane tyme ſomething from thee doe not hinder me. For I much deſyre thy opinion concerning Irland. And yet I have ſo couched that article that, if the Iriſh give me cauſe, I may interpret it anuſe to theire advantage. For I only ſay, that I will give them full ſatisfaction as to the managing of that war; nor doe I promis to continue the

*A.D.* 1646. war; so that if I fynde reason to make a peace there, my engagement is at an end. Wherfor I desyre thee to make this my interpretation knowen to the Irish, assеuring them that what I doe now is with no intention to abandon them, nor will, so long as there can be any reason to doe otherways. This is all at this tyme from him who is eternally.

*Thyne.*

*A rough Draught by himself; endorsed by him,*
"To my wyfe 5 De. by London. To be kept."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

THOUGH I writ to you on the 10th and have since received but one Letter from you of the 16th by Mr. Ashburnham's man, yet I reckon I have three letters of your's to answer; and therefore prepare yourself with patience proportionable. But, as the Parliament in their answers to the King's declarations, would first tell him of the prudent omissions in his, when he had left somewhat they had said, unanswered: So I do complain that you have not said one word to me of your opinion of my staying here; I mean, not going with the Prince into France; the which being so severely censured by some, and so much controverted by others, I cannot but impatiently expect your censure, that I may be either comforted with your approbation, or endeavour to inform you more particularly, if you are not satisfied. And so to the business. I believe my Lord Digby is still in Dublin; the reason whereof I have wrote to his Father, and why I cannot believe it possible for any peace to be between my Lord Ormond, and those who have so perfidiously broken with him. However, I cannot enough wonder at their courage, who upon what specious promises and pretences soever, dare venture themselves in the head of the Rebels' army, because they verily believe they shall be able to do the King good service. When I come to be hanged, Mr. Secretary, I will have a better defence, than saying I meant well, and thought in prudence this was the best way to serve the King; when by the better and known sense of the law, I have done that which I ought not to have done. I like prudence well, and where the law allows a latitude, am as like to be deceived by my own reason as another man; but if ever I quit the foundation of my innocence upon confidence of King or Parliament, and go out of that known tract, in hope that my own wit will find a better way, I will in the next place renounce all known Divinity, and trust my own spirit for a new Religion. I know a friend of your's who was once asked, whether if the King directed him under his hand to do one thing, he would promise to do another, because he might know that was contrary to his intentions, and that he would not be obeyed though he had signed such a warrant: he was so rude as to answer (and it may be hath been trusted the less since) that the King had no reason when he deserted himself, in that which was absolutely in his own power, to expect, that the fault should be repaired by another's courage: and that in a business which was only lawful or unlawful to be done, with reference to his commanding or not commanding it, it were unreasonable to expect that his visible command under his hand should be disobeyed, under the presumptuous notion of his intentions; and therefore he desired to be excused

in

in thoſe ſtratagems of diſcretion. I tell you, I will have the law on my ſide, or elſe I dare not be hanged; and ſo much for that. I ſhould be very ſorry that the peace between Spain and France ſhould be concluded, and I hope theſe late loſſes in Italy will prevent it; and how confident ſoever other men are of it, I do not think it likely; for the French will expect to keep all by the treaty, which they have gotten by the war; and the Spaniards are mad if they conſent to that. I looking upon the taking of Dunkirk as the rendering a peace impoſſible; except the French would conſent to the reſtoring it, or the Spaniards to give up Flanders with it. But if it ſhall fall out, Lord have mercy upon poor England! for I do more fear a French army, than the Presbyterians and Independents. It muſt be the reſurrection of the Engliſh courage and loyalty muſt recover England to the King, and it may be, a Julep from the North may not be unſeaſonably applied to the fever of the South, but ſure a foreign aid (except of arms and money) will never reconcile thoſe hearts and affections to the King and his Poſterity, without which he hath no hope of reigning. And in this opinion I am and have been ſo far from being nice, that they have it under my hand, and have been ſo far from thinking me worth the reforming or converting, that they have only laughed at me, and ſaid that I am a mad man of Weſtminſter-Hall, which you know is a warmer place than Tyburn. I thank God, the villany of this preſent generation, nor the fire of this odious Rebellion, hath not deſtroyed or burned up my natural affection to my poor country; nor do I wiſh it overcome by the Turks, becauſe at this time, their Religion is little better than Mahometan. I aſſure you, I comfort myſelf with the hope that the Engliſh will hereafter (though poſſibly I may be dead firſt) repair the breaches they have made, vindicate their Loyalty and Religion, and entertain their neighbours with the ſtories of their well employed valour, as they do now with their romance of Treaſon and Rebellion; and that they will never be able to do if they are made a conquered people. I have not the leaſt ſcruple of doubt, that the Scotch and Parliament will agree; a briſk war you ſhall have, and a bloody I'll warrant you: Their appetites are keen, and their animoſities greater and fuller of revenge, than we have yet been acquainted with; and honeſt men had never need more of their wits to preſerve their innocence; for no doubt the invitations and pretences will be ſpecious on both ſides. I fear very much an indignation in the Engliſh againſt the Scots, as the authors of our miſeries, and that the injured King ſhould receive an antidote from thoſe who firſt gave him poiſon, may bring many to concur with the Independents and ſo ſtrengthen the Party. On the other hand, I fear an implicit and general confidence that the Scots, and thoſe of their opinion intend to preſerve Monarchy, and that the other are enemies to any order or method of Government, may draw many to their ſide, who in truth have not their ends; and ſo that honeſt men, who have the ſame good deſires, truſting too much to their own diſcretions, may join with either party, and ſo contribute to ſeveral calamities they both abhor. I have not the ſame opinion, and contempt of the Independents, that other men have, from the opinion of their abhorring Rules of Government. I find they admit as ſtrict Government as is neceſſary for their purpoſes. Is not their army (upon which they depend) regularly and ſtrictly governed? no Independency admitted there. Are not the Heads of the party the beſt Heads of the pack? Do you think that any Philoſopher ſees more confuſion from no order, than they do, or that they are not ſufficiently informed

*A.D.* 1646.

*A.D.*1646. of the inconſtancy and fury of the Rabble, that they would never truſt their lives and fortunes (both which are precious to them) to ſuch a vain foundation? Believe it, they do as well know what they would have; as what they would not have; only they find it eaſier to pull down than build up; and 'till they have throughly oppreſſed thoſe who they foreſee will never comply with them, they find their ſtrength the greater by ſuffering men to believe they ſhall be ſubject to no law at all. But when the time is ready, no doubt they [*will*] declare how they intend to live, and to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace; in which no ſcruples or ceremonies in Religion ſhall trouble them. Neither do I believe with other men, that they intend to change the form of government from Monarchy to Ariſtocracy or Democracy; they are too wiſe men to think to live to ſee a ſubmiſſion from the people in peace to another government than what they have been acquainted with; the alteration whereof would bring many unprofitable changes to any private man's condition that is worth any thing. Well, what is it they would have? I pray God, I tell you not true, when I tell you they will keep up Monarchy to the height, and probably improve it; but being conſcious of offences that cannot be forgiven, change the Monarch and his line, and make choice of ſuch a one, as may owe his Crown to them, and gratify them with all thoſe places of Government and Command they deſire, and then he ſhall not want Miniſters for as full a tyranny as hath been exerciſed in any Kingdom. And I pray God they have not ſuch a noſe of wax ready for their impreſſion. This is it makes me tremble more than all their diſcourſes of deſtroying Monarchy; and that towards this end they find out aſſiſtance from thoſe, who from their ſouls abhor their confuſions. So that, in a word, my opinion of the Presbyterians is (I ſpeak of the heads of both parties, for the body of both would be honeſtly applied), that they would have the King reſtored to a titular reputation of regal power, and authority, which they would abſolutely exerciſe, and truſt providence for the preſervation and improvement of their intereſt with his poſterity; and that the Independents would really depoſite the full regal power in the hands of a king who ſhould have no relation to the injuries of this. And therefore, till more of the ſeditious blood be drawn from both ſides, and half a dozen governing perſons of either cut off, I cannot chooſe my ſide, and heartily pray, that neither may have an addition of ſtrength from honeſt men, who have not their deſigns. In your opinion of the undoubted ſacrileges, of alienating the Church Lands; I agree with you fully; but I know not how to ſay, that the aboliſhing the function of Biſhops is the leſſer ſin; ſaving that it would be eaſier to reſtore their order than their lands. For though I cannot ſay enough for the *jus divinum* of Biſhops, yet I cannot ſay any thing againſt it; nor in truth (with reverence to our other reformed churches) can I tell, (though I preſume others can), if ordination of Miniſters be requiſite to the propagation of Chriſtian Religion, that ſuch ordination can be without Biſhops. I believe Monarchy is not held ſuch an inſtitution *jure divino* that all other forms of Government are concluded Antichriſtian; and yet ſure you believe the aboliſhing of Monarchy in England, would be ſuch a ſin as no honeſt man can conſent to it: Truly, I believe the ſame in the point of Epiſcopacy, which is as much fenced and ſecured by the laws, as Monarchy itſelf, and an entire part of the frame and conſtitution of the Kingdom; and when they have changed it (which I hope they will never be able to do) I will not look to ſee good days in England.

For

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For the buſineſs of compounding, in which you ſay, you are not well ſatisfied, and in which you would hear my opinion, I ſhall without heſitation tell you what I think. If by compounding you mean, only being content without any unlawful circumſtance to give two parts of your eſtate, that you may receive the other third to yourſelf, it is no more than is in a man's own power to do; though it may be even in that caſe, there may be ſome interjections of conſideration, how much the Rebellion is advanced by it: but if one ingredient in the compoſition muſt be (as no doubt it muſt) an acknowledgment of delinquency, and that thoſe Rebels have but done their duty, and ſo lay that blemiſh and calumny upon truth and juſtice (to which I am as much a Martyr as to Religion and Loyalty) which it can never recover, and is as great a Crown to all their impious proceedings, as the ſigning the propoſitions would be; if the taking the Covenant, which whoſoever thought wicked, ſacrilegious and traiterous two years ſince, muſt in truth think ſo ſtill, be neceſſary; or if their darling negative oath which is a renouncing thoſe duties my natural allegiance exacts from me, be required; I ſay, I could no more ſubmit to either of thoſe three conditions (yet I believe all are required) the laſt ſatisfying the Independents as much as the Covenant the Presbyterians, than I do concur in whatſoever elſe they have done. Neither, to my underſtanding, doth the King's leave ſignify any thing: for though in a thing in itſelf lawful, but liable to a miſreport, or miſrepreſentation, it will become me to deſire his approbation, that I may not ſuffer with him by miſtake; yet in a thing in itſelf unlawful, his diſpenſation can only make the crime unpenal, not leſſen it from being a crime; neither hath he power to releaſe one grain of the allegiance that is due to him. I would not be underſtood to cenſure thoſe who have taken the negative oath, which I preſume very honeſt men have done, and doubtleſs in ſome caſes and temporarily may be done. As if you might have leave to go into England, and ſtay there two months, if you would ſwear that during that time of your abode you would do nothing prejudicial to their affairs, nor for the advancement of the King's; I do not only think it lawful for you to take the oath, but that you were blameworthy if you refuſed ſo great an opportunity of enabling yourſelf by that means of providing for your family, ſettling your eſtate, and gaining any other advantages for the future. Nay, if you had leave to the one, it may be, you were in right reaſon and common juſtice obliged to the other without an oath. But as it is lawful for a General of an army to make a truce with the enemy for two or three days, or ſo long time as may be really uſeful for the ſervice, with which he is entruſted, yet it is not lawful for him under the name of a truce or ceſſation to make an abſolute league, and to disband that army, though he think he can draw them again together when he pleaſes; ſo, though ſuch a temporary oath, may well be taken in order to the main end, yet the making it a part of a compoſition, and ſo enjoying the benefit of his country and his quiet, without the burthen and obligation of natural allegiance, can by no means be juſtified by a man that will not be led into further inconveniencies. And ſo I have done with you as a Caſuiſt for this time.

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Is it poſſible that you are in earneſt when you ſay the King meant to have gone into London, and into the Parliament Houſe, if it had not been

*A.D.* 1646. for that barbarous proclamation? Do you really believe he meant not to have gone to the Scots? Did not you ſee Montrevil's undertaking for his reception?

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You are miſinformed, if you think that your friends ſpeak worſe of you, than they do of me; I aſſure you they have loudly reported that I had a deſign to have given up the Prince to the Parliament, and therefore that I deſired to have kept him at Jerſey. But on my conſcience they do not believe themſelves when they ſpeak ill of you or me, except they ſay we are too ſimple to deal with them; which for my part I acknowledge to be true; and if the truth were known, I believe they are angrier with themſelves than with either of us. I receive no intelligence from England, but only out of the country from my wife, who, I thank God, bears her part with miraculous conſtancy and courage; which truly is an unſpeakable comfort to me. We may, I hope, be able to live ſome time aſunder; but I am ſure we ſhould quickly ſtarve, if we were together; yet when ſtarving comes to be neceſſary, or to be more feared than hanging, we will ſtarve by the grace of God together. I am contented that you perſuade Mr. Attorney General to come hither, for I think we ſhould agree well; you know I always held him good company, when nothing was to be done. My Letters from Paris give me no notice of ſo much plenty, as it ſeems you hear there is, nor of ſuch glorious intentions for Prince Rupert: but mine are not from Counſellors. I wiſh with all my heart both to be true: I am very glad your Patrons at London are conſtant in their unmercifulneſs to the excepted, amongſt whom I will not leave my place to be liſted amongſt the Compounders. For my part, let him want mercy that will aſk or take it from them. I remember my old acquaintance Cato, when he was told that Cæſar had a deſire to have friendſhip with him, and was willing to give him a pardon, grew into a paſſion, and ſaid, he was a tyrant to offer him a pardon, for by it he aſſumed to himſelf a power over the lives of the citizens of Rome. I aſſure you, Mr. Secretary, I will not receive a pardon from the King and Parliament when I am not guilty; and when I am, I will receive it only from him who can grant it.

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Keep up your ſpirits, and take heed of ſinking under that burthen, you never kneeled to take up; our innocence begets our chearfulneſs, and that again will be a means to ſecure the other; whoever grows too weary and impatient of the condition he is in, will too impatiently project to get out of it; and that by degrees will ſhake or baffle, or delude his innocence. We have no reaſon to bluſh for the poverty which is not brought upon us by our own faults. As long as it pleaſes God to give me health (which I thank him I have in a very good meaſure), I ſhall think he intends that I ſhall outlive all theſe ſufferings; and when he ſends ſickneſs, I ſhall (I hope with the ſame ſubmiſſion) believe that he intends to remove me from greater calamities. For God's ſake, ſend me word that you are very lively, and upon that condition I will ſpare you at this time, from ſuffering further vexation from

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

*Jerſey, 12th Dec.* *Your moſt affectionate &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir*

*A.D.* 1646.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* BALDWYN WAKE.

*Honeſt Baldwyn,*

I HAVE received your's of the 3d of December, and wiſh with all my heart it were in my power to be uſeful to you, in the ſupply of your Caſtle. † I am ſure neither my Lord Hopton or I have left any thing undone that we could reaſonably think might advance the work, having ſcarce omitted one week to write to St. Germain's of the neceſſity of it; and we have been lately informed from thence, that order is taken in it; but which way, I know not. We that are left here are as Sojourners, in any other part of the world; and can only endeavour to do all civil offices by the Governor's friendſhip when we find occaſion. And I muſt needs ſay, I have always found him ready to do more than moſt men ſo provoked would be. Indeed the carriage of moſt of thoſe men that came from the Caſtle has been ſuch, as would not have rendered them acceptable in any place where they had come. Whilſt I had the honour to be in any public buſineſs, I always thought myſelf perſonally obliged to thoſe who aſſiſted me, in my Maſter's ſervice; though their obligations of duty were equal to mine, and though it may be they did not perform half ſo much, as their duty required. And can you imagine it poſſible that ſuch perſons can be very civilly treated, who, coming to a place, from whence they expect courteſies, lay imputations of treachery and infidelity upon thoſe, from whom they expect thoſe offices; and indeed (upon the matter) upon a whole nation. Truly if I ſhould unadviſedly ſay half that one of thoſe men have uſually ſaid at their being here, I ſhould not think it ſafe for me to ſtay in the iſland twenty four hours. I know not from whence the ill uſage hath been which you complain of; and therefore know not what anſwer to give to it. It is true, I do take you to be very cholerick (as many of my beſt friends are); but it is not your choler that I apprehend now, but the object upon which your choler may work, which is miſinformation, which may corrupt the beſt judgment and underſtanding. And truly, I believe the miſtakes and miſapprehenſions of other men, have begotten ſome opinions in you, which if you were as well informed as ſome of your friends are, would not appear reaſonable to you. If you will write freely and clearly to me what ſticks with you, I will endeavour to give you the beſt ſatisfaction I can, and will without partiality impute errors to whom they are due. But then I ſhall not think it enough, to complain of any particular unkindneſs or neglect without conſidering what provocation drew on that unkindneſs; and if I ſhall find it poſſible that ſuch a temper and underſtanding may be begotten, that I may be able to do any ſervice, I ſhall think myſelf very happy; otherwiſe I ſhall ſit ſtill, and wiſh well, but meddle not. For that which concerns a ſolid relief of the Caſtle, with ſuch proviſion and ſupply, as may give new courage to our men, you can expect it from nobody but the Prince; and therefore, I would adviſe you to find ſome way of ſending a clear information to him, of your condition, and what he muſt expect from you; and if you have no better way of conveying it I will ſend any letter thither, that you ſend to me. This is all I can ſay to you of the buſineſs.

† *Caſtle Cornet, where he commanded.*

*A.D.* 1646. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I AM very heartily,

*Jerſey, the 12th of Dec.* 1646. *Honeſt Baldwyn, &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *The Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER *to his* MAJESTY.

*De.* $\frac{18}{28}$.

WE are much trobled to underſtand by your's of 5 De. to Q. E. that your meſſage was not then ſent to Weſtminſter. And though we hope, by what you ſay concerning it, that it is diſpached before the reception of this, yet we ſhall not omitt to tell you, that all the good you can expect from the better party at London, is upon the groundworke and foundation of that meſſage. Otherwais, it is not to be hoped that any there will dare to appeare for your coming to London in freedome and ſafty; which aſſeuredly (as your condition is lyke to be when the Scots ſhall depart) is to be wiſhet in the firſt place. Nether ought you yet to diſpaire of it, or omitt any thing that may conduce to it. Beſides that, poſſibly, (though the delayes of ſending your meſſage, and the quick advancement of the treaty concerning the receipt of the 200,000. have much allayed our hopes) the Scots upon that encouragement may yet joyne with the Preſ. and City of London in appearing for your intereſtes. One other particular in your letter gives us cauſe to feare that ſomething formerly ofred by us may be miſtaken, which we deſyre of you liberty to cleare. It is concerning the election you mention of your volontaryly rendring your perſon a priſoner, rather then by eſcape, if you ſafly can, to avoid the power of your enemis. Truly, in caſe you ſhould fynde no poſſibility of coming with ſafty to London, nor that the Scots will permit you to go as a free man and theire King with them to Eden: we never were of opinion that you ſhould rather make choice of a volontary impriſonment by the Eng. (with the conſequences that may attend ſuch reſtraints) then to ſeeke your liberty and ſafty elſewhere; nether doe we fynd warrantable grounds to aſſeure you that, in that caſe, the Crowne of France [*will*] thereupon declare for you; which by your letter ſeemes to be the only foundation that you rely upon.

SINCE the writing of this her M. (who intended to write at large touching the later part of this letter) being extreamly tormented with the Touthe-ake, deſyres that you would excuſe her, and hath commanded us to let you know from her, that ſhe does fully agree to what we have written touching your volontary impriſonment; and that ſhe ſhall never be free from the greateſt apprehentions, if you ſhould fall into the hands of the Independants, without the promis of the two houſes for your ſafty and liberty.

SINCE the writing of our other of this day, Q. E. is not ſatisfied with that Poſtſcript; and having ſince adviſed with Car. M. commands us to ad this; that the ſuffering yourſelfe to be made a priſoner is a thing not ſo much as to be thought on, if the Scots forſakes you, and the Parl. ſuffer you not to come to London in ſafty. The thing to be done is, in the [*firſt*] place to goe along with the Scots into Scotland, if you may be permitted. If you be refuſed, then you have Irland, the Highlands, and Jerſey, to make your choiſe of, according to your owen wiſdome, and the conjuncture

of

of affaires. As for going out of your Do'. it is not to [*be*] done, but in an [*event*] that leaves your M. no other choice. The poſt is juſt ready to part. *A.D.* 1646.

*A Copy, by the King, probably taken from the Original in Cipher; endorſed by him,* "From "L. Jer. and L. Cul. $\frac{18}{28}$ De. receaved $\frac{12}{2}$ Jan."

## *His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN.

*Deare hart,* *Newcaſtell,* 12 *De.*

THIS laſt weeke I have not receaved any letter or newſe from thee, of which I doe not complaine. For as I have not miſſed one weeke never ſince I wrote firſt from hence, and I know that thou haſt been ſeverall tymes a fourtnight without re[*cea*]ving any of my letters, ſo I belive thou haſt taine the paines, though I have not had the contentment of hearing from thee.

I HAVE a returne from Scotland; which is, that my anſwer to London is abſolutly diſlyked and diſapproved there. The maine reaſons are, that they cannot fynd me any thing altered in matter of conſcience, and that I will not authoriſe the Covenant; without which (I recite the very words) all that can be offered will not ſatisfy. Yet for perſonall duty, I have ſo much aſſeurance from Ha[ton]. and Lainerike, that, if they keepe tuch (and they ſhall be put to it) my game will be far from deſperat. But having litle belife that theaſe men will doe as they ſay, I will not trouble thee with particulars, untill I can give thee ſome more evidence then words of theire reality.

Saterday 19. When I had written thus far, I was deſyrous to ſtay for thy anſwer to my letters of 14 No. thereby the better to make my meſſage to London: The which not receaving before Wedenſday, it made me miſs one weeke's writing to thee; which I hope thou wilt eaſily excuſe, ſince it is the firſt. Nor ſhall I now make a particular anſwer to thyne of the 11. and 14. De. though it may be thou will thinke it full anuf; for this aſſeures thee that my intended anſwer to the Lon. Prop'. is not gone; and that I have ſent another meſſage (the copie wherof thou wilt receave by the F. Amb.), the ſubſtance whereof is to adhere to my former anſwer the 1. of Aug. laſt; ſo that all thy feares concerning the Militia are ſolved; wherein I confeſs I thought not I had fundamentally erred, *when I kept the returne intyre to the Crowne without aſſotiats*, notwithſtanding that the particular poſſeſſion were (for the prefixed tyme) in the two Howſes, and that I ſtill ſtuck to my right, which I did by the Preamble. For I did and yet do conceave, that the temporary power of managing it is meerly circumſtantiall, and not materiall. But I have done, and willingly yeald the argument, when the queſtion is of holding faſt: And ſhall only wiſhe that all thoſe whoſe advyce thou takes in buſineſſes, be but as conſtant to foundations, and as litle apt to be couſened or frighted out of them, as I ſhall be. For thoſe who make thee belive that any alterations can make the Covenant paſſable, can ſtop at nothing. And excuſe me to tell thee, that whoſoever gives thee that advyce is ether foole or knave; for this damned Covenant is the product of Rebellion, and breathes nothing but Treaſon. So that, if Epiſcopacy were to be introduced by this, I would not doe it; becauſe I am as much bound in conſcience to doe no act to the diſtruction of Mo-

*A.D.*1646. narchy, as to r[*e*]ſiſt Hereſy; all actions being unlawfull, where the m[*e*]anes is not lawfull, let the end be never ſo juſt. I conclud this with conjuring thee, that thou never abandon one particular good frend of our's, which is a good cauſe, let the Scots prove never ſo falſe, even as thou loves him who is eternally

*Thyne.*

By my next I will give thee a full account, why I could not ſend my particular anſwer to London, and, I belive alſo, what may be expected from Scotland.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"To my Wyfe, 19 De. by London. To be kept."

## *His* Majesty *to the Lords* Jermyn *and* Culpeper.

*Newcaſtell, Saterday,* 19 *De.*

I PRETEND not now to make a full anſwer to your's of 11 De. but only to make ſome few obſervations. If you underſtood the Presbiteriall doctrine, ye would not at all wonder why I did forbeare (for the preſent) to demand the taking the oath of allegance; for that had been all one as to forbid Presbiterian diſcipline; Epiſcopacy being no more (it may be leſſe) hatefull to them, then the oathes both of ſupremacy and aleagance; the mentioning of which I formerly towld you, Will. Murray aſſeured me would ſpoile all. So that you ſee, I have authority for this my opinion. Nor doe I want [*it*] for any thing I have poſitively written to you or 351. albeit I fynd not by your letters that any thing is much conſidered that I wryte, in compariſon of any other information or intelligence. Nay, I cannot ſee that I am belived concerning myſelfe. For if I wer, how is it poſſible that after the receipt of myne of the 21 No. I could yet be preſſed for Preſ. Go? For thereby I doe not only give reaſons (which to me are unanſwerable) why I cannot yeald unto it, but alſo make it my verry earneſt deſyre, that ether my melancoly offer might be accepted, or that without further diſpute ye would hartely joyne with me in my way. And yet the F. Amb. laſt diſpaches (I ſay, his laſt) takes it for granted, that I will condeſcend to Preſ. Go. Good God, what things are theaſe to try my patience! And is it poſſible, that having not been able to convince my reaſon [that] you can belive I will ſubmitt to your's or any bodies elſe againſt my conſcience? Inded there may be reaſon to reject my melancoly offer; but (for God's ſake) put me not to the hazard of as ill effects as that can bring, another way. For in what ſecurity do you thinke I can be, when it ſhall be belived, that my Sone will grant what I deny? I could ſay much more upon this ſubject; but I will only conjure you, as you ar Chriſtians, no more thus to torture me, aſſeuring you that the more ye this way preſſe me, you the more contribut (though I know, againſt your wills) to my ruine. Nor let me not heare any more men of honour ſay, that the game muſt be given over becauſe the Scots will [*be*] knaves: For remember, a good cauſe is no more to be abandoned then ons frends. So farwell.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

*Sir*

*A.D.*1646.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKLEY.

*My dear Jack,*

YOUR's of the 21ſt of December, I received on our Chriſtmas Eve; and ſhould be very glad you would provoke my choler oftener by any problems or paradoxes, or other exerciſe whatſoever, that proceeds from hearing from you, it being great refreſhment to me to enjoy you this way, and might be greater advantage to me, if you would take more pains to reform me by this converſation: moſt of my time being ſpent by myſelf, and with ſuch ordinary books as this poor iſland can ſupply me with. So that methinks every packet from Paris, is one day ſpent at Court, to improve and extend my underſtanding. And in good truth, if I did not draw ſome ſupply from Paris, and Rouen, and Caen, which does weekly exact one entire day for writing letters, I ſhould grow very melancholy, which you know is not agreeable to my conſtitution. How the Scots will diſpoſe themſelves, will now ſhortly appear; for the time of year will bring things to an iſſue; but if a war be prevented by any propoſitions or conceſſions from the King, I ſhall confeſs [*myſelf*] very much deceived; neither do I believe that the intereſts of any particular perſons will be able to prevail againſt the public intereſt of the nation. I have told you already, how far I am from cenſuring thoſe who compound; I wiſh heartily they may be as charitable to themſelves upon ſecond conſiderations, as I am to them; and yet your learned men tell you, that by a canon in the Eliberian council, even they who had contracted and bargained for money with the ſtate, to ſpare them from ſacrificing to Idols (though this were done to redeem their vexation and trouble, and where they could no otherwiſe have avoided it) were ſeparated from the holy Communion; ſo unindulgent were the Chriſtians of thoſe times, to ſuch convenient accommodations. Are you ſure any have compounded without taking the Covenant and other oaths, and without confeſſing themſelves guilty? Their ordinances are clear in the point, and no latitude for a diſpenſation. But if you mean they have avoided by ſome ſkill and craft, of having others take it for them, or of ſuborning people to ſay they have taken it, when in truth they have not; I take that to be altogether as bad, if not worſe, than the ſtupid taking it themſelves. Believe it, thoſe ſubtleties will never ſave private men, much leſs a Kingdom. I am loſt in the buſineſs of Ireland, and cannot imagine how my Lord of Ormond can truſt thoſe who have already ſo infamouſly broken their faith with him. I confeſs, I could never play that game out, having no other guard againſt being deceived the ſecond time, but the not truſting the ſecond time; from which dull reſolution I ſhall be very hardly removed.

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*A.D.* 1646. counſel to any body elſe) that I wiſh you to have a little more patience, and to mend your proſpect before you engaged your advice or your pains in any negotiation of that kind. For, as a man who hath loſt his way in a dark night, upon the top of a ſteep rock, from whence are many precipices, ſhall more ſecurely reſt till morning, though the night be never ſo cold, or tempeſtuous, than endeavour to find the narrow path, that may lead him to ſome better repoſe, ſo, ſure, if this darkneſs were as black to other men, as it is to me, they would rather have the patience to ſtay till ſome light appear, to guide them, than grope to find out a way, in the midſt of ſo many precipices. If England cannot be preſerved but by an impious or diſhonourable compoſition with and ſubmiſſion to thoſe who have condemned all divine and human conſtitutions, let poſterity only look upon them as the authors of their miſery and ſervitude; but let us not ſhare with them in the guilt by wiſhing any thing to be done, but what ſhould be done. I remember the next day after the Earl of Caſtlehaven was condemned, I was carried by curioſity, and a friend, to viſit him in the Tower; and amongſt other things, I aſked him, whether he had petitioned the King to change the manner of his death from hanging to heading; he told me no, nor would not, he would not be ſo far acceſſory to his own death, he would ſuffer that judgment which the law had laid upon him, out of his duty and obedience to the law, but his conſcience would not give him leave to bring any other death upon himſelf, knowing that he was innocent and deſerved not to die. Though I then thought that ſcrupuloſity unſeaſonable, and that it proceeded rather from a diſinclination to die in either manner, than that they were both indifferent to him, (as when he ſaw there was no remedy, he eaſily after made his own choice), yet in earneſt, Jack, the logic of it is not at all ridiculous in our caſe, and we may very well bear and ſubmit to ſuch a peace, to the making whereof we do heartily diſagree. And I doubt not but I ſhall have much more peace of mind from ſuch a diſagreement, than they will have, who with great induſtry and activity ſhall perſuade the King to conſent to what will (under the ſpecious title of peace) rob him of that peace which cannot otherwiſe be taken from him. But I have heard him often ſay, if he could not live a King, he would die a Gentleman. And I am confident that reſolution will ſooner reſtore him to what he hath loſt, than the ſigning the Propoſitions will do. You will pardon theſe extravagancies, for I practiſe them ſo freely to nobody elſe; and indeed, I do it the more to you, to invite you to ſuch ſallies, to breathe your thoughts more liberally, and to tempt you from your ſhort writing. I do not think that exerciſe inconſiſtent with your preſent employments, nor altogether unuſeful to your future. Have you now the temper and ſerenity about you, of which you were wont to brag to me heretofore, that you could with a friend and a book live in a wood with great content, removed from all the voice of the world; ſuch a habit of mind was never more uſeful, or to be wiſhed than now; and on my conſcience, he that can enjoy it 20 months, will find himſelf better prepared to ſtruggle with the world, and the world better prepared for his reception. Methinks, I find myſelf ſtrangely refreſhed, and my ſpirit relieved, by being unbent in this little retirement. How much good then would you reap by it, who have a mind ſo much better prepared by education and experience, and untainted and unreſtrained by narrow and vulgar

vulgar ſpeculations? and how much advantage ſhould I receive from thoſe large animadverſions your friendſhip would derive to me? *A.D.* 1646.

26 *Dec.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

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I AM very ready to deliver you my opinion in your ſcruple of going to the French Church; which methinks, under your favour, is too nice, and is more like to confirm them in any error they have received, than to reform them. I am in my own opinion as averſe to the practice of the French Church, as you can be; yet ſince the reformation is not to be hoped, our Religion is too much one to be divided in Communion: And I am not ſatisfied, that too imperious a diſlike heretofore in our Church of England, when ſhe was of reputation and authority towards thoſe Churches, eſpecially the teſty and imprudent carriage of my Lord Sligo, when he was Ambaſſador, towards thoſe of Charenton, was not the beſt argument that hath been yet given; for thoſe unworthy and uncharitable opinions of the Religion of the King and Court of England. Neither in truth hath the Church of England taught us that coyneſs towards any of the Reformed Churches, but that you and I, if we were in Germany, might (and I think ought) to communicate with the Church of Luther with all charity and alacrity, and yet our differences in opinion are not inſubſtantial. And for the policy, (ſince the matter in conſcience I conceive not to be doubtful) truly, I believe, all the Engliſh now in France cannot better wipe away, and give the lye to, all thoſe lewd aſperſions upon the King's party in point of Religion, than by unſcrupulouſly communicating with that Church; and ſuch a charity and converſation is much more likely to reform thoſe, who in truth are in an error, than any ſtubbornneſs and contempt towards them. You may remember, when we were at Uxbridge, we were conſidering, whether we might do well to go with the other Commiſſioners to their Church, though they had ſuppreſſed that form of prayer which was eſtabliſhed by law; and if they had not peeviſhly denied us (I wiſh we had put them to a denial in writing) the loan of one of the Churches for our ſervice and preaching, I doubt not but we ſhould have viſited their devotions. And if I were now, under any articles, or by other conceſſion, at London for a month, I would not give them ſuch an excuſe to ſay I was a Papiſt, as the avoiding their very Churches; under which though I will never live, yet I may communicate. So that you ſee, I am (under your correction) very poſitive, that you ought with great diligence to frequent their conventions; and the rather becauſe I have heard ſome of our Clergymen (whoſe indiſcretions are of a public ill conſequence) are too much inclined to publiſh ſuch a ſeparation. But, if in any of their Sermons you ſhall find them aver any thing in Religion which reflects upon the good cauſe, for which we ſuffer, I conceive you may very well, and ſhall very neceſſarily, avoid thoſe Congregations. But for the poſitive part of aſſerting (though I am nothing ſatisfied with their excuſe, for the doctrine general would not be diſliked

*A.D.* 1646. by that Crown, and will not be ſubſcribed by them) they cannot be reaſonably preſſed by any private perſon to it. For the Profeſſors of that Religion there, I take them to be rather an enemy to our whole nation, upon the old buſineſs of Rochelle than inclined to either party, except as it is in order to the deſtruction of the whole; and I believe the beſt of the French are of no more charity to our poor country. For the preſs, I had the kind overture of Mr. Cardonell before, but as I conceive no great uſe of one here, (yet the conveniency I acknowledge, if without inconveniency) ſo it is not poſſible to procure a ſubſiſtence for it here. But if it would reſt and work here for conſcience ſake, we would now and then ſupply it with an eſſay, a ballad, or a letter. For ſuch a tract as you ſpeak of to awaken Chriſtian Princes to a ſenſe of the injuries done to their neighbours, I have given over any hope that way; and the rather, becauſe the caſe cannot be preſented with the livelyneſs and vivacity to them, as by thoſe inſtances which might be really perverted, and would be paſſionately reſented againſt thoſe who profeſs that Religion in thoſe States. And the truth is, there is naturally that abſence of the chief Elements of Chriſtian religion, charity, humility, juſtice, and brotherly compaſſion, in the very policy and inſtitution of Princes and Sovereign States, that as we have long found the civil obligations of alliance and marriage to be but trivial circumſtances of formality towards concord and friendſhip, ſo thoſe of religion and juſtice, if urged for conſcience ſake, are equally ridiculous: as if only the individuals not any State itſelf were perfect Chriſtian. And I aſſure you, I have not been without many melancholy thoughts, that this juſtice of God which of late years hath ſeemed to be directed againſt Empire itſelf, hath proceeded from the divine indignation againſt thoſe principles of Empire, which have looked upon conſcience and religion itſelf, as more private, ſubordinate, and ſubſervient faculties, to conveniency and the intereſt of Kingdoms, than duties requiſite to the purchaſe of the Kingdom of Heaven. And therefore God hath ſtirred up, and applied the people, in whom Princes thought it only neceſſary to plant religion, to the deſtruction of Principalities, in the inſtitution whereof religion hath been thought unneceſſary.

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I DESYRE you will by all your diligence, intercourſe, and dexterity, procure ſuch materials for me, for my hiſtory, as you know neceſſary; which I take to be ſo much your work, that if you fail in it, I will put marginal notes into the hiſtory, that ſhall reproach you for want of contribution. By you, that is, by your care, I muſt be ſupplied with all the acts of countenance and confederacy which have paſſed from France, Holland, Spain, in favour of the rogues in England; from you I muſt have all the paſſages in the war, which have only been remembered by Sir Edward Walker, from whom you muſt recover them, beſides your own memorials of Ireland &c. The truth is, though I have been often angry with myſelf for beginning this work, yet I am not willing by any accident to loſe the pains I have taken; and therefore I have put Mr. Edgman to write it out, and when he hath done, I will ſend the original by him to you; to be kept with all ſecreſy againſt any accidents, to thoſe purpoſes for which it is written. He deſerves ſo well of me, and is ſo good a ſervant, that when he hath done this taſk, I intend he ſhall ſee France for three or four months, which will ſo much improve him, that, if any worſe fortune befall his old Maſter, he will

will be very fit for a very good new Maſter. It is very probable ſome of your letters may have made a longer ſtay at Paris than you wiſh, for they are neither punctual in matter or form; and upon this occaſion let me aſk you, what the commiſſion or inſtruction of an Ambaſſador is, as to juriſdiction over the ſubjects of that Prince whoſe Ambaſſador he is; for under that ſtile you know my Lord Portland juſtified the opening my Lord Holland's letters; and upon ſome occaſions perſons of quality have been impriſoned abroad by Ambaſſadors; and I hear my Lord Jermyn hath aſſumed the hearing of civil cauſes and differences between party and party upon intereſt. *A.D.* 1646.

WHAT does my good Lord of Lindſey? Do you now think that Savile was unjuſtly impriſoned at Oxford, who hath ſince under his hand acknowledged all thoſe good ſervices to the Parliament for his indemnity, of which he was there accuſed? Where is Portland? and did he continue his mutiny and drink to the laſt? My Lord Treaſurer writes me word (for I have now a letter from him), that my Lord Seymour is with them, but will never take oath, though he will not fly, reſolving to die a martyr in an Engliſh Gaol. And truly ſuch an obſtinacy, if managed with mettle and activity, may for ought I know give them much trouble, and be as popular as the old arguments for *Habeas Corpus*, or the arguments againſt ſhip-money have been.

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THE Prince gives good Dr. Earles (who is a moſt worthy man) leave to read to him an hour in a day; and Mr. Hobbs to teach him the Mathematicks another. What progreſs he makes I know not, but without doubt he hath a ſweetneſs of nature, not eaſy to be corrupted. I would purchaſe two days converſation with you at any rate, if I could think of an expedient; but which way to do it, I cannot yet deviſe; for if I ſhould come to Caen, and not go to Paris, (which I am reſolved not to do) what would ſome of your friends ſay? All the Prints concerning Ireland leave me in the ſame perplexity concerning that buſineſs; only it is clear enough, the King's Miniſters there have a hard task, and I am ſure not agreeable to my complexion or conſtitution. And now, Mr. Secretary, God ſend you a good new year; for this is our new year's day, a year that may not only repair the ſighs and loſſes of the laſt, but the grey hairs and the wrinkles; a year that may make our country willing and fit to receive us, and then make us of perfect charity and compaſſion to our country; at leaſt that we may preſerve the ſame conſcience and integrity that God hath given us, and we ſhall then ſee happy years hereafter. And even ſo God bleſs you, and me no longer than I am,

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

*Jerſey, the firſt of January.*

*Your, &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord Treaſurer* COTTINGTON.

*My good Lord,*

I HAVE been very long of the ſame opinion you are now of, concerning the aid of France; and if you had received thoſe letters, which I have ſtill by me, were ſent to us in the Weſt, that 6000 foot were ready at the ſea ſide, their officers named, and ſhould be landed within one month,

*A.D.* 164⅞. with a parentheſis in cipher, that we were not to be diſcouraged if they were expected a week longer, which ſhould be the utmoſt; when in truth, there was neither man levied, nor any purpoſe to levy any, you would not be eaſily tranſported with hopes from thence. And for my part I will compound with them; and ſo they will do us no more harm, will releaſe them all the good they intend. Your information of the Hamburgh ſhip was not right; for it was ſo far from being ſold by my warrant, that I was not at Court when the warrant was granted; yet I do not think the thing ſo unqueſtionably unjuſt, as you ſeem to apprehend it. I will tell you the caſe truly, and I pray vouchſafe me your judgment. The commiſſion of the judge of the admiralty is directed to Sir George Parry, and in his abſence to Dr. Martin, for the counties of Devon. and Cornwall. Martin was in Cornwall when this prize was brought to Fowey, and made great haſte thither. I being at Pendennis, and well knowing that he had before diſcharged a veſſel or two contrary to his evidence, and the King's right, wrote to him to proceed with great caution and circumſpection; and if he found any difficulties in the caſe, that he ſhould reſpite ſentence till he attended my Lords with the depoſitions, the Prince being then within half a day's journey. Notwithſtanding this, and that the evidence was very pregnant for the King, he proceeded; and within 24 hours, or a little more, after the ſhip was brought in, pronounced a diſmiſſion, which put the ſeamen in ſuch a mutiny, that they attempted the carrying the veſſel out of that Port by force, and did ſome hurt to the Hamburgher. In the mean time Sir George Parry comes into Cornwall, reſumes the examination, and certifies upon the whole matter the prize, but that in ſtrictneſs he could not reverſe Dr. Martin's ſentence of diſmiſſion; and therefore ſince by the obſtruction of the ways, recourſe could not be had to the Admiralty, which was the natural way, he prayed aid of the Prince, by his extraordinary power. Upon theſe grounds and the invincible neceſſities under which we were then plunged, beſides the great damage and injury the King's ſervants every day ſuſtained by the Hamburghers, the Prince granted a warrant for the ſale of the goods. And I beſeech you inform me, in this caſe what other remedy could be had, or is there to be now, when the judge of the Admiralty will be a reſolute and pertinacious knave. You will do very well to direct Mr. Jones's accounts to be taken by the auditor, and I believe ſuch diſcoveries will be made, as will make it manifeſt that he is neither very ſubtle nor very crafty.

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Ten days ſince, my Lord Jermyn took notice before much company of the report of theſe iſlands; and ſaid, he believed the French had never ſuch a thought; but if they had, he hoped his friends had a better opinion of him, than to believe, that upon any grounds or pretences whatſoever he could be made an inſtrument in ſo infamous a piece of villany. And if the French indeed ſhould make any ſuch attempt upon us, I believe they will receive a very ſour welcome, and take my word, our Governor is better fortified than his Caſtles, which will hardly be taken. I like the humour of your friends at London very well, if it holds, and wiſh that you could ſend me word that the Parliament were adjourned to Oxford though Cromwell himſelf were left Governor of London.

I am

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I AM,

*My good Lord,*

*1st Jan.*

*Your Lordſhip's*, &c.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Earl of* BRISTOL.

*My very good Lord,*

I MUST preſent my moſt humble thanks to your Lordſhip for the favour you did me in your's of the 4th of this month; which hath given me ſo much encouragement, that I ſhall proceed with much alacrity in my task, under which I began even to faint; the bulkineſs of it, to which I perceive it will grow, making me almoſt deſpair of going through. But you have given me new life; and I ſhall preſume to beſeech your Lordſhip to vouchſafe me (as a ſeiſin of your farther future favour) ſuch particulars as your Lordſhip can call to mind of the firſt treaty at the Berks with the Scots; and upon what grounds, and in what particulars the failing of performance thereof was on his Majeſty's behalf; the paſſages of the great council at York, and in the treaty, before the ſame was adjourned to London, and afterward, 'till the act of pacification was paſſed; all which were managed principally by your Lordſhip. If to theſe you will add, the circumſtance of the notable commitment of your Lordſhip by the Houſe of Peers about the Kentiſh petition, and ſuch other circumſtances as were moſt notorious in the temper and diſpoſition of the Houſe of Peers, when you carried away Paget to York, I ſhall think I have very good luck, after ſo immodeſt a ſuit at firſt, and ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip farther without new leave; and you will be the firſt that hath vouchſafed me any direction or aſſiſtance (though I have ſpoiled near three quire of large paper) except the contribution of a few diurnals. I expect ſooner to have a clear proſpect of the buſineſs of Ireland, and what may be expected from that Kingdom for his Majeſty's ſervice, than from England and Scotland: the latter of which will uſe all poſſible arts to hinder and delay the war, though I am confident they will not deſert the King; neither will they be long able to defer their declaration. And if it be true, that they have made any truce and ceſſation with Antrim and Kelkitto, it is to me an evidence that they intend a full union with all the King's party, in all his dominions.

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GOD ſend your Lordſhip a good new year, and that you ſpend the next at Whitehall, and continue your good inclinations of grace and protection towards,

*My Lord,*

*Jerſey, the 1ſt of Jan.*

*Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*A.D.* 164⅞.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* JOHN EARLES.

*Sir*,

THOUGH I believe you have received two or three letters from me ſince you writ any, yet ſince your's of your new year's eve came to my hands ſince I writ laſt, I reckon it my turn to write again; and ſhall either convert you to a more ſedulous correſpondence, or make you ſo much aſhamed (which is a modeſty lazy men are very inclinable to), that you ſhall give over writing at all. I always ſend you word of the date of thoſe which I receive from you, ſo that you can only tell whether I have had that which you ſay was pretty long, and troubleſome; for I have not thought any one half long enough, nor troubleſome; otherwiſe than (which on my conſcience was not your ſenſe) under the notion of the vile characters, which is almoſt cipher without a key: beſides that commonly the ink and paper do ſo throughly incorporate, that the letters are hardly diſcernable. It is poſſible the Scots may take their money, if the other will pay it; but if upon that conſideration they leave the Kingdom, or ſuffer the King to leave them, I will no more pretend to divination. Let not thoſe apprehenſions ſtartle you, nor be troubled that they ſeem ſometimes to make Propoſitions which you do not like; it being ſafe and profitable to them to offer any thing which they foreſee muſt be denied by their jealous brethren: Look upon their Covenant, their avowed gloſs upon that Covenant publiſhed to the world, and tell me if any contradictions in Philoſophy be more diametrically oppoſite, and impoſſible to be reconciled to the ends of the Independents than thoſe extremes. I wiſh I were as ſure that the King would not deſert himſelf and his pious and honourable principles (of which truly I have a great confidence), as that the Scots will ſtick to him, when they are fully convinced, that he is not to be removed.

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MUST I believe H. Creſſy's reſolution to be peremptory whilſt he remains in ſuch company? Truly I am exceedingly troubled for it. What ſcruples or ſcandals could work this odious alteration (for methinks, apoſtacy is too cholerick a word towards a friend) which you could not remove? It is a great loſs to the Church, but a greater to his friends, dead, and alive; for the dead ſuffer when their memory and reputation is objected to queſtion and reproach. Is it a neceſſary conſequence to the conſcience, that if a man turn to that Church, he muſt take orders in it? methinks, there is a duty incumbent to the function, that might well terrify a man that feels not a very ſtrong impulſion, though he were never ſo well ſatisfied in the religion itſelf. If we cannot keep him a Miniſter of our Church, I wiſh he would continue a lay-man in their's, which would ſomewhat leſſen the defection, and it may be preſerve a greater proportion of his innocence.

I AM very glad (for my own ſake) that you have the happineſs to be known to my Lord Newcaſtle. I commit the managing what concerns me, both in ſubſtance and circumſtance, wholly to your direction and dexterity. I told you how far I was advanced by my Lord Withrington. I pray remember my ſervice to Mr. Hobbs by the ſame token that Sydney Godolphin hath left to him by his Will a legacy of £200. and deſire him for old acquaintance ſake, and for your interceſſion, to beſtow one of his books upon me, which I have never ſeen ſince it was printed, and therefore know not

not how much it is the ſame, which I had the favour to read in Engliſh. I thank you for your wiſhing yourſelf here, I am ſure I would purchaſe you at any price I could pay or promiſe, if it were as fit for the Prince, as it would be for me. In the mean time, I pray God he thinks your company as good as they know it to be, who cannot get it. But will the good Biſhop of Salisbury never come to relieve you? What does he? Where is he? What do you anſwer to the other thouſand queſtions I have aſked you? *A.D.* 164$\frac{6}{7}$.

God ſend you a good new year, that may yield you a decent plenty, till it may give you an honeſt peace, and me meat enough againſt hunger, and cloaths enough againſt cold. And then, if the Stationers do not ſue out a Commiſſion of Bankruptcy againſt me, for their arrears for paper and ink, I ſhall not fear any other creditors, nor the exception in the firſt article, where I will not give my place for the beſt amongſt the compounders, nor the worſt (that is the greateſt) amongſt the committee; leſs the title of being,

*Sir,*

*Jerſey, the 1ſt of January.*

*Yours &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My Lord,*

ANY mention and kindneſs from you deſerves the moſt formal and punctual acknowledgment from me, that I can make; and therefore I muſt return you my own thanks for your favour in your laſt to your Governor, who makes very much of me, but cannot make me a grain wiſer, than you left me. So that you are like to have no other comfort of me, than that I am in a place where I do no hurt, which next doing good, is the moſt commendable quality. Study we do without your Tully, and ſerve God without your velvet, though we might do the firſt more profitably, and the other more decently, if both were ſupplied. I find I have a ſtronger faith in the Scots, for which I have not been heretofore ſuſpected, than any of you, and if I ſhould hear they had received the firſt £100,000. and appointed a day to be gone, I ſhould not be troubled; but when they quit Newcaſtle out of kindneſs, or juſtice to their brethren, I will be hanged. They have an advantage, the King ſince theſe troubles could never attain to, to make Propoſitions would undo themſelves being conſented to; and thoſe are the *Strategemata politica*, by which they intend to do their buſineſs, and if I judge too reaſonably for them, they will repent it as ſoon as I. I wiſh your Lordſhip a good new year, ſuch a one as may not only repair the misfortunes of the laſt, but of four or five former, and carry us all back to that ill-inhabited city, which is much pleaſanter than Paris, and even than Jerſey itſelf; and for which I ſhall be willing to part with this bleſſed iſland. If you are ſo ill a Courtier as to mention my duty and devotion to the Queen and Prince, you will not be diſcredited by any undertaking for the former innocence and ſimplicity, or the preſent very entire faithfulneſs of,

*My good Lord,*

*Jerſey, 1ſt of Jan.*

*Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*A.D.* 164⅞.

## *His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN.

*Deare Hart*, *Newcaſtell, Saterday, 2 Jan.*

I MUST tell thee that now I am declared what I have really beene ever ſince I came to this army, which is a priſoner (for the Go. towld me ſome 4 days ſince, that he was commanded to ſecure mee, leaſt I ſhould make an eſcape); the difference being only this, that heeretofore my eſcape was eaſie anufe, but now it is moſt difficult, if not impoſſible. That which now is to be done is, that 351. and 364. declare publikely that my offers hath been more reaſonable, and that nether of you will perſwade me to goe further, but rather diſſwade me, if I had a minde to grant more; becauſe it is now cleare that the demands concerning Religion are diſtructive as well to my Crowne as conſcience; aſſeuring thee that ſomewhat fully to this ſence (I ſay fully, for it muſt not be minced) is abſolutely neceſſary for my preſervation. For if there be the leaſt imagination that 364. will grant more then I, I ſhall not live long after. This is not my opinion alone; for the F. Amb. and Montreull fully concur with me in it.

HAVING, as it is neceſſary, ſhowed thee this ſad truthe (which to me is nether new nor ſtrange), I ſhall need to ſay no more. For I know thy love will omitt nothing that is poſſible for my freedome. Yet I cannot but conjure thee never to diſpare of a good cauſe, and to remember that 364. juſtly clames from thee a never giving over care of him, even as thou loves me, who am

*Eternally thyne.*

THE Fr. Amb. goes from hence Munday next, with my approbation. For he can have nothing more to doe heere: And I belive he will be uſefull to me in France; being no leſſe confident of his affection to me, then of his knowledge of theaſe affaires, of which on my word there is no doubt. Wherfore I deſyre thee to give him all the countenance thou can.

*A rough Draught by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To my wyfe 2 Jan. by London."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* —— BRETT.

*Sir*,

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I HAVE herein returned you the Iriſh Proteſtation† of which I have only taken a copy. I wiſh I could promiſe myſelf as much advantage to his Majeſty's ſervice by it, as you ſeem to be confident of; but the truth is, it is not ſuch as ſeems to me to cloſe thoſe wounds that have bled too much already. For beſides that I do not underſtand the grounds of that peremptory ſharpneſs againſt his Majeſty's Miniſters of that Kingdom, nor what they mean by thoſe conditions far beneath the quality of free born Subjects, which they ſay they have already deſcended unto; and beſides that I believe the major part of the Proteſters have not a clear underſtanding what that Religion was that was planted in that Kingdom by St. Patrick, or profeſſed

† *The Proteſtation dated Sept* 10. 1646. *See above.*

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in England by Edward the Confeſſor, and are leſs informed of the promiſe made to them by King Henry the ſecond, and the obligation of his oath, by both which they ſeem to promiſe to ſquare and govern their actions: I have no reaſon to believe by their vow of giving to Cæſar that which is Cæſar's, they will give more than that which they cannot keep. For the reſolutions of defending the King's Crown and Dignity, and at the ſame time repugning and reverſing the laws eſtabliſhed, ſeem to me ſo diametrically oppoſite, that 'till I underſtand their gloſs, I ſhall have no comfort in their text. For truly, the Catholicks in any of his Majeſty's dominions cannot prudently propoſe to themſelves any other advantage than by preſerving the King's legal juſt power over the laws; by which they may receive his grace and diſpenſation, without avoiding and cancelling the laws themſelves. And of this opinion I know they have been, whoſe zeal and affection to your profeſſion have been unqueſtionable; and if it ſhall be purſued farther, whatever the ſucceſs hereafter may be, the preſent age will know nothing but calamity. I ſhall trouble you no farther at preſent, but wiſh you all happineſs, as being, *A.D.* 164⅞.

*Sir,*

*Jerſey, 6th of Jan.* *Your's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*My dear Lord,*

I HAVE now, this very day, received your's of the 5th of this month, being the only character of your's I have received theſe two months at leaſt. And therefore, though I am ſo meek a man, as heartily to wiſh that I had my grumbling letter again in my hands, which I ſent to you for a new year's gift the laſt week, you ſhould like a tall ſword-man be ſorry for giving the occaſion. Indeed ſuch a peremptory ſilence, notwithſtanding all my provocation (for many letters of mine are unanſwered to a tittle, and ſome in which, as the world goes, I thought myſelf hopefully concerned) wrought more upon me (being not at that defiance with melancholy as my complexion and jollity makes me believed to be) than hereafter it ſhall do, eſpecially if you give me not ſo inſupportable provocation.

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I AM far from your opinion, that the Scots will leave the King, or the Kingdom; and I wonder you run in that vogue upon ſo ſlight a reaſon as a meſſage, and a vote; both which are evidently worded to perplex, not ſatisfy, the party, to whom they are directed. If you call your memory to an account, you will find no counſels (to which you have been a party upon debate) to have been more ſucceſsful than thoſe, which by ſtanders by, or by thoſe at a diſtance, have been moſt cenſured and reproached. And it is a happineſs to the Scots, that they can ſteadily purſue what they find fit to be done, and make ſuch ſallies and excurſions in the way of doing it, as they diſcern will increaſe their advantages, with neglect of thoſe cenſures and reproaches. I am of your opinion, there is no hint to me for deſpair, if he conſent not induſtriouſly to his own ruin; againſt which I more depend upon the greatneſs, conſtancy and magnanimity of his own mind, than upon moſt of his party. And I wiſh from my ſoul, that he be not

*A.D.* 1646. more wrought upon by the importunity of his friends, towards such a declenſion, than by the terror of his enemies. How often have you and I heard him ſay, if he could not live a King, he would die a Gentleman; let him wear that princely apothegm next his heart, and he will be yet happy in this world, I am ſure he will be glorious to poſterity; and I am confident even they who wickedly preſs him to change his principles, will more reverence and fear him for his conſtant denial, than for a tame ſubmiſſion to their's. And when they are convinced that he will be true to his own, they will quit their grounds, and promiſe themſelves more ſecurity under that firmneſs, than from any diſhonourable compliance, which muſt always carry jealouſy and danger with it. You ſee how far I am from ſubmitting or conſenting to the doctrine, which you ſay ſo much ſpreads itſelf at Paris; no, my Lord; God hath truſted the King with a Kingdom rarely and admirably moulded and conſtituted, which cannot be expoſed to perfect and inſeparable ruin, but by his own concurrence and conſent. As he is not before God or man culpable of the miſeries and calamities his people have undergone by the war, ſo let him preſerve himſelf guiltleſs of worſe miſeries and calamities, which they ſhall endure by an impious (you know what I mean by impious) or diſhonourable peace. And as no ſober man objects the firſt to him, ſo, believe it, the world will impute the ſecond to none but him; and yet breaking his own heart will be the firſt benefit he will receive, after the breaking thoſe obligations from the obſervation whereof he can only reaſonably expect ſuccour and protection from God. And give me leave to ſay, becauſe I know the uſual contempt which is thrown upon ſuch diſcourſe, as if it were a ſenſeleſs expectation of miracles, there muſt go more miracles to the proſpering that poor abject compoſition, than are neceſſary to his redemption by a kingly reſolution and comportment; it being more miraculous, that God ſhould not only pardon, but reward a deſertion of thoſe rules of conſcience and honour, which himſelf hath preſcribed, than that he ſhould preſerve and reſtore by the exerciſe of conſcience, courage and conſtancy which are fitteſt to reign in the hearts of Kings. And, to my underſtanding, it is much more natural to expect a reſtoration to his own rights, from the faction, animoſity and diſunion between the Rebels upon their managery and diſpoſition of the ſpoil, and a reſurrection of the Engliſh affection and loyalty, from the awe and reverence to his unſhaken mind and magnanimity, than from his yielding to them, whoſe appetite of aſking will never be ſatisfied, but by his quitting all power to give. In God's name, let them have all circumſtantial temporary conceſſions; but let not the landmarks be removed, no pillars, upon which the fabrick relies, be taken away; let him like a good pilot throw over his goods and his merchandiſe, his officers and his honours, to ſave the ſhip; but if he throws over too his mariners and his paſſengers, that the ſhip may be the lighter, he may be in no leſs danger after the tempeſt, than he was before. If he declares allegiance to be another thing, by cenſuring thoſe who have performed the duties of ſubjects, he muſt not wonder hereafter, if his Sovereignty be leſs pleaſant to him. I ſay not this with the leaſt ſcruple of ſuſpicion, that the King can deſcend to this vile traffick (ſo God help me, I am moſt confident of the contrary), but to obey your Lordſhip in telling you frankly, that I have not changed thoſe opinions you left me poſſeſſed of. If I am deceived, all the ſervice I can do is to burn my hiſtory; which, when it cannot continue thoſe attributes which are due to the greatneſs

neſs and Majeſty of a King (under what misfortune ſoever) ſhall ceaſe to be, and ſhall give no information to poſterity, when it cannot give that it would, and leave his memory happy, if his reign cannot be. And now you ſee the inconvenience you have brought upon yourſelf by this prattle, which the leaſt appearance of kindneſs from you, and conſent to correſpond, hath drawn from me. As you like this ſize of letters, provoke me again. *A. D.* 164⅝.

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A WORD now of yourſelf. How do you live? How ſubſiſt? How ſpend your time? Do you ſtudy and find your ſpirits refreſhed, by being ſomewhat unbent to buſineſs? Have you the pleaſure of the *ſuaviſſima Vita indies ſentire ſe fieri meliorem?* which Sir Francis Bacon ſays is the benefit which learned men enjoy in retirement. Do you fortify yourſelf againſt the worſt that can happen from the inſolence of enemies, and, which is more inſupportable the neglect and injuſtice of friends? And do you ſteadily believe that an honeſt and unblemiſhed reputation will in the end buoy up a conſtant man from any calamities? And will you continue a full proportion of juſtice and kindneſs towards your old and

*Jan. 8th.*

*Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKLEY.

*My dear Jack,*

I HAVE your's of the 9th; and by your favour muſt either give over writing, or have leave to grumble when I am not kindly dealt with. And truly all the blame I lay to your charge, is not writing or (which is worſe) writing ſo little, that you only provoke the appetite, and not ſatisfy it. My anſwer to your's in and out of cipher, I preſume is long ſince with you; for beſides my Fridays (which are dedicated to letters) my conſcience will not ſuffer me to ſleep after the receiving any letter before I anſwer it, and it is the only way to enjoy the company I have not.

AND now (ſweet John!) what was that freedom, which I uſed not to you, when it would have been of more uſe than to have ſatisfied your curioſity. Reproach me throughly; and if I have been guilty of a drachm of reſervedneſs, I will anſwer for a pound; I ſay, and I am willing it ſhould be put to the ſtricteſt inquiſition, and am yet without any deſign upon it, if my friendſhip to John Berkley hath been hid under a buſhel, though it hath never ſhined uſefully, if it hath not had all the juſtice, and all the conſtancy, requiſite to a virtue by which a man would be ſaved, and all the paſſion, and all the impatience a man would be valued by, I declare myſelf not only unfit for, but uncapable of any further honeſt correſpondence in this world. And therefore, if there be any thing that by miſrepreſentation or miſunderſtanding (for the firſt begets the ſecond) ſticks with you, deal freely with me, and yourſelf ſhall be the judge.

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AND ſo farewel.

*Your moſt affectionate Servant.*

*Jerſey, this 8th of Jan.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

*A. D.* 164⅚.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* —— STEWARD.

*Sir,*

IF it be in my power, I will awaken you from that lethargy and diſinclination to ſpeak or write; and though the diſtance from you (which for my ſake I heartily regret) will not ſuffer me to provoke you to the firſt, it ſhall go hard but I will compel you to the ſecond. And if chiding would ſerve turn (which is one of my beſt faculties), I would remove the drowſineſs which you accuſe yourſelf of, and which ſeems to cloud your natural excellent vivacity. Your ſadneſs and drooping in afflictions and calamities would prove as infectious, as the dejectedneſs of a General in the morning of a battle; and therefore be ſure that as I owe you for many good precepts, which by the grace of God I will not part from, ſo I may be equally inſtructed by your example, in an alacrity of ſuffering any miſeries that may attend the good cauſe. I was exceedingly joyed with the news of your recovery, of which Doctor Earles kindly advertiſed me, when I was apprehenſive of the worſt, which truly affected me ſtrangely. And yet I find by your too ſhort anſwers to the particulars of my letter, that the indiſpoſition hath not fully left you. I wiſh you had given me as full aſſurance of the health of your Maſter's mind, as you have done of his body, that he retains thoſe firm principles of conſcience and honour, and a reſolution of riding out this ſtorm by thoſe principles which will better defend him (whatever new politicks are read) than a union with either faction. Since you could not but know his reſolution, when you left him, I was in hopes you would have imparted it to me, and your not doing it makes me fear more, than the diſcourſe of all other combinations.

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CONCERNING my Lord of Canterbury, you are well able upon what you have credibly heard, or poſitively known, to ſupply me with ſuch paſſages, as may not be omitted. And I take it to be no leſs the true end of hiſtory, to derive the eminency and virtue of thoſe perſons, who lived and acted in thoſe times of which he writes, faithfully to poſterity, than the counſels which were taken, or the actions which were done. And truly I do not more promiſe myſelf to ſee ſome viſible marks of the judgment of God for that execrable murder, than for the rebellion and ſacrilege which they have acted and intended. The College does well to recollect his life; I pray God they proceed in it, or do any thing elſe worthy the memory of that man. But no ſupply from thence will probably much advance me; therefore I am where I was. And now, Sir, to apply a little further vexation to your indiſpoſition, let me intreat you to turn a book for me. I find in my notes (for I have no books) theſe words of Grotius in his *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, the 18th Ch. of the 2d book, *De Legationum Jure*, Fol. 270. of the edition in Fol. "At Reges, qui Bello ſolenni victi, Regnoque exuti ſunt, cum "aliis Regni bonis, et jus legandi perdiderunt." I beſeech you ſee, whether they are his own words (as I conceive them to be); for you know the latter edition is farced with a wonderful company of other mens ſayings, and let me know whether the *Jus Gentium* be clear in that point, and whether *Bellum ſolenne* comprehends an expulſion by Rebels; who you know cannot conſtitute *juſtum Bellum*. You have no way to redeem yourſelf from

from unſpeakable vexation, but to proteſt againſt further correſpondence with *A.D.* 164⅚.

*Your's &c.*

*Jerſey, 8th Jan.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* JOHN EARLES.

WELL; admit you do ſpend three hours every day, that you may ſpend one with the Prince, allow two hours to your dinner, and two hours in the projecting where to get one, you have ſtill a fair time to yourſelf, and one half hour in a week, without queſtion, to tell me that you are alive, and that in this diſmal time of mutation, you are ſo far from change, that you continue even the ſame to me. I am not willing to tell you, that, though you owe me no letters, you have three or four of mine unanſwered. But I muſt tell you, the laſt packet from Paris brought me none from you, though I found by ſome I received, that mine thither had not miſcarried; ſo you were not without provocation. Indeed, you are to blame to truſt me ſo much with myſelf in this terrible conflict; with which moſt men are ſo unworthily appalled: For truly your advice and approbation is of ſingular comfort and encouragement to me. And now, I pray tell me, what is that *Charitas Patriæ*, which all moral and divine authors have ſo much magnified. That I muſt not concur in the acts of impiety and injuſtice of my country, though never ſo generally practiſed, or do a thing in itſelf wicked to ſave or preſerve my country from any ſufferings, is, I doubt not, very clear. But is that *Charitas Patriæ* utterly to be aboliſhed and extinguiſhed, for it's practice of that impiety and injuſtice? Should I wiſh their irreligion deſtroyed by an army of Turks, or their licence ſubdued by a power that would make them ſlaves? Was it well ſaid of Alcibiades, that he is truly a lover of his country, not that refuſeth to invade the country he hath wrongfully loſt, but deſires ſo much to be in it, as by any means he can, he will attempt to recover it? Was not Jocaſta more chriſtian to her Son Polynices; *Petendo patriam, perdis; ut ſiat tua, vis eſſe nullam.* I pray, ſay ſomewhat to me of this argument; that I may really know how far I may comply with paſſion and provocation; and whether, as no infirmity or impiety in my prince can warrant or excuſe my declenſion of allegiance towards him, there be not ſome candour and kindneſs to remain towards a man's country, though infected with the moſt raging rebellion. God preſerve you!

*8th of January* 1646.

*A rough Draught, corrected, and endorſed by himſelf.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Lords* JERMYN *and* CULPEPER.

*Newcaſtell, Saterday, 9 Jan.*

YOUR's of the 28 De. did make me not a litle wonder, both for the firſt and ſecond part of it. For wheras by ſome of your former you deſyred me to ſtay my meſſage, if it were not gone, now you are trobled becauſe it is not ſent. And if you meane that it ſhould have gone according to your corrections, belive me, ſuch a meſſage had done nothing but more

*A.D.* 164$\frac{6}{7}$. and more angered the Waſpe's neſt. Then, albeit I thinke it no ſtrange thing to be miſtaken; yet in this I cannot blame myſelfe; for your caution being verry poſitive (I call it your's, for though the letter bore 351's name, the ſtile eaſily diſcovered who was her Secretary), that till the Scots ſhall declare that they will not protect me, I ſhould not thinke of an eſcape, I confeſſe that I thought it had been a civile way of expreſſion not to thinke of it at all. For I could not imagen but you muſt needs know, that ſuch a declaration could never come, without making me an actuall priſoner; which now experience ſhowes to be too true. And I thought you had relyed upon France's declaring for me, if I were a priſoner. Well; I am miſtaken. But are not you ſo too, by ſaying, I may go to the Highlands, if the Scots refuſe me to go into Scotland? For beſydes the impoſſibility of goeing thither, I ſhould there be infallibly loſt. And as for Irl. and Jerſey, though I will not ſay they are impoſſible, yet certainly they are ſtrange jurneis in reſpect of eſcaping from hence. But all theaſe conſiderations are out of date. For now, it is only the queſtion, whether I ſhall be a priſoner in England or Scotland. Nor ſhall I have tyme to have your advyce: And to me the caſe is very difficult. For I thinke to be better uſed in Eng. though I have more frends in Scotland (I meane, of Parl. men). So that I am no wais yet reſolved what to doe, but only to gaine tyme as much as I may; that is to ſay, if I ſhall be able to make an election. For it is belived that the Scots will deliver me up to the Eng. as being part of theire laſt London treaty. Thus having given you the true ſtat of my preſent condition (unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God miraculouſly to deliver me) I leave to your care (I know it needs no recommendation) for preſſing Fr. and the reſt of my frends to doe what is needful for me, and poſſible for them in this caſe. Only, I recommend to you the opinion I ſent 351. in my laſt diſpach, concerning her and 364's declaration.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf, endorſed by him,*
"To L. Jer. and L. Cul. 9 Jan."

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* DIGBY.

*My dear Lord,*

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YOU can impute it only to the reſtleſſneſs and ſolicitude of my friendſhip (which, how unprofitable and uſeleſs ſoever, certainly will always attend you in any misfortune, and almoſt in any fault) that I am exceedingly perplexed with what you write to me concerning yourſelf. Alas! what ſubſiſtence moderately honourable is it that you aim to eſtabliſh to yourſelf and your friends? and can it be done with that innocence and honour which you ought to preſerve? Believe it, many things which many other men, and of your own quality and rank, may juſtly and honeſtly do, will be crimes in you. You can no more be a ſervant or penſioner to another Crown, than you can marry another wife; and the number and ſeveral ſpecies of your enemies, ought to ſupply you with great caution that you ſhould be provided againſt reproaches as well as impeachments. If you want providence and diſcretion to diſcern conſequences, as well what may be miſinterpreted, as what is ſimply unlawful, your reputation will not be preſerved; for God's ſake, think not, affect not, an honourable ſubſiſtence,

which cannot be without ſcandal, whilſt the honour of your Maſter, of your country, and of all honourable perſons of it, is clouded, and almoſt eclipſed. Borrow or beg (it is very honeſt) ſo much as will keep you alive and cleanly for one year; and withdraw into a quiet corner where you are not known, and where not above two or three friends may hear of you. If you can but live one year without being ſpoken of at all, without being in a capacity of having your own or other men's errors imputed to you, you will find a ſtrange reſurrection of a good fame. In that retirement you will revolve the rare accidents and misfortunes of your life; in the conſideration whereof I fear you have been too negligent. And it may be, you may believe you have encountered new and unuſual dangers, becauſe you have not duly weighed paſt, and unuſual deliverances. You will find as much of the immediate hand of God in both, as can be obſerved in the courſe of a man's life much ſuperior to you in age, and it may be in action. You may in this diſquiſition conſider by what frowardneſs of fortune it comes to paſs, that a man of the moſt exquiſite parts of nature and art, that this age hath brought forth, hath been without ſucceſs in thoſe very actions, for which meaner men have been highly commended; that a man of the moſt candid, and obliging diſpoſition, of the moſt unrevengeful, and inoffenſive temper, and conſtitution, ſhould not only have fewer friends, in the general crowd of lookers on, than many ſtubborn and inſociable complexions uſe to find, but more enemies amongſt thoſe, whoſe advancement and proſperity he hath contributed to, than ever man hath met with. And without doubt you will diſcover ſomewhat, no man elſe can diſcover, and enjoy an ample benefit by the diſcovery, throughout the long courſe of your life, that is to come. I do not invite you to any moroſe or melancholy ſequeſtring yourſelf from the world; if I am not miſtaken it will be as chearful and pleaſant a part of your life as ever you enjoyed. And after you have given your mind this diet, exerciſe, and repoſe, you will return with greater vigour upon the ſtage; and any ſhift you ſhall be then neceſſitated to, will be more juſtifiable to the world, and comfortable to yourſelf. If this advice be either too late, or too low, I beſeech you fix upon ſome bounds beyond which you will not paſs, even to ſave your life, or (which, it may be, is a greater temptation) to preſerve it ſplendid: for whoſoever obeys the invitations of convenience, or the very injunctions of neceſſity, cannot poſſibly continue innocent. And take a meaſure, from the hours of indiſpoſition and melancholick, and trouble of mind, you have undergone, after an eaſy tranſgreſſion or error in diſcretion, or extravagancy of paſſion, and by the diſquiet and unpleaſantneſs of that ſhort time, whilſt the memory is freſh of that particular, judge what kind of a life you ſhall live after a deliberated ill act, which all other men's memories as well as your own will continually obtrude to you; and think what price can be vile enough for twenty or thirty years of ſuch a life —. I pray let your Secretaries collect all material paſſages concerning Ireland, you think fit to impart to me. I would be glad, you could yourſelf collect as many particulars of Count Harcourt's negotiation in England, of Duke Hamilton's commitment, and of the Marquis of Montroſe's managery in Scotland, and any other things you imagine conducing to my work. God of Heaven bleſs you, and bring us well again together!

*A.D.* 164⅞.

16 *January. St. vet.* *I am entirely, &c.*

*A Copy, corrected and endorſed by himſelf.*

A.D. 164$\frac{6}{7}$.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord Treasurer* COTTINGTON.

*My very good Lord,*

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I DO extremely wonder, that I do receive no word from Tom Hyde himself (though I have had one short letter from him) concerning the business of this island. The Secretary (giving me caution to look to myself) tells me, that the Dr. says, that there is a treaty at London for the delivery up of this island, and a friend from London writes me word, that he trusted the Doctor to say somewhat to me of my own security. It is possible there may be a treaty; for there are many fugitives of this island there, who no doubt will pretend much power, but can do nothing. We are as sure of the Governor as of ourselves, and very confident of the best of the island; neither can the common people (who really are not generally disaffected) do the least hurt without the help of an army, which would quickly undo the island, and could never recover the Castles. If the King puts himself absolutely into their hands, and concurs with them, we may be put to it, (for I ever thought he and the two Houses of Parliament together would be too hard for any ordinary man); but otherwise, truly I do not think you can in the world dispose yourself better, than in this island (except at Fonthill) with these accommodations I gave you an account of in my last. In earnest, the hope that it may be possible gives me great comfort. For if I might live near you, I should grow a pretty fellow against the time that the lunacy in England will be cured. I am very glad Oriel College was so accurately just in the case of the Hamburgher; yet you have not answered me what was to be done on the behalf of the King in so manifest an unfaithfulness of the judge, upon the case which I truly put to you. Mr. Jones is not yet come; but I had a letter from him yesterday, that he would be here within 14 days. Your directions shall be observed by the auditor. Byyour wish that [*if*] the Queen go into Ireland, the Prince may go with her, I suppose you would have him out of France: for next that I do not think Ireland fit for him, less, for the Queen, who I hear sometimes speaks of that, sometimes of a Monastery, which would be far the better choice. It is not possible that money should be so scarce at Paris as they pretend, and there may be many reasons for concealing their receipts, when no proportion would be answerable to their disbursements.

28 *January.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by himself.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKLEY.

*My dear Jack,*

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I DO not think you have heard me much accused of a fondness towards the nation; and yet the Scots must be gone over Tweed, before I shall believe they will go. For till the peace in England be visible and unquestionable by firm acts of Parliament, for them to withdraw into their own country, where their condition must be very perplexed, at least with

with fears, is the only madneſs they do not deſerve to be ſuſpected for. *A.D.* 1645. God knows all my agony is for the King and his Poſterity; for private conſiderations, it may be, an ill made peace would ſooner produce advantages to honeſt men, than an ill managed war. But if he recedes from his kingly reſolutions, of honour and conſcience, he muſt be moſt miſerable. And if the condition of a poor Gentleman, who hath loſt his credit and his honour, be moſt lamentable, what muſt that of a Prince be, when no man dares truſt him? And ſure, if that were enough conſidered, it were not poſſible for men to be of that mind, many ſeem to be of, without declaring that they do only conſider themſelves, not the King, whoſe hopes (till he undoes himſelf) can never be deſperate. You will not ſee the Independents ſo eaſily converted or confounded, as is imagined. Patience, John, and the ſcene will change. For the admiſſion of the three Lords I am not ſorry, as I ſhall not be for any acceſs of power to that Houſe, which can never be preſerved, but by reſtoring to the King his juſt power. And I am ſo far of your opinion, that to my logic and my law, it is moſt demonſtrable, that either no peace can be made, that the worſt man diſcreetly can rely upon for his own intereſt, or it muſt be upon the old foundations of Government in Church and State, reſuming ſuch reformations as ſhall be thought reaſonable to ſoberer times. And how ridiculous ſoever this ſeems, it will appear more neceſſary, the nearer men draw to the concluſion. And even they who are moſt peremptory againſt it now, will every day meet with ſomewhat in their journey, that will reform them. And all this makes me believe the firſt, that there will be yet no peace, men being not prepared enough for the ſecond, and it not being for God to wrap up the horrid impiety and inhumanity of the people in a ſudden calm. God preſerve you from too adventurous a relying upon Ireland, which is a reed; and the more you rely on it, will run into your hands the deeper. They well underſtand your condition in France, you do not their's; and you may rely, that they will propoſe any thing they think may be fitly done for their advantage: whereas any thing propoſed on your parts which will meet with diſſenting there, or averſeneſs, cannot paſs without producing ſome inconveniencies. God of Heaven preſerve thee, and bring us ſeaſonably again together! which is infinitely deſired by

*&c.*

*Jerſey, 28th of Jan.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Earl of* BRISTOL.

*My very good Lord,*

I RECEIVED both your Lordſhip's of the 23d and 28th in one day, and the laſt with Dr. Henſhaw's before the other, the winds for 10 days having not ſuffered us, to have any intercourſe with that part of the main. And I muſt return you my humble thanks for your directions concerning my method, which without queſtion will be moſt agreeable to the major part of readers. Yet I am in ſome doubt (having thought with much agony upon it), that it will not be fit to be exactly obſerved in this work I am upon. For your Lordſhip knows there is a great deal of difference between troubling the ſeries of grave and weighty actions and counſels with te-

*A. D.* 164[1]. dious relations of formal deſpatches (though of notable moment), and the relating ſolemn acts and conſultations, from which all the matter of action is raiſed and continued. And therefore you will find D'Avila (who I think hath written as our's ſhould be written, and from whence no queſtion our Gameſters learnt much of their play) inſert the declarations of both ſides in the main body of the ſtory, as the foundations upon which all that was after done, was built. But that I may be the more capable of your Lordſhip's directions, I beſeech you give me leave to tell you, how I have framed and moulded this buſineſs I have in hand, being reſolved to make any alterations you ſhall think fit. Then, in the firſt place, give me leave to tell you, that I have no hope of bringing this wild ſtory within any reaſonable bounds, to invite Readers by the ſmallneſs of the bulk, there having already paſſed my hand in this long paper, and in this vile character, near fourſcore ſheets; which being printed would be more than one volume of D'Avila; and yet I am gone no further than the ſetting up the ſtandard, and, as your Lordſhip muſt know, have very much to inſert in every page of what I have done. I begin with a *Prolegomenon* (which ſhall go for the firſt book) from the death of King James; ſtating the affairs and conditions of the Kingdom, through the ſeveral breaches of Parliaments, the ſeveral projects for money, ſhip-money, and the Scots firſt and ſecond coming in, to the beginning of this Parliament; † in which I mention only thoſe particulars as may manifeſt the diſtemper of the whole Kingdom, when this Parliament did begin, and this (beſides the addition that muſt be made when your Lordſhip hath favoured me with your inſtructions) takes up 16 ſheets of paper. The ſecond book contains all paſſages from the beginning of the Parliament, to the King's going into Scotland the July following, and this hath ſpent 18 or 19 ſheets of paper. The third comprehends the breaking out of the Rebellion in Ireland, and all that was done from the King's coming out of Scotland (not omitting ſomewhat that was done there) to his going to New-Market; from whence your Lordſhip remembers he went quickly to York. Of this near 20 ſheets is likewiſe done. The fourth book contains all the paſſages from the King's going to York to the ſetting up the ſtandard; which time being wholly ſpent in talk, and all that followed of action proceeding from that talk, I have been obliged to ſet down (which I had a great mind to have avoided) many declarations even *in terminis*; ſo that this fourth book conſiſts upon the matter of little elſe but declarations, and hath coſt me in ſpight of my cloſe writing nearer 30 than 20 ſheets of paper. The fifth book I intend to be a greater *Hiatus*, if ſuch notes and records as I have ſent for to London come ſafely to me. However it is moulded to contain a diſcourſe of the juſt Regal power of the Kings of England, and of his negative voice, of the Militia, and of the Great Seal, by the laws of the Kingdom, of the original, at leaſt of the antiquity and conſtitution of Parliaments, of their juriſdiction and privileges, of the power of the Houſe of Peers by the law, and of the natural limits and extent of the Commons. ‡ And how unequal ſoever I may be thought, and in truth

† *This account does not correſpond with the preſent diviſion of the books.*

‡ *This part of his plan was afterwards altered. But there occurs among the MSS. of this Collection a diſtinct and regular treatiſe conſiſting of twelve large papers in folio, cloſely written, on Kingly Government, and the eſſential prerogatives of it, as eſtabliſhed in this country; with an enumeration of the ſeveral kinds of treaſons by the law of the land, and a particular application of theſe points to the conduct of the King's enemies, in which are ſpecified the chief inſtances wherein they had violated the conſtitution. It is in the handwriting of Mr. Edgman; ſo probably was drawn up by Lord Clarendon.*

am, with any ſupply, to this taſk, I do promiſe your Lordſhip that it ſhall (and ſo ſhall the reſt too) be very well weighed by better judges, before any prejudice ſhall ariſe to the cauſe by the publiſhing. The ſixth book ſhall comprehend all that happened from the ſetting up of the ſtandard to the end of the firſt treaty at Oxford, which was about Candlemas after, and muſt take in all that was done in that time in the North and in the Weſt. And farther than this my model is not yet made; and all this is, and ſhall always be entirely ſubmitted to your Lordſhip's judgment and diſpoſal, and ſhall be no otherwiſe current, than as you ſhall *albo calculo annotare*; except I have by this ſcribble frighted you from meddling farther with me. But your Lordſhip's own goodneſs hath expoſed you to this vexation you undergo by *A. D.* 164⅚.

*&c.*

*Jerſey, this 1ſt of Febr.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* ROBERT CREIGHTON, *Dean of St. Buryan's in* Cornwall.

*Good Mr. Dean,*

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I CANNOT confeſs myſelf ſatisfied with your anſwer concerning the Scripture; neither will you find any thing in Bellarmine to my purpoſe, though it ſerves his own. For I know their Church hath always received the whole bulk that is bound up as the Bible for the Scripture, without any diſtinction of Canonical and Apochryphal; and that they think by that reception of the Church that they have a great advantage againſt us. But I would fain know when the diſtinction came firſt into the Church of Apochryphal and Canonical, and the grounds and reaſons thereof. For I ſuppoſe it a thing done with great ſolemnity in ſome council, or at leaſt in an eminent ſynod. Not that I at all doubt the reaſonableneſs of it (though I know not the hiſtory and date,) or that the Church, when it admitted that difference, had not a better reaſon ſo to do, than that the Hebrew copy was not found, by which, it may be, ſome part of the Canonical might be queſtioned. For ſure the gravity, ſtyle, matter, and expreſſion in thoſe books are very different from the books of Scripture; as the vulgarity of matter and language of Tobit, the high and rhetorical dialect of Eſdras, the Romance of Maccabees (beſides the precept of praying for the dead, and the juſtification of a man's killing himſelf) I believe are not agreeable to the books of the Prophets, and the hiſtory of Kings. And it may be, in the beginning of the Reformation, the Church prudently avoided to make any alteration in that point, leaſt the people might be ſcandalized at the change of Religion, which ſhould be introduced with a kind of change of Scripture. But ſince the Reformation hath been ſo well received and underſtood, I want ſome information why there was not ſome reformation too in this, but that any thing ſhould be read in the Church as Scripture, which we do not acknowledge to be ſuch. For no doubt the common people have no other judgment of any thing to be Scripture, than as it is read in the Church out of the Bible. And for the excellent morality of it, it might have been as well preſerved as Plutarch's morals, or Seneca hath been, and it may be as much ſtudied as it is now; ſince I believe many practical men

*A.D.* 164⅞. read the two laſt more than they do the wiſdom of Solomon, or the Son of Sirach. And truly, it is imaginable, the giving them that reputation of being read in the place of Scripture, may in ſome melancholick, diſconſolate time not be without ſome inconvenience; eſpecially if there be more ſaid in that place of the Maccabees to juſtify a man's killing himſelf, than in all the Scripture againſt it.

*I am, &c.*

*Jerſey, the 8th of Febr. 1646. Stil. vet.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to Mr. Secretary* Nicholas.

*Sir,*

I HAVE received your 14th; but am very much troubled that my 10th by ſome great miſtake (for it was ſent, as I told you before, by the ſame meſſenger who brought you my 11th) is not come to your hands. For though I do not remember what was in it (beſides a letter to my Lord Capel) I am confident there was much not fit to be peruſed by any other, and I thought the conveyance moſt ſecure. I have cauſed his Brother-in-law to write to that Merchant of Caen who was intruſted with it, to know what is become of that letter. Before I ſay any thing to you of thoſe ſix particulars in your letter, let me tell you, that if you think any thing neceſſary to be ſaid to the vindication of our Maſter in that point, it ought not to ſtay for the hiſtory, which will require much time before it will be done, and very much time and ſecond thoughts after it is done, before it be publiſhed. But if you require me to [*enter*] upon ſome conſiderations of that argument, and ſend me thoſe letters of the King's and Queen's which were publiſhed after Naſeby, which were applied to improve that ſcandal, I will write ſome little diſcourſe upon it, and ſend it to you; in which I muſt tell you before, I will offer no excuſe for the entertaining of Con, who came after Panzani, and was ſucceeded by Roſetti; which was a buſineſs of ſo much folly, or worſe, that I have mentioned it in my *Prolegomenon* (of thoſe diſtempers and exorbitances in Government which prepared the people to ſubmit to the fury of this Parliament) as an offence and ſcandal to Religion, in the ſame degree the ſhip-money was to liberty and property. Therefore you muſt think in what age my ſcribble is like to ſee light. For the imputation of ſlowneſs in declaring againſt the Iriſh Rebels, it is very fully anſwered in one of the King's declarations, either of the 19th, or 26 of May, which was drawn up after ſome intercourſe of letters between my Lord Falkland and you upon the argument; neither can the leaſt charge in that point ſtick upon his Majeſty, who was obliged to do no act that had reference to that Kingdom, but by the advice of the two Houſes, or upon the deſire of the State there; whoſe advice was moſt neceſſary to be obſerved in that particular moſt punctually, the proclamation containing as well matter of grace and pardon as declaration of Treaſon, and therefore only to be communicated in ſuch manner as they found neceſſary upon the place; and ſo the number was ſent they deſired. Whereas if they had been promiſcuouſly publiſhed as other proclamations uſe to be, they might have been diſappointed of the fruit they expected. So the deſires of the council there were fully complied with, and they truſted with this publication. For the proceeding againſt the Scots, which can in no other ſenſe be called (and in

that

that it may) a precipitation in condemning and declaring againſt them, than as it was not ſeconded as it ought to have been, he is an irrecoverable puppy by diſputation, that dares avow the ſpeaking for them, who were doubtleſs the moſt barefaced Rebels, without the leaſt legal colour of juſtice, that have been in any time; having neither the reputation or juriſdiction of a Parliament which may impoſe upon reaſonable underſtandings, as your friends have, or the leaſt pretence to any law of their own, to put themſelves into arms. And I believe myſelf to be ſo much ſkilled in the laws of Scotland (of which I have read very little, but more ſince my baniſhment than before) that (without an appeal to Jeſus Chriſt) I can evince that to be as much a Rebellion by their own laws, as I can the other in England by the 25th of Edward the 3d. And God forgive thoſe who to the irreparable ruin of Government and the prejudice of truth, have made thoſe proceedings legal and juſtifiable: the Logic whereof hath diveſted the Kingdom of Scotland of all rules of juſtice, law, or piety, and hath really left them more unlimited in either, than the law of nature and nations would elſe have preſcribed to them. And for their declarations, I never ſaw any that could move any, but thoſe who were tranſported with the ſame ſpirit, by which they defended themſelves againſt the laws of the land: whereas the king's declaration (which we ſaid then was drawn by Belcanquet, you know beſt whether it were ſo) clearly manifeſted the groſſneſs and abſurdity of all their pretences; which was never anſwered but by the fire. For the diſclaiming and proteſting againſt the Nuntio in Ireland, except he could have done more, I am of your opinion, it would have been of no moment. Beſides that a King may be gracious to his Catholic ſubjects (as the caſe then ſtood with him) and be willing by any means to unite them to his ſervice, without any immoderate inclination to their opinions. Yet I muſt tell you, I care not how little I ſay in that buſineſs of Ireland, ſince thoſe ſtrange powers and inſtructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appear to me ſo inexcuſable to juſtice, piety, and prudence. And I fear there is very much in that tranſaction of Ireland, both before and ſince, that you and I were never thought wiſe enough to be adviſed with in. Oh Mr. Secretary, thoſe ſtratagems have given me more ſad hours, than all the misfortunes in war, which have befallen the King, and look like the effects of God's anger towards us. For the Prince's going or not going to Charenton, I can ſay nothing, having never heard word from Paris, which I wonder at, if it had been agitated there ſo far as you ſeem to apprehend it to have been. And I had rather take it to be a matter of ſtate, and ſo liable to be determined by the rules of fitneſs and unfitneſs by thoſe who can judge of all circumſtances, than to be concluded againſt for the reaſons you ſpoke of: for his going to Charenton is no more countenancing Preſbytery againſt Epiſcopacy, than the ſending an Ambaſſador into Holland is countenancing a Republic againſt Monarchy; neither hath the King or Prince ever raiſed or encouraged arms againſt Preſbytery, but to defend the laws and government eſtabliſhed againſt any innovation or invaſion whatſoever. And I ſhould not think a Cavalier of Geneva leſs culpable to their laws who would by arms endeavour to erect Epiſcopacy there, (for which you know there wants no title) than I do thoſe who have ſo unlawfully thrown it down in England. The letter to the Pope is by your favour more than compliment; which I never ſaw before, and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or ſaid in that nice argument but what will endure the light. And methinks you

*A.D.* 1648.

*A.D.* 164$\frac{6}{7}$. may ſeaſonably aſk my Lord of Briſtol what the ground and method of that tranſaction was; yet, if I do not forget myſelf, that very letter is one of the articles which his Lordſhip preferred againſt the Duke of Buckingham. But for the concluſion of the Proteſtants abroad, and the abominating thoſe, who in Proteſtant States uſe any tenderneſs or compliance towards the Papiſts, I think it very ſtrange; and I am ſure it was a very powerful argument both at Council Table, and in Parliament, in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James, when any ſharp overtures were made againſt the Papiſts, that there ought to be clemency uſed towards them, leaſt other Princes ſhould take occaſion from thence to exerciſe more ſeverity againſt their ſubjects of the Reformed Religion. And, by their favour who ſpeak of being ſo much curbed and oppreſſed, though I do not think the condition of the Catholicks in England before theſe wars fit to be complained of, I conceive it was much harder than they of the Reformation undergo in France, or in any other place where they are taken notice of.

I HAVE now gone through all the parts of your letter, and have little to add of myſelf, having ſaid as much of all other things which occur to me, as I could in my 12th or 13th letters, which I hope are come ſafe to you. Of England I know nothing; nor (though I receive diſmal news from Paris) ſhall believe any thing but what you ſend me. My Lord Hopton within 20 days will leave me; and then I betake myſelf to be a ſojourner with the honeſt Governor, which is the only way I can think of living; where I ſhall ſtudy hard; and if I can keep my body in health (which I do not doubt) by the Grace of God, my mind will be chearful, and will entertain the confidence ſtill that we ſhall meet again happily, which will bring much comfort to,

*&c.*

*Jerſey, the 12th of Febr.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

### *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* JOHN EARLES.

*Sir,*

I HAVE this day received your's of the 14th, before which time I hope you had mine of the 6th; and then you know that your former (which you call a long one, though it deſerved not the accuſation) came ſafe to my hands. I cannot tell how to help the long paſſage of our letters, which proceeds from the winds inconſtancy; for if our letters are not at Cotanvile on Tueſday morning, they ſleep there another week, and the wind ſometimes keeps your's on that ſide a week or ten days, before they can get hither; ſo that all we can do, is to keep ourſelves faultleſs, by conſtant writing (let our letters be ſent as they can) which is as hard for me to forget, as for you to remember. You tell me G. Morley's opinion of the King, but not his reſolution for himſelf; what will he do if foundations be deſtroyed? for the King and Parliament may deſtroy foundations. Though the Scots, if they leave the King and Kingdom, have deceived me, who never truſted them, nor gave any conſent that others ſhould, yet the King will be in no worſe poſture than I would have had him long ago, a priſoner. For I would rather (and it is known I would ſo) he ſhould have ſtayed in Oxford, and after the defending it to the laſt biſcuit, been taken priſoner with his honeſt retinue about him, and then relied upon his own virtue in impriſon-

impriſonment, than to have thrown himſelf into the arms of the Scots, who held them not fairly open. Not that I imagined they could have done what every body concludes they have or will do; but that I thought it an unkingly thing to aſk relief of thoſe who had done all the miſchief; which it may be, had more of Philoſophy or Metaphyſicks in it, than practical reaſon. And I hope that God hath diſappointed all his other expectations, to ſhew that Chriſtian Princes can ſafely rely on nothing but their own [.....] and the integrity of their conſciences to him; that he ſhall owe his redemption purely to that; and that, when the people ſhall ſee how conſtant, and tenacious he is of what is juſt and right (without the council, ſupport, or comfort of one honeſt man about him) they will ſo much abhor their jealouſy and diſeſteem of him, that they will conclude him the only fit Sovereign to preſide and govern any Reformation. Before I ſay any thing of the argument, I will tell you very truly why I aſked the queſtion of you concerning *Charitas Patriæ*. I have now nothing to do (at leaſt I have leiſure enough to render me inexcuſable if I do not that) but to weigh throughly my own condition, to thank God that it is no worſe, and to thank him exceedingly that he hath not ſuffered me by any pertinacious guilt to be an inſtrument of bringing this ill condition upon the public, or upon myſelf, and ſo to have the comfort and ſupport of a good conſcience. Then, to gratify that Providence of his with preparing myſelf to ſubmit to, and ſuffer a worſe condition than I yet endure, which is very reaſonable to expect; and to be ſure, by looking as far before me as my weak faculties will extend, that I be neither corrupted with ſuch a deſire to prevent, or ſurpriſed with ſuch a deſign to avoid that worſe condition, that I forfeit the innocence which will make any condition ſupportable. And to deal freely with you, in this contemplation, I have not only endeavoured to find out and revolve what is my duty, as long as the King does his, but if he ſhould do otherwiſe, how little alteration that is to make in me, and not only as long as I can get bread, but when it is evident I can hope for no more. For truly, though in my own particular I have hitherto known nothing but the higheſt plenty, and by the exceeding goodneſs of theſe people where I am, am not in apparent danger of feeling leſs, yet I cannot but expect ſuch mutations as may probably drive me into other parts, where I ſhall have quickly but enough to pay for a lodging to ſtarve in, and in that ſtrait I hope to do no ill thing. Being thus forming myſelf (without the leaſt taint of melancholick or dejection of mind) I ſaw ſeveral letters of a great probability of peace between Chriſtian Princes, and much joy expreſſed, that by this means there would be vacant forces for the reduction of England. And when I found myſelf not equally affected with joy, and heard ſome expreſſions not agreeable to my ſenſe, I let myſelf go into the conſideration what I could wiſh in that caſe, and how far I ſhould be willing to engage myſelf in thoſe counſels, if I were invited to bear a part. And upon that occaſion, being able to preſent many doubts and objections to myſelf, which I could not eaſily get from, I appealed for advice and direction to you, upon whoſe judgment, diſcretion, and conſcience, I do ſo much depend, that I do really ſuſpect my own, where I find it at all differ from your's. And I have now punctually and ingeniouſly told you the true motives and grounds of my queſtion, which I know not in what terms I put, (for I remember I was in haſte, and the packet ready to be ſent away when I wrote); but by your anſwer I ſuppoſe I expreſſed not myſelf as I ſhould have done. I thank

*A.D.* 164⅞.

*A.D.* 164⁶. God I have not the leaſt ſcruple how far I ought to comply in any breach of conſcience and religion, to preſerve my country: the negative is much more eaſy to be reſolved than the affirmative; I wiſh I could as eaſily tell what I were to do, as I can conclude what I am not to do. I do readily agree with you that the greater part of men in my country, is not that *Patria* which may challenge [. . . . . ]; and yet even to thoſe there is a great proportion of compaſſion due. For if we have a natural affection and ſympathy with the very air, climate, and ſituation, ſure our affections ought not to be dead to the inhabitants, under any abſtracted notions of good and bad, right and wrong, true and falſe. But as that man who is viſibly ſtarving in the ſtreets, is not only a fit, but a neceſſary object of my charity, though he killed my Father; ſo a maſſacre of my countrymen, though guilty of an odious Rebellion, ought to affect me much more, than if they were ſtrangers, albeit their blood may poſſibly extinguiſh the Rebellion. And I pray God, the want even of this charity when we were in our country, of a due ſenſe of our loſs when we got moſt, hath not been in the number of thoſe faults, for which he hath ſuffered us to be driven out of our country. But I doubt not the *Patria*, which is the object of our reverence and veneration is to be underſtood of, or with the form, frame, and conſtitution of Government to which all men owe their ſafety and ſubſiſtence; and any expedient that is in order to this, what deſtruction ſoever it is likely to bring to the oppoſers, ought to be ſeconded and aſſiſted by all good men. Therefore if I have any pauſes in their enterprizes of foreign force, it is not out of tenderneſs to faulty perſons, but out of apprehenſion that the frame of Government would be more abſolutely ſuppreſſed by thoſe friends, than it is like to be by the other enemies, from whom it may be thought more capable of being redeemed by the experience, faction, and intereſt of themſelves, than by the ſtrength of a foreign unconcerned power. Yet I think there is a great deal of difference between oppoſing ſuch force employed in ſuch a ſervice, or upon pretence of it, and the being obliged to join with and aſſiſt that force, which methinks were very hard to expect from a man, who did really believe it would waſte, and make all other hopes of his country deſperate; at leaſt, who thought the poiſon too violent, and his ſkill too little to meddle in the adminiſtring it, though it may be another man temper it to a good cordial. But you ſay, (and I have not wit to be ſorry for it) that there is no danger of any ſuch help, and I hope there will be no other danger of this diſcourſe of mine, but of the loſs of ſo much of your time: for it is an argument I only conſider for myſelf, and not to diſturb other men, having not to my knowledge ever mentioned the leaſt ſcruple of it to any other man living; and why I do it to you, I have told you before. But however I ſeem more ſcrupulous in the premiſes, you are much more fond of your country in the concluſion, than I find myſelf, in being ſo deſirous to live in it (unreformed, that is, unreſtored to it's due temper) ſo you might be quiet: nay, that you would rather chuſe to die there in priſon, than live where you are in liberty. I ſuppoſe that only ſaid to give me a taſte of your appetite to England, not as the reſult of ſad thoughts in the argument; otherwiſe, I ſhould debate that farther with you, and ſhall if you are in earneſt, and not afraid of another volume, which is grown upon me before I was aware.

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ASSURE

ASSURE Mr. Hobbes, that the grounds I have for the intelligence I ſent him concerning his legacy, are ſuch as he may build upon, he not being ſurer that I have ſent him ſuch intelligence, than I am that it is true. But adviſe him to have a little patience before he attempts by any way to procure it, he being I preſume not ſo far from the reputation of a delinquent, as to be ſure it may not be aſked by an informer as a forfeiture, and I being not ſo well ſatisfied in Frank Godolphin's conſcience and honour but that he may chuſe rather to pay two parts of it to the Parliament than the whole to him. As ſoon as the laſt is clear, I ſhall be able poſſibly to do him as much ſervice as any man. I pray return my ſervice and thanks to him for his book, which I will read as ſoon as I receive it. I am very glad to find my Lady Dalkeith's name in your letter, by which I ſuppoſe you are with her, I beſeech you moſt earneſtly give her as much of your company as you can ſpare, for though I am as confident of the magnanimity and temper of her mind, as I can be of any in that ſex, yet it is poſſible, the danger of this ſtorm, or the noiſe of thoſe who apprehend they ſhall periſh in it (which diſturbs ſettled minds more than the former) may make ſuch impreſſions on her, as ſhe may much want your counſel, and advice. However, I am ſure your converſation muſt be of great comfort to her. And now I have but juſt anſwered your letter, and can hardly contain myſelf from ſaying ſomewhat of new, for the cold hinders me not (though I believe we have had as ſharp a ſeaſon as you at Paris) but that you who call your rags of paper long letters, will no doubt think this a prodigious volume, and be in more danger of ſweating with reading mine, than you were of freezing in diſpatch of your own: therefore for this time you ſhall be relieved from, *A.D.* 164⅝.

*&c.*

*Jerſey, the* 12*th of Feb.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Sir,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I AM of your opinion, that if his Majeſty preſerves his good principles (which I have truly your confidence too, he will do) he will ſooner deſtroy the Rebels, than he could have done any other way; and it may be, the courage and fidelity of his friends may receive more vigour and confirmation by that great example of his own virtue, than they have done by the ſtrength of his armies; and it ſhall be no news to me to hear within a month, that there is a ſtrong party in both Houſes, that declares, that their caſe is now altered, that they have always diſclaimed uſing force againſt the King, whoſe perſon they are bound by all their proteſtations and covenants, as well as by the eſtabliſhed laws, to defend in all his juſt rights; that their contention hath been hitherto to redeem him from evil counſellors, and to reſtore him from the power of others to his own power again; that all ſuſpected perſons being now removed from him, who might corrupt his judgment, he is, as he ſhould be, and muſt not be denied any liberty that is due to him; that the privilege of Parliament is no leſs violated by forcing his opinion or conſcience, than if the ſame force were uſed to either Houſe; and therefore, 'till he may be perſuaded to make new laws, that all muſt ſubmit to the old. In good earneſt, I fear nothing now more, than ſome

*A. D.* 1645. ſtratagem to eſcape, or any thing that ſhall expreſs a diffidence in himſelf; by which you may know my opinion of your little paper; though aſſure yourſelf nobody elſe ſhall; whereas, if he continue firm and unſhaken, his end will be as glorious as his beginning, and there will be a ſtrange concurrence in all men, to return to their allegiance, and to a reverence of him; the abſence whereof hath been the true and moſt immediate cauſe of all our calamities. I am glad the French Ambaſſador hath diſguſted the King, if he be enough diſguſted. The truth is, the cheats, and the villany of that nation is ſo groſs that I cannot think of it with patience; neither can the King ever proſper 'till he abhors them perfectly, and truſts none, who truſts them.

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POOR Digby hath run ſtrange fortune. When my Lord Ormond ſent to the Parliament, he left Dublin, and went to the Rebels in hope of drawing them to reaſon. His reputation there was ſo ill, that he had reaſon to apprehend being murthered; from thence he eſcaped (by a ſudden flight) into Connaught, and there engaged the Marquis Clanrickard, to make great promiſes and undertake much to the Iriſh, and to engage himſelf to procure many particulars to be conſented to, or to join with them, which may have an ill effect in the end. It is great pity that ſo much dexterity and vigour of mind ſhould prove unfortunate. Yet truly I more fear that young man's fate, than I do any man's, to whom I wiſh ſo well; and in truth his merit towards me is very great.

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I WILL keep you no longer from enjoying my Lord Hopton who is as worthy a man as lives, and hath been as unhandſomely uſed; and yet I think is as ready for any gallant action that may advance the King's ſervice, as he was the firſt day. Pity me that am now left alone. God of Heaven keep you, and bring us again well together! I am,

*&c.*

*Jerſey, 24th of Feb.* 1646.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *The Lord* FITZWILLIAMS *to the* GENERAL ASSEMBLY *at* Kilkenny.

*May it pleaſe your Honours,*

AFTER having followed your inſtructions to me as efficaciouſly as poſſibly I could, towards the Queens, Cardinal &c. I have found here ſuch ſcandalous reports of me, and from ſo many good hands, as I cannot imagine they ſhould ſo ſpread if not grounded from thence. It is ſaid that, if I had ſtayed two days longer in Ireland, I had been impriſoned, and that my employment hither was only to be freed of me there. Truly, though I am very confident there was no ſuch thought towards me by your Honours intended, yet it gives me light to clear what elſe might enſue; and therefore I ſhall deſire your Honours that the jealouſies of what opinion ſoever was conceived I harboured at my being with the Marquis of Ormond, may be extirpated from your thoughts; as they are really out of mine, though in faith I never intended ye diſſervice, and ſince my being employed by your Honours I have endeavoured with all my force your ſervice, as finding your intentions the moſt conducing to the eſtabliſhing the true Catholic

tholic Faith and the King's rights in that Kingdom, in which with your Honours' approbation I ſhall perſiſt to my dying hour either at home or abroad as your Honours ſhall command. And if ye have any further doubts of my fidelity after this (which I call God to witneſs you need not), Doctor Tyrrel, who is a witneſs of my actions here, will inform you that what I have here vowed will be undertaken for, by ſuch as his relation will make appear to your Honours to be of the beſt of England and your beſt wiſhers. And [*I*] humbly deſire that what hereafter your Honours ſhall hear of me, ye may not give credit to it, if otherwiſe than well; and that you will pardon this my tediouſneſs, ſince it is to preſerve my reputation, in the continuance of my duty and ſervice to your Honours. This is my ſixth to your Honours ſince my coming hither, all inſiſting upon the ſame thing, that is to continue your union amongſt yourſelves, and end your work ſuddenly without any expectation from hence; for Mr. Grant (who was to be employed by our Queen to my Lord Lieutenant with inſtructions to grant ye (as in all my former letters I wrote) all the Churches in Dublin, with Dublin, and all ſuch other Towns and Churches as my Lord Lieutenant was poſſeſt of), is retarded and uncertain whether he ſhall be ſent ye, or not, in regard that the King is delivered by the Scots to the Parliament, and is now come to Holmby. If thoſe here can make their compoſition with the Parliament, or the King take the Covenant, they will make no uſe of us, other than to pour their forces on us. My Lord Liſle (who is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) is commanded to be forthwith with his men and officers at Briſtol to go for Ireland; but if you forthwith alſo ſupply my Lord Marquis of Antrim with a conſiderable body into Scotland, to divert the Scots from falling on you (as in moſt of my former letters I wrote to ye), believe it you need not greatly fear the Parliament. And moreover it is to be believed that, until the Government be eſtabliſhed in England, you need not doubt any forces falling on ye. Howſoever, the Marquis of Antrim muſt be preſently ſupplied, elſe the returned Scots will beat him out and purſue him into Ireland. If my Lord Lieutenant will condeſcend to what is before herein ſaid which were Mr. Grant's inſtructions, I could wiſh your acceptance thereof; elſe to delay no longer taking of Dublin &c. My Lord Wilmot is expected here this night from the Parliament; the next week will give us much light; howſoever, let nothing delay your deſigns. Your money I hear is come from Rome, and cannot be long from you. *A.D.* 164$\frac{6}{7}$.

THIS is all the preſent affords from

*Your Honours' moſt humble*

*and moſt faithful Servant,*

*A la Cigogne, rue de petite Bourbon, pres St. Suplice, au fauxbourg St. Germaine, a Paris, 25 Febr.* 1647.

FITZWILLIAMS.

*An Original.*

*A.D.* $164\frac{6}{7}$.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lady* DALKEITH.

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I SEE I have not reputation enough with you to give you advice in religion, (which was occaſioned by no other information, than a paſſage in your own letter, and what I ſaid of it I have forgotten); but truly, if my piety did not move me to it, and if your piety do not keep you right in it, policy will never do it; the policy being clearly on the other hand. Mr. Creſſy and W. Grant were, and, I preſume, ſtill are both my friends; though W. Grant much more familiar, and of whoſe honeſty and diſcretion I have always had a ſingular eſteem. What revelations have met with them to diſcredit their old, and to endear them to their new religion, I will not enquire; but you muſt give me leave to wonder, how you came to know that W. Grant had before none, and now is a devout Catholick. If you indeed believe that he had before none, how does it appear to you that he is ſo ſingularly devout? I thank you for aſſuring me, and giving your word, that you are in no danger of change (and if I did not believe you, it would be the greateſt affliction could befall me, and rob me of every future confidence in the honour, conſtancy, wiſdom and piety of a woman). Yet give me leave to tell you, that expreſſion, that it is not your piety preſerves you, but your conſtancy might do ſomething, makes me perceive you have let yourſelf looſe to more freedom in hearing that chat, than I thought you would have done. Without flattering you, I know you to have a very good judgment; and without undervaluing you, I know that judgment doth not extend itſelf ſo univerſally as to be a confident diſcerner of all reaſon; nay, that many things may be made appear reaſonable to you, that in truth are not ſo. And therefore, ſince it is not poſſible for you to underſtand enough yourſelf (as without doubt it is not), I mean enough to judge of controverſies, it will be but a modeſty you owe the Church you were bred in (the pureſt 'till theſe rogues diſhonoured it, that hath been ſince the Apoſtles' time), to believe her the right and beſt judge; but I have your word, and for God's ſake keep it.

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GOD preſerve you and me as I am moſt entirely

*Yours &c.*

*Jerſey, the 26th of Feb.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE. †

I HEAR that the Queen hath lately made a marriage between two of her French ſervants; which, it is ſaid, hath coſt her two thouſand piſtoles. For ſhe gave a bed, and furniture for a chamber, and ſix ſuits of cloaths to the bride, beſides plate and other preſents. I hear ſhe hath received all, or moſt of her money, but pays not her ſervants. Keep this to yourſelf.

8 *Martii* $164\frac{6}{7}$. *St. nov.*

*An Original.*

† *This is a note, all in cipher, deciphered by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir*

A.D. 164$\frac{6}{7}$.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Sir,*

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THE Prince borrowed here ſixteen hundred and fifty piſtoles, of which not one penny is paid; and if the Governor could but receive that, he would deſire no more. Yet after all this, I tell you in your ear, we will not want till winter be near ſpent; before which time we may be ſufficiently relieved, if we are thought worth it. The Governor hath wrote plain Engliſh to my Lord Jermyn, and hath propoſed ſomewhat to him this laſt week, to which when he receives an anſwer, I will derive it to you; but truly, methinks they ſeem much afraid to anger their old friends at Weſtminſter; and I believe are loth to do ſo ungracious a thing, as relieve a place in rebellion againſt the Parliament. And after they had made the Governor keep the Iriſh Company all the winter, when he importuned to be rid of them, or ſupplied with money for their entertainment, as was propoſed; in the ſpring, when they would be of uſe, they removed them by peremptory reiterated command, notwithſtanding all the reaſons plainly ſet down to the contrary, but by good luck about 30 of them are returned hither, ſo that I hope we ſhall not want men.

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I THANK you for your French book, which I will promiſe you to read over carefully; and for that purpoſe will follow the French tongue harder than I have done; for I am aſhamed to tell you, how little I have profited in it, merely being unwilling hitherto to ſpare ſo much time, for I am neither lazy nor idle, being every day ſhut up at my book at leaſt 8 hours. And do not you think me a very fooliſh fellow, now there are ſo many ordinances againſt juſtice and learning, that I ſpend my time in ſtudying Law and Greek, neglecting to get ſo much French as may ſerve to beg with when I am driven into that Country? but I will grow wiſer.

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I HEAR that my Lord of Leiceſter was deſigned to go for Paris to invite the Prince; but he excuſes himſelf upon ſome affronts he had from that nation when he was Ambaſſador, and upon ſome engagements he ſuffers under there for want of his pay: So that my friend my Lord of Denbigh is like to be the man. But I believe they will ſtay longer to ſee what good they can do upon the King, before they ſend any body, for it is not poſſible they can think he will come to them upon their ſummons without the King's directions. But of that whole matter I told you my mind in my laſt; and I am very confident the Crown of France will join with thoſe that do moſt deſire to continue the miſeries of England, and conſequently diſpoſe of the Prince's perſon as they ſhall find to be moſt in order to that; that is, if the King ſhall deſire his return, towards a firm compoſure of all jealouſies and apprehenſions, and for the diſbanding all armies, which they will ſtill pretend cannot be done, whilſt his Highneſs continues in foreign parts, then he ſhall not have leave to go; but if the Houſes, without the King, ſend for him, to make uſe of him againſt his Father, then it may be he ſhall be ſuffered to go; and that is the greateſt miſchief they will make the Queen and thoſe about her, to whom they are only engaged in Honour

*A.D.* 164⅝. and promiſe, to chooſe that which they moſt deſire, and reſolve ſhall be only done: And is not this a notable engagement for honeſt men to deſire to be admitted to their counſels?

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I COULD wiſh the King ſhould ſadly apply himſelf to the part he is to act, that is to ſuffer reſolutely, and to have no tricks; but on my conſcience, if he had any noble deſign, Denbigh would ſerve him ſtoutly and faithfully; and if he comes into France, I will paſs my life he will ſend me all the intelligence he thinks of moment to my own particular, or that part of the public which I intend. You do not believe that my Lord Digby knew of my Lord Glamorgan's commiſſion and negotiation in Ireland. I am confident he did not; for he ſhewed me the copies of letters which he had written to the King upon it, which ought not in good manners to have been written; and I believe will not be forgiven to him, by thoſe for whoſe ſervice they were written.

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I NEVER thought the Independents low; nor will they give over their deſigns upon any diſadvantage in the Houſe. The Parliament will not implicitly govern the people, when the exerciſe is orderly ſettled, Garriſons ſtrong, and the Counties formed to contribution, which will produce a viſible revenue to be relied upon; and then the authority of the other will by degrees be deſpiſed, and their Committees as much out of countenance as we have ſeen Projectors. I am far from being ſecure, for many reaſons, that the intelligence from London of the Prince's marriage may not be true; we were apprehenſive of it before he went, and ſpoke freely to him our opinions of the fatal conſequence of it; but when I talked ſadly with my Lord Jermyn of it, he aſſured me, there was no ſuch thought, and if ever it ſhould be attempted, he would publickly oppoſe it. But they have no opinions but for a day, and call it their ingenuity not to be peremptory in any thing, how reaſonable ſoever. I heard before of the great wedding at Paris; the French ſeem much kinder to the Engliſh than they have been (very poſſibly upon the former project) and the Queen and Prince have received all the monies due, yet all the ſervants in the ſame want, and no money acknowledged to be received. I hear my Lord Jermyn hath received ſome hard meſſages from the Engliſh who want money. Believe it, Mr. Secretary, in what place ſoever of the world you and I may chance to ſtarve, there are ſome (no honeſter than we) who have provided, and are provided for, againſt any ſtorms; and yet their wiſdom may be as eaſily deceived as our folly hath been. This ſhall ſerve at this time, becauſe I am to write to my Lord Treaſurer, my Lord Hopton, and to ſome others; and they tell me the boat ſteals away this night. God of Heaven proſper you, and me no longer than I am,

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

*Caſtle Elizabeth, 7 of March, St. vet.*

*Your moſt affectionate Servant.*

*A Copy, by himſelf.*

*Sir*

A. D. 164⅞.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Sir*,

* * * * * * * * * * *

I WISH the Prince in any place out of France if it were poſſible, which for my part I think it is not, to get him thence; but why are you ſo fond of Denmark? The King, upon whoſe affection all our reliance is, is very old, not like by the courſe of nature to live a year, his Son (who is joint King) a man of no virtue or reputation, the Crown poor, and both the climate, and the manner of the people different from ours. Beſides, what earneſt have we received of affection from thence ſince the late troubles? I know heretofore that King's affections were very great to the King; but he hath not been well ſatisfied in the returns from his Majeſty; and I remember when the Prince came from Oxford, we met the firſt night, at Farringdon, Sir Jo. Henderſon, who came then from Denmark, and delivered the Prince a letter from his uncle, the ſubſtance whereof was, that his Highneſs would advance the ſuit then made by that King to his Majeſty for the loan of 20 ſhips, which was ſo comical a thing that I could never after digeſt the thought of going to Denmark. What is the objection againſt his going to Holland, if he could have leave to go thither? which I think the French ſo much apprehend, that they will never ſuffer him to go into Flanders, leſt he ſhould make an eſcape thither. I long to hear the matter of the French Ambaſſador's audience, ſure men's eyes will be ſhortly opened. I never heard of the Earl of Arundel's return into England till your intelligence. Methinks his uſage is very gentle, that he is ſuffered to be committed to his own houſe; which methinks is as much favour as he ſhould deſire. What was the meaning of your making ſo many Lords at Oxford, Brunkard, Bard, Ogle? what became of Ogle afterwards, and was he ever good for any thing? I received yeſterday a letter from my Lord Treaſurer, wherein he tells me of the King's courage and reſolution to live and die by his principles, which he ſays, he hath command to communicate to his friends and to aſſure them of it, but writes not a word of his being directed to go to Paris, which in earneſt were a very hard hearted thing in the King to command him to do, well knowing how unacceptable he is to the French Court, and no queſtion would receive ſome affront there. Therefore I cannot blame him, if he refuſes to go thither, where his counſel will not be followed. I do not think you will be ſent for neither, except the King hath given ſome ſuch poſitive direction; which yet I think they would hardly obey. If you ſhould be required in general terms to attend the Prince, I know not how you can refuſe it; but when you come there, and hear what is propoſed, you may reaſonably deſire the aſſiſtance of your Companions; and if it ſhall not be thought reaſonable or convenient to draw them all to Paris, you may offer to convene them at Rouen, and return their advice to what ſhall be propoſed. I will obey you in any thing you poſitively require, though I muſt tell you, ſuch a journey to me would be as miſchievous, and as deſtructive to my quiet, as can be imagined. Methinks the reſolution ſhould be eaſy that the Prince ſhould po-

*A. D.* 1643. fitively anſwer, that he can, muſt, will, do nothing but by his Father's command. I am

*Sir,*

16 *March.*

*Your's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* JOHN EARLES.

*Sir,*

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IF your complaint of want of leiſure (which I eaſily believe, men being not always vacant, who have little to do, nor when they have little to do) be only to excuſe yourſelf from writing, or writing long letters, I muſt be content, and would wiſh myſelf often in that crowd that troubles you, were it not as hard to get out from, as to get into a crowd; but if your diſcourſe of no leiſure to write, be an intimation of as little leiſure to read, and that you can as hardly, as inconveniently brook my long letters, as give me your's, you will be diſappointed of the fruit of your hope; neither were it reaſonable that your want ſhould impoſe laws upon my exceſs of leiſure.

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I KNOW not what you mean by the King's unneceſſarily provoking them; ſince they think an abſolute, entire ſubmiſſion being not made to them, to be the higheſt provocation, it is no matter what he gives them to boot, and, it may [*be,*] thoſe ſhort repartees, which appear too ſharp, may make a greater impreſſion in thoſe, who have not looked upon his wit and natural underſtanding with that reverence they ought to have done, than any fixed concluſion of his will, which may unjuſtly be ſuſpected to proceed from the Counſel of others; as I very well remember, his quick replies to my Lord Pembroke and Holland at Newmarket to what they ſaid to him, ſtruck the party deeper, and they were more troubled to find it publiſhed (though it was done by the folly of their own people) than with his anſwer to their declaration, which they had prepared the people to look upon as none of his own. I am ſo well pleaſed with the King's carriage, and ſo confident that God will bleſs him for it, and protect him in it, that I fear nothing more, than ſome ſtratagem to get out of thoſe hands, who being weary of him, will quickly give him opportunity to eſcape; and am the leſs troubled at his reſtraint from his own Servants and Chaplains, that I think there are very few Counſellors, who would be equally careful of his Honour, and as few Chaplains of his conſcience, both being eaſier to be corrupted and bribed in either, than himſelf. Is it poſſible that you can think that (in this horrid alteration) the mere living in England with your friends, could reſtore you to the old delight and comfort in thoſe friends you have formerly enjoyed, let all unjuſtifiable circumſtances be out of the way: and for your life in the Parſonage of Biſhopſtone, ſuppoſe your life in the farm there, can you believe the company and preſence of your friends (in whom you have moſt comfort) would have the ſame reliſh it uſed to have? Sure, if we thought the buſineſs round, we ſhould conceive nothing leſs. I am willing to think

think myſelf as uxorious a man as lives (I ought to be ſo), and have Children who have yet committed no faults, and therefore may be entire comforts; yet, amongſt other motives, even for my wife and childrens' ſake, I could not wiſh myſelf in England, without a general reformation of the manners, as well as a diſpenſation for my own. A man may pleaſe himſelf with being reſtored to his country, to his wife, and children, with being redeemed from the extreme wants and ſtraits which he now endures, or which he hath reaſon to believe he ſhall endure. He may promiſe himſelf ſupplies upon his credit, by ſale of lands, and twenty other ſpecious conveniencies, which an ordinary fancy will eaſily ſuggeſt to him. But if he did again ſadly conſider, by what neighbours he muſt live, with what company he muſt converſe, the blaſphemy and impiety he muſt daily hear, and ſee towards Almighty God, the Treaſon and Rebellion againſt the King, the ſcorn, contempt, and infamous mention of his beſt friends, the obloquy and reproaches of his innocence and virtue; that he muſt be liable to the ſaucy inſolence and impreſſion of thoſe, who have been heretofore cheriſhed, ſupported, relieved by him, it may be of a perjured friend, of a treacherous ſervant, of a licentious neighbour, whom heretofore he hath reprehended, or juſtly puniſhed; if he does think what impreſſion theſe muſt make upon the moſt diſpaſſioned generous mind and ſpirit, and then what comfort and company he is like to be to his wife and children, and friends, or they to him, (who probably may in his abſence live more free from thoſe ſufferings, by the fear and apprehenſion which people naturally have of change, and what may fall out upon his return, which is abandoned upon his tame compliance or ſubmiſſion); if he further conſiders the danger he is in of having every day ſome new ill thing required of him, or impoſed upon him, for refuſal whereof his liberty and eſtate ſhall be again taken from him, and himſelf left and expoſed to the ſame penury and miſery, which he hath artificially endeavoured to avoid; and then, the difference of the miſery thus contracted, and that of which before he could not have been aſhamed; he will find at leaſt new pauſes, what he ſhould do, if the moſt liberal overture were offered to him to return home, that can poſſibly be imagined. He that would conſider Hell under no other notion, than a privation of the preſence of God, without any material fire, or active torment, meant it not as a compliment to Hell, but in a devout contemplation of that joy, could not apprehend a greater torment than the abſence of that joy: And ſurely they are not worthy of good company, who do not ſenſibly feel the miſery of being without it, though they enjoy the moſt innocent and pleaſant loneneſs and ſolitarineſs that can be imagined. Yet that abſence is Heaven, to the preſence and converſation of ill men; and he hath been ſeldom in ill company, that does not think the pain of it as intolerable as the Gout or the Stone. How could you and I live in any tolerable degree of happineſs in a place, where all converſation muſt be ſnares, and all commerce reproaches? where the comfort and conſcience of having been innocent is loſt by the coming into ſuch company, which is a kind of quitting it, and the hope of future innocence is deſtroyed, as well by wiping out the old loved prints, as by ſeeing thoſe rules and principles renounced, of which it is compounded? In a word (for I muſt always aſk your pardon for extravagancies in this argument it was not only a magnanimous argumentation, but a moſt logical and prudent one, in order to quiet, which Me-

*A.D.* 164⅞.

*A.D.* 164⅞. tellus made (whoſe ſuffering had ſome reſemblance to ours, for you know he was baniſhed for refuſing to conſent that a decree preferred by the Tribune, ſhould be ſworn to by the Senate); "Either things would mend, and "the people would then repent themſelves of the wrong they had done "him, and call him home again, or elſe things ſtanding as they did then, "it would be beſt to be fartheſt off." I pray, let you and I have patience; either things will mend, and then we ſhall be repaired for our ſufferings (for an acknowledgment that we have ſuffered like Chriſtians, like Gentlemen, like honeſt men, unjuſtly, undeſervedly, is an ample reparation); or elſe, things ſtanding as they do, we may thank God that we are ſo far off, in how mean eſtate ſoever. I confeſs I give my thoughts more liberty in every circumſtance or relation to this argument to go from me, that I may have ſo many the more obligations upon myſelf, that if either melancholick, or abjectneſs of mind, or any other motive ſhould make impreſſion hereafter upon me towards a change, the ſhame of having communicated myſelf thus freely to you may reſtrain me from any unworthy alteration. I would not have you importune my Lord Newcaſtle farther in the old buſineſs, nor put yourſelf to more trouble in it; for ſince I find moſt men ſo unconcerned to contribute towards it, and ſome who are very able to ſatisfy me in what I have deſired, ſo poſitive againſt the doing it, contrary to my expectation; I have reſolved to lay the taſk aſide, 'till a fitter ſeaſon, and to employ myſelf in ſome ſtudy, that I may do myſelf more good. However, I would deſire you (at your leiſure) to ſend me that diſcourſe of your own which you read to me at Dartmouth in the end of your contemplations upon the Proverbs, in memory of my Lord Falkland; of whom in it's place I intend to ſpeak largely, conceiving it to be ſo far from an indecorum, that the preſervation of the fame and merit of perſons, and deriving the fame to poſterity, is no leſs the buſineſs of hiſtory, than the truth of things. And if you are not of another opinion, you cannot in juſtice deny me this aſſiſtance. I do not remember I ſaid any thing to you amiſs poſitively of F. Godolphin. I know not whether I commend myſelf, when I ſay, it is very difficult to perſuade me to think ill of a man, of whom I have ever thought well; for I do not only ſtay till I hear what he can ſay for himſelf, but I conſider what I could ſay for myſelf if I were in his place. Yet I cannot but ſuſpend that confidence I had in Mr. Godolphin's integrity, 'till I hear more, and ſo long Mr. Hobbes ſhall do well to ſuſpend the expectation of his legacy.

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Be not out of patience; though you ſhall hear oftener from me, you ſhall not have ſo long a letter, above once in a month from,

*Sir,*

16 *March.*

*Your, &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir*

*A. D.* 164$\frac{0}{1}$.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lady* DALKEITH.

. . . . . .

MY letter to the King is now no more to be thought of; therefore I pray burn that whole packet. And if you find any poſſibility of ſending to him, let me know it, and I will then ſend another. I thank you for your opinion that we ſhall ſhortly meet; becauſe by it I ſuppoſe you would be content I ſhould receive that happineſs, though I can diſcern no likelyhood of it. For what poſſibility ſoever you may have of ſtaying there, I am ſure I have ſo much poſſibility of ſtaying here, that I do not know it poſſible to ſtay any where elſe, that is, to live long any where elſe, whereas my abode here is very comfortable; being, I thank God, better able to give an account of my time than I have been ſince I was born. The worſt that can befall us (and that we are not without expectation, though without fear of it), is to be ſhut up in the Caſtle; where, without a peremptory and laſting deſertion by all the world, we ſhall do well. And it may be, that may do my body as much good as it hath done my mind; and then the cure were perfect. However, if the worſt fall out, I ſhall hardly be taken in a place better provided. I wiſh with all my heart my Lord Digby were ſafely arrived in France, though methinks he ſhould not ſtay long there. But I fear he will not ſo eaſily make an eſcape from that miſerable Kingdom, where he is liable to more dangers than any other one man I know. I am far from cenſuring all Counſels, with which I do not comply. The Counſels may be good and moſt neceſſary, and I not able to bear a part in them. And truly, I ſhould not deſire myſelf to be joined with any, how honeſt and wiſe ſoever, who I foreſaw could not be brought to conſent to thoſe grounds which were neceſſary to be built upon. For a pertinent and obſtinate continual diſſenting is very vexatious to all men, and in all buſineſs. And I have that obſtinacy to that degree, that, as there may be many leſs things I would not conſent to, to preſerve you from ſtarving, ſo there are many greater things (and ſome, which other men think not great at all), to which I would not conſent, to ſave the King from ſtarving, and the Kingdom from a flame: And yet to other men they may not ſeem of ſo hard a digeſtion.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

GOD preſerve you!

*March* 18*th.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Prince* RUPERT *to* —— ——.

*Sir,*

THE King of France hath given me the command of all the Engliſh, which are or ſhall be brought into this Kingdom, and to make any levies in England, Scotland, or Ireland, which I had rather do by ſuch perſons as are known to me, than by ſtrangers. Therefore I have taken this opportunity particularly to invite you into his ſervice, where you ſhall have much better conditions, than other Princes give; the particulars you

*A.D.* 1647. will receive from Colonel Dorell, who is come into your country to make his levies upon the ſame conditions. He will alſo inform you the way you muſt take to tranſport your men to Calais, being the port aſſigned to land them in. And ſo ſoon as you ſhall give me notice that you have begun your levies, I will get your Commiſſion, which you need not have until you come over. And, for your aſſurance, I do by the King of France's deſire engage myſelf unto you, and all ſuch as will bring over men into this ſervice, to ſee thoſe conditions promiſed, aſſuredly performed. What aſſiſtance poſſibly I can, you ſhall be certain of, ſo ſoon as you ſhall give me notice of your intentions, which I deſire you will do as often as you can. I reſt

*Your Friend,*

*Paris, April* 1647.

RUPERT.

*A Copy.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY. †

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE this is not like to come to your hands till I am dead, I may be pardoned to be a ſuitor to your Majeſty on my own behalf, that I may not be ſo unfortunate as to ſuffer in your Majeſty's opinion after my death, for any omiſſion of duty towards you. I hope my whole carriage in your ſervice hath been ſo blameleſs and unqueſtionable, that nothing can ſtick with you in ſuſpence, 'till my ſtaying behind the Prince at Jerſey; and for that having never had the happineſs in my life to ſatisfy your Majeſty, I have thought it neceſſary to do it after my death, having no greater comfort in my death (ſaving my hope and aſſurance in my Redeemer) than that I have ſerved your Majeſty according to my weak capacity, moſt faithfully, honeſtly, and as I ought to do. For my ſtay here, being, as well by my own obſervation in your Majeſty's affairs, as by full information of ſeveral perſons of honour, experience and relation to your truſts, aſſured, that the deſires and intentions of the French, were to embroil the Kingdom of England, without any regard to your Majeſty and your ſufferings, and having not the leaſt evidence of your Majeſty's command or wiſh for his going into France, otherwiſe than as his perſon might be in danger to be ſeized on by the Rebels, which we were all aſſured it was not in this place, and had ſufficiently declared ourſelves to be reſolved to oppoſe and avoid to the uttermoſt hazard; we were all, whom your Majeſty had truſted to attend his Highneſs, except one only, who had always before ſeemed to be of that opinion, and ſtill in private confeſſes himſelf to be ſo, ſatisfied in our conſciences that it would not only be hurtful to your Majeſty's affairs and to his Highneſs's hopes, to depart out of your dominions, but that if your Majeſty had received a clear information of the ſtate and condition of this iſland, you would think it ſo; and therefore we deſired that his Highneſs might ſo long ſuſpend that journey (againſt which there was not the leaſt argument of danger) as that your Majeſty's poſitive commands (to which we profeſſed we would yield obedience) upon a clear repreſentation to you of the whole buſineſs, might be derived to us; for the better effecting whereof, my Lord

† *The ſeven letters and papers immediately following, were written at a time when he thought his life in great danger from an attempt which it was expected the Parliament would make upon Jerſey. The letters, as will appear, were not to be delivered 'till after his death.*

Capel

Capel offered to undertake, a journey to your Majeſty. But when this was not only rejected, and rejected with thoſe circumſtances, that there was not the leaſt reaſon given to us, why what we propoſed was not reaſonable, or the leaſt probable ſecurity offered for the good affection of the French towards your Majeſty and your affairs; and when I found by thoſe noble perſons in private conference, with whom I had had before great friendſhip and familiarity, and who ſeemed deſirous to give me more ſatisfaction in private, than they cared to do to others in public, that the only reaſon which prevailed with them, and her Majeſty, was the French Counſels, by which my Lord Jermyn told me your Majeſty's affairs were now abſolutely to be conducted and governed; I thought it moſt agreeable to my duty to your Majeſty, ſince I could not in my reaſon and conſcience (the full liberty whereof your Majeſty always graciouſly allowed me) conſent to the rules and grounds by and upon which they were to found their Counſels, and that I ſaw not the leaſt opportunity could be offered whereby my attendance upon his Highneſs might be of uſe to him, not to give that perpetual diſturbance to their Counſels which my principles would have provoked me to by being preſent in the conſultations, nor to add that trouble and charge to his Highneſs, which [*it*] was evident any unneceſſary and impertinent perſon would bring to him. How far any conſideration of myſelf or my own intereſt would have been from leading me to this concluſion, by which I was to be diſcharged of that happineſs I exceedingly valued of being about the perſon of the Prince, by which I was like to incur the diſpleaſure of her Majeſty, whoſe favour no man had more humbly acknowledged, or whoſe perſon more religiouſly valued, and reverenced, and by which I might be in danger of the ſuſpenſion of your Majeſty's good opinion, which (next the teſtimony of a good conſcience) is the moſt precious thing to me of this world, every man will judge; eſpecially when he conſiders, that I was from that minute to diſpoſe myſelf to the converſation of, and rely upon the friendſhip and fair carriage of thoſe, to whom I was an abſolute ſtranger, and to ſtay in a place threatened with the utmoſt rage and fury by the enemy, and not ſufficiently countenanced and eſteemed by it's friends, and from whence (though I have ſince out of their great devotion and fidelity to your Majeſty, received as much civility and friendſhip as I could have found in my own family) I had no reaſon to ſuſpect more than ordinary juſtice and civility. And therefore, your Majeſty will believe that nothing but conſcience and the irreſiſtible dictates of reaſon could have led me to this melancholick change: of the whole courſe whereof I hope your Majeſty will receive a fuller account from my very good Lords the Lords Capel and Hopton, who never have, or ever can deceive any truſt your Majeſty will repoſe in them, and from Sir George Carteret, who hath as faithfully and worthily ſerved your Majeſty, and deſerves as much from your Majeſty and the Crown of England for his fidelity, as an honeſt man can do. *A.D.* 1647.

HAVING ſaid thus much in order to my purgation and vindication of myſelf to your Majeſty, if my misfortune hath been ſuch that any thing hath ſtuck with you concerning me; give me leave (as a dead man, for whilſt I live, this will not trouble you) to ſay, that I have never in my life committed a fault againſt you, or in the leaſt degree defrauded your Majeſty or any man living by colour of your Majeſty's ſervice; and therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, out of your infinite goodneſs (for I am ſo far from conceiving myſelf to have any merit from your Majeſty, that I do,

*A.D.* 1647. and God knows always have acknowledged, that the ſmall ſervice I have been able to do you, was not proportionable to my duty, though equal to my ability, and that your Majeſty's favour and the honour you vouchſafed to me, was not only obligation but reward for whatſoever I could have performed during a long life) to vouchſafe your compaſſion to my poor wife and children, who are both in miſery, and fidelity, moſt perfect objects of your princely pity, and that through your goodneſs they may find ſome comfort from the memory of your poor Servant, which it hath not pleaſed God to give them from his converſation and preſence. That God will reſtore and preſerve your Majeſty and your Poſterity, ſhall be amongſt the laſt prayers of

*Sir,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, dutiful,*

*and obedient Subject and Servant,*

*Jerſey, this 4th of April* 1647.

EDW. HYDE.

*An Original.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

HAVING not the leaſt reproach from my own conſcience of the abſence of that affection and duty which hath been due from me to your Highneſs, to whom I am ſure no man's heart is fuller of devotion, and for whoſe proſperity no man's prayers are oftener poured out; I thank God, I have the comfort of being confident of your Highneſs's gracious and favourable opinion. And in that confidence preſume to direct, that this addreſs (which I believe is the firſt letter you ever received from a dead man) may be preſented to you, and to beſeech you (when God ſhall reſtore you to the leiſure of conſidering ſo mean objects) to take ſuch compaſſion upon my poor wife and children, out of your princely compaſſion of the memory of your poor faithful Servant, that they be not expoſed to that miſery, the narrowneſs of my fortune and the uncharitableneſs of the world threatens them with; but that by your Highneſs's gracious bounty and protection, they may find ſome relief and encouragement. My laſt prayers ſhall be for your Highneſs, and this the laſt trouble you will receive by the importunity of

*Sir,*

*Your Highneſs's*

*moſt faithful and obedient Servant,*

*Jerſey, this 4th of April* 1647.

EDWARD HYDE.

*An Original.*

*Sir*

*A.D.* 1647.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Duke of* RICHMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

THIS not being to come to your hands till I am dead, no man can ſuſpect that it carries flattery in it, when it tells you, that nothing but the knowledge of your juſtice and honour, and the opinion and hope of your goodneſs and inclination to me, could have brought this trouble to you. And there cannot be a greater evidence of my integrity and faithfulneſs to your Grace, than that I dare preſume to aſk favours from you, when I am out of this world, and digeſted thoſe petitions when I was beſt prepared to leave it. But truly, my Lord, when I remember the whole frame and conſtitution of your nature, and thoſe noble expreſſions you have vouchſafed to me of your good opinion, and conſider, that how unworthy ſoever I am of thoſe favours, that I have not by any act or demerit of my own made myſelf unworthy, I cannot but have the courage to hope (and very much the more comfort from that hope) that your Grace will ſtill retain a gracious memory of me; and in that confidence, I preſume to beg your Grace's favour and mediation on the behalf of my poor wife and children, when they ſhall, or any other charitable perſon on their behalf, preſent their ſupplications to you. I know their miſery will be very great, and therefore fit objects for great compaſſion; and they may grow up to ſome capacity of ſerving your Grace, by which you will receive comfort, for they will be then looked upon as the work of your hands; and that is a kind of reward. God preſerve your Grace!

*Your Grace's*

*moſt faithful and moſt obedient Servant,*

*Jerſey, this 4th of April* 1647.

EDW. HYDE.

*An Original.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Earl of* SOUTHAMPTON.

*My Lord,*

WHEN I conſider the temper and conſtitution of my own health, the condition of the place wherein I am, which is threatened with the whole power of thoſe, who have taken all the King's other dominions from him, and therefore the great probability that I may not be long a man of this world; and then, the miſerable condition my poor wife and children muſt inevitably undergo, by the rage and fury of thoſe who have oppreſſed all men elſe, as well as by the ſtraitneſs of my own fortune; I do not think I have done my part, without beſpeaking and begging for them ſuch countenance and protection, as may moſt reaſonably preſerve them, or under which they muſt reaſonably periſh. They who have been witneſſes of the ſingular value and reverence I have always had of your Lordſhip's admirable judgment, conſcience, juſtice, and good nature, and of the unſpeakable joy I have had in the opinion that you have vouchſafed a reaſonable acceptance of my ſervice and devotion, will not much wonder, that amongſt the few men I chooſe to ſpeak with after my death, I ſhould importune your Lordſhip, to continue the care you have had of me, towards

*A.D.* 1647. my poor wife and children; and to do thoſe favours for them, by your mediation and mention of them to the King and Prince, as their miſery and innocence will extremely need. If I had had the misfortune to have outlived your Lordſhip, and enjoyed any liberty in my own Country, though I could not have hoped to have been in a condition to have protected any thing that had relation to your Lordſhip, yet I would have been a ſervant and a ſolicitor for your family, and for any thing that might have concerned your memory: And I cannot leave a greater evidence of the integrity of my conſcience to God and the world, than that I dare appeal to you for favour, in whom no ill man can have confidence. I have lived, and ſhall die, moſt faithfully,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt affectionate Servant,*

*Jerſey, this 3d of April* 1647.

EDW. HYDE.

*An Original.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lady* HYDE.

*My deareſt,*

THIS being not like to come to thee 'till I am dead, I cannot begin better to thee, than to charge and conjure thee to bear my death with that magnanimity and Chriſtian patience, as becomes a woman, who hath no cauſe to be aſhamed of the memory of her huſband, and who hath ſuch precious pawns left to her care, as thou haſt, in our poor children; which muſt be moſt completely miſerable, if through thy paſſion thou ſhalt either ſhorten thy days, or impair thy health. And therefore, thou muſt remember, thou haſt no other arguments to give of thy conſtant affection to me, than by doing that which thou knoweſt I only deſire thou ſhouldſt do. Be not troubled at the ſmallneſs or diſtraction of thy fortune, ſince it proceeds neither from my fault or folly, but by the immediate hand of God, who, I doubt not, will recompence thee ſome other way. He knows how entire my heart hath been to him, and that, if it had not been out of the conſcience of my duty to him, and the King, I might have left thee and thine a better portion in this world. But I am confident thou doſt in thy ſoul abhor any wealth ſo gotten, and thinkeſt thyſelf and thy children happier in the memory of thy poor honeſt Huſband, than any addition of an ill gotten, or ill kept eſtate could have made you. Continue the ſame thou haſt been, and God will requite and reward thee. I have in my other paper, which is parcel will, parcel declaration, ſuch as I thought in theſe times neceſſary, ſaid as much to thee of my eſtate and my children as I can think of. I doubt not thou wilt find ſome friends, who will remember and conſider how juſt I would have been to their memory if I had outlived them. My letters to the King, Prince, Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, thou mayeſt deliver or ſend as thou ſhalt be adviſed. Thy own Father, Mother, and Brother will I am ſure never fail thee in any office of kindneſs, nor be unjuſt to the memory of him, who always held them in ſingular eſteem. From my friends I am confident thou wilt receive all poſſible kindneſs. Beſides thoſe I have mentioned in the other paper, I preſume

ſume my Lord Seymour will be ready to do thee good offices, and my Lord Keeper and Sir Thomas Gardiner to aſſiſt thee; and I hope many more that I think not neceſſary to name. I do from the bottom of my heart thank thee for all thy kindneſs and affection, which upon my faith I have always returned from my ſoul, having never committed the leaſt fault againſt thee, but promiſed myſelf the only happineſs and contentment, to live with thee in any condition. Since it hath pleaſed God not to admit that, he will, I doubt not, bring us together in a moſt bleſſed ſtate in a better world when we ſhall never part. God bleſs thee and thine! cheriſh thyſelf as thou loveſt the memory of, *A.D.* 1647.

*My deareſt*

*Thy moſt faithful*

*and affectionate Husband,*

*Jerſey, this 3d of April* 1647.

EDW. HYDE.

*An Original.*

THOU and thine muſt love this Family, from whom I have received infinite civilities.

## *My Deſires concerning my Papers.* †

IF it pleaſe God, that I may not live to ſee an end of theſe diſtractions, and to finiſh the relation of theſe troubles, in ſuch manner as may be fit to communicate them to the publick view, I ſhall take the beſt care I can, that as well all the papers which concern that buſineſs, as all my other papers, ſhall be delivered into the hands of my noble friend Mr. Secretary Nicholas, with whom theſe now are. And then, I deſire him, that if it pleaſe God to redeem his Majeſty from theſe horrid oppreſſions under which he now groans, to receive his Majeſty's abſolute direction what ſhall be done with theſe papers. If it ſhall be thought fit that any thing out of them ſhall be publiſhed (for as they now are, they are rather as exact memorials of paſſages, with ſuch freedom both to things and perſons as muſt not paſs into the light, than a digeſted relation, but, God is my judge, without any uncharitable purpoſe of blaſting the reputation of any man, whoſe odious part hath not brought him on the ſtage, and who may with juſtice to truth be unmentioned,) I then deſire that they may be carefully examined and peruſed by my very good Lord, the Lord Keeper, my good friend Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Geoffry Palmer, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Earles, and Doctor Morley, or as many of them as Mr. Secretary Nicholas ſhall be able to draw to him; who I preſume will take the pains to give his advertiſements and directions to them, for any alteration or additions. If it ſhould pleaſe God, that Mr. Secretary and I be both dead, before any thing is fit to be done in this buſineſs, then I deſire the papers may be delivered to my Lord Capel and my Lord Hopton, or both of them, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance is to be uſed always, and I deſire them to purſue my former wiſhes.

† *This is his Endorſement.*

*A.D.* 1647. WHEN ſuch uſe ſhall be made as may be thought fit of them, I deſire that all the original papers may be delivered to my eldeſt ſon, to be kept by him, as a remembrance of his Father's induſtry.

EDW. HYDE.

*Jerſey, this 4th of April* 1647.

*An Original.*

## *My laſt Will and Profeſſion.* †

IT cannot be expected, that in this miſerable condition of my country, and in my own baniſhment from it, I ſhould be able to make a regular and formal will, neither knowing by my long abſence from my eſtate, and peruſal of my papers, what I have left, or in what hands it is, nor whether the prevailing part in England will ſuffer any of mine to enjoy that little which in right belongs to me, having myſelf undergone ſo great a weight of their envy and malice, which hath been the more ſupportable to me, being in my conſcience, I thank God, free from any fault that might deſerve it. However, being now in a place threatened to be every day aſſaulted, and having great reaſon every day to expect, (at leaſt to be prepared for it, though I am now in perfect health) to be called out of this world, I hold it my duty to leave ſuch a declaration of myſelf and my wiſhes, as may give ſatisfaction to thoſe who have had a good opinion of me in my life time, and ſome advertiſements to thoſe who are moſt concerned in my loſs. And if I ſay ſomewhat more of myſelf, than is uſual, or hath been convenient to be ſaid in wills, and thoſe laſt inſtruments which are as our laſt words in this world, and cannot be offered without well conſidering that they may be the firſt for which we are to give an account in the other world, it may I hope be not only excuſed, but thought neceſſary in regard of the ſtrange times in which we live, ſo full of ſcandal and calumny, the part which I have acted in thoſe times, to which more than an ordinary ſhare hath been applied of thoſe ſcandals and calumnies, and in regard, next the proviſion and care for our ſouls in the next world, and in order to that, the preſerving our conſciences entire and blameleſs in this, a good Chriſtian is to take care that he leaves his fame and memory as unſpotted as may be: which is a duty he owes to juſtice and truth.

FIRST, I bequeath my ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, beſeeching him for the mercies and merits of Jeſus Chriſt, by which only my hope is to be ſaved, to accept the ſame; and I profeſs to die a true Proteſtant according to the doctrine of the Church of England eſtabliſhed in the 39 articles, and a Son of that Church, which I do in my ſoul believe to have been (before it was invaded by this odious, unreaſonable and unchriſtian Rebellion) both in doctrine and diſcipline, the moſt pure and perfect in the Chriſtian world. And I beſeech Almighty God, of his great mercy to pardon the crying ſins of that Kingdom, to reſtore his true and faithful Servant the King, to his due honour and rights, and that Church to it's purity, dignity, and revenue. For my body, I doubt not but it ſhall be decently committed to the earth by thoſe friends with whom I ſhall expire, being by the bleſſing of God reſolved to continue in ſuch company, as ſhall hold even that decent ceremony in due veneration.

† *His own Endorſement.*

THAT

THAT little which I have in my power to diſpoſe, whether land or goods, *A.D.1647.* I do freely and willingly demiſe and bequeath to my dear wife, the Lady Hyde, to whoſe care, affection and wiſdom I entirely commit and command my Children, to be by her educated and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as ſhe ſhall think fit, and find herſelf able; being myſelf unable to aſſign a portion to my poor girl, or ſeveral maintenances to my poor boys, for all whom I hope God in his mercy will provide; and that if it pleaſe him to reſtore the King and Prince to their due eſtates, his Majeſty and his Highneſs (both whom I have ſerved moſt faithfully and incorruptly) will in their great goodneſs take compaſſion upon my dear wife and children; towards which I doubt not thoſe honourable perſons to whom I have made addreſſes, of the ſame date with this my will, will contribute their noble aſſiſtance and mediation.

I DO earneſtly deſire my dear wife (in whoſe affection, kindneſs, and diſcretion I have enjoyed ſo unſpeakable comfort, and for which I pray to God to bleſs her and her's) to take all poſſible care that my Children be educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed and profeſſed in the Church of England at the time when moſt of them were born, and in which I now die, I mean in the doctrinal part; for the other diſcipline and government, though I am in my ſoul perſuaded, that it is more agreeable to the word of God, to the propagation and preſervation of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the honour, peace, happineſs and tranquillity of that Kingdom, than any that can be ſettled in the place of it, and though I can never in conſcience or juſtice conſent to the alteration and abolition of it, and am perſuaded in my conſcience that the juſtice of God will fall heavy upon thoſe who have been, or ſhall be, the promoters of it; yet I am not ſure, that it is ſo eſſential to the ſoul's health, that no other may be complied with. And therefore, if it ſhall be with the conſent of the Sovereign Power, changed, I would not have their tender years perplexed with any odious impreſſions, which may make them inclined to diſturb the peace of their Country; but I ſhall be glad, if their riper judgment may lead them with all fair and lawful opportunities, and with lawful circumſtances, to be inſtruments in God's good time to reſtore the oppreſſed Church to it's juſt rights and revenue. However, I charge them all, as they hope for bleſſing from God Almighty, that they be never corrupted by covetouſneſs, or induced by perſuaſion, or by any other means prevailed with, to receive by purchaſe, gift, or any other way, any of the lands, leaſes, or perquiſites due to the Church, and taken away from it by this power that oppreſſes it; no, though the King ſhould be induced (which I hope he will never be) to conſent to the alienation of thoſe lands. For I am perſuaded, that the ſame is ſacrilege, by what power ſoever done, and that it will draw the judgment of God upon the authors, and gainers by it. But if any Children of mine ſhall be perſuaded and ſatisfied by the logick or rhetorick of any, that it is not ſacrilege, I ſtill require and charge them, to acquieſce in this command of mine, and never to be lords, tenants, or owners of any of thoſe lands.

NEXT the education of my Children in the fear of God, and practice of his true Religion, I deſire they may be carefully inſtructed and informed of their duties and allegiance to the King. And whatever alteration of the civil government ſhall be made, in theſe miſerable times, and by theſe miſerable men, to the oppreſſion of his Majeſty, that they never ſwerve from

*A.D.* 1647. that duty and allegiance which is due to his Majeſty and his Poſterity; but that they preſerve the ſame inviolably with any hazard of their lives and fortunes, when they ſhall be lawfully required thereunto. And I doubt not but, if they ſhall, through the courſe of their whole lives, rely upon the providence, goodneſs, and juſtice of Almighty God, (that is, walk in his ways, and keep their conſciences clear and untainted, not only from the groſſer infamous ſins, of which the ſinners themſelves are aſhamed, but from the firſt and leſs impreſſions of evil, which open the way for greater inroads upon the conſcience, and vitiate the modeſty of the mind) and be punctual and ſtrict in the obſervation of all moral duties of juſtice and kindneſs to men, they will live to have better fortune in the world, than their Father, and have no cauſe to be aſhamed of his, but that even for his ſake and memory, they will receive ſome advantage or aſſiſtance.

I CANNOT ſpeak particularly enough of my debts, for the payment whereof no man was more religiouſly concerned when they were entered into, nor of what is owing to me; it being ſo long ſince I ſaw any papers or notes to that purpoſe; but muſt rely upon the honeſty of the perſons concerned. For my Siſters' portions, with the management whereof I was entruſted by my Father firſt, and then by them, I deſire whatſoever is due (by my Siſter Suſanna's account who I know is very juſt and ſtrict) may be juſtly ſatisfied upon the ſale of Chicklade. Whatſoever I owed to any man before thoſe troubles, I know ſufficiently appears by ſpecialties; but, as I remember, I have given no bond to Mr. Staneer for £ 300. which I borrowed of him ſince theſe troubles, nor to Mr. Anthony Langſtone by whoſe aſſiſtance I had £ 300. more. To Dr. Morley from whom I had £ 40. and to Mr. John Dutton (who with great kindneſs and generoſity lent me five hundred pounds at Oxford) I only gave a ſhort note of my hand. Theſe ſums and ſome others, which, I cannot remember, and for which I hope I gave ſpecialties, were borrowed by me ſince theſe troubles; and I hope the King and Prince, if God ſhall enable them, will preſerve my Wife and Children from the miſery of ſatisfying them out of their ſmall fortune, and my memory from the infamy of not having them paid at all.

UPON the death of Mr. Archdeacon Marler my very worthy and reverend friend, I was by him left Executor of his laſt will, and truſted to take care for the education of his niece (being his Siſter's Daughter), and to diſpoſe the remainder of his eſtate unbequeathed for her benefit; if ſhe followed my advice in her marriage; otherwiſe, to diſpoſe it ſo, as he directed by a little paper which he left, which is ſafe amongſt my papers. At his death he left buried in his garden, or thereabouts, about 12 or £ 1300. (the certain ſum I remember not, but it appears by ſome of my papers) the enemy being then poſſeſſed of Malmsbury, as I think. With great care and trouble, I cauſed this money to be taken up, and ſent to Oxford, when I had it all in my cuſtody, and not knowing or being able to think of a more ſecure way to preſerve it for the right uſe, I diſpoſed of a £ 1000. of it to Mr. Aſhburnham for the King's ſervice, taking a bond to Dr. Thomas Hyde, who was named Executor with me, from the Lord Capel and ſome other perſons of honour and fortune. The reſt of the money I ſpent myſelf in thoſe affairs and occaſions which were incumbent to me; and for which ſatisfaction muſt be made to Mary Roberts out of my eſtate. But I hope the King by the remembrance of thoſe noble perſons who are obliged will both ſave them and my poor Wife and Children harmleſs, by ſatisfying both

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the one and the other, and discharging me of that trust, which I undertook for a very worthy and honest man. *A.D.* 1647.

LASTLY, I very earnestly desire my Cousin Serjeant Hyde, and Mr. Jeffery Palmer, to assist and advise my Wife in whatsoever concerns herself, and my poor Children; and I likewise desire my very noble friends the Lord Capel, the Lord Hopton and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to vouchsafe their countenance and assistance to my poor Wife and Children; and as well to mediate to his Majesty and his Highness on their behalf, as to put those other noble persons who retain any favourable memory of me, upon all seasonable opportunities to protect them. And I doubt not but my Servant Edgman will be very diligent and industrious to assist my Wife and Children in whatsoever is in his power, and that my noble friend will take some care of him for the faithful service he hath always done to me, and for the pains which he hath taken in his Majesty's service, for which his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to confer on him the reversion of a Clerk's place of the Privy Seal, which I hope he will live to enjoy: and I am confident will in that or any other trust behave himself like an honest and an able man.

EDW. HYDE.

*Dated at Castle Elizabeth in the Isle of Jersey, this 3d Day of April* 1647.

I HAD forgot to mention three hundred pounds lent by Mr. Secretary Nicholas to my Wife since my coming from Oxford, which I desire may be faithfully repayed upon the sale of Chicklade; and that my Children may continue an entire friendship with his Children, in the memory of their Fathers; And likewise that my Sons may seasonably be instructed to all respect and kindness towards the Children of my dear Lord, the Lord Falkland, with whom I had a most perfect and blameless friendship.

EDW. HYDE.

*3d of April* 1647.

TO this, without the least vanity, but with the integrity, and upon the faith of an honest man, I must add this short protestation and declaration of and for myself, against any unjust imputation that may be either through malice, envy, misinformation, or ignorance laid upon me.

1. THAT at the beginning of this unfortunate Parliament, I came into the House of Commons, with as entire and upright thoughts to the good of my Country, as any man alive could do; that I never during my service there countenanced in the least degree any thing that in my conscience I thought inconvenient for the peace and happiness of the Kingdom, but desired (and never endeavoured other) that the frame and constitution of the Kingdom might be observed, and the known laws the bounds between the King's power and the Subjects' right.

2. THAT I had never the least thought, by what I said or did in that House, to procure any recommendation to, or acceptance from his Majesty, being so far from any likelihood in reason of that, that those Persons to whom I had before always applied myself withdrawing themselves from their usual zeal to the King's service, and consequently losing much of that inte-

*A.D.* 1647. reſt they had before in him. I had not the leaſt knowledge of or relation to any man of eſteem with his Majeſty, more than what out of their own inclinations they vouchſafed to me, a ſtranger; ſo that I know not who they were who made the firſt good impreſſions in me with his Majeſty.

3. When I was the ſecond time carried to his Majeſty (for I had been once before ſent for to him) his Majeſty taking notice in the preſence of the Queen, that I had done him ſome ſervice, told me, that he reſolved to make me his Solicitor General. With what countenance I received that expreſſion of grace and favour, I preſume both their Majeſties remember, being more trembling and ſhaking, than I ever remember myſelf to have been in, in my life. I told his Majeſty, he muſt not think of it; for neither was it fit for him to remove the perſon upon whom he had ſo lately conferred it, and if the place were void, I were not fit for it, and therefore by the grace of God would not take it upon any terms. With which profeſſion, it may be rudely made, I cannot ſay either of their Majeſties ſeemed well ſatisfied, yet they diſmiſſed me very graciouſly, and with ample expreſſions of their favours and good intentions towards me.

4. What ſervice I was thought to do them afterwards in the Houſe, or out of it, I call God to witneſs, I performed out of the ſenſe of my duty, as a Subject, an Engliſhman and a Gentleman, and out of the conſcience that the proceedings againſt them were unjuſtifiable by the laws of God and man.

5. Whilst I had the honour to attend his Majeſty in the North, I was perſuaded by many friends, who obſerved his Majeſty's graciouſneſs towards me, to procure ſome place of relation and advantage near him; but I have many witneſſes, that few have endeavoured with more induſtry to procure preferment than I did at that time to decline any thought of it.

6. The firſt mention that was made to me of any place, was by his Majeſty himſelf at Oxford, after the intercepting his letter to the Queen, in which amongſt others, my name was (enviouſly enough); when his Majeſty telling me of the accident, told me, he wiſhed he could as well ſatisfy all others as he could me, for he was reſolved to beſtow that place ſpeedily upon me, which was the Secretary's place. I told his Majeſty, I had once before taken the boldneſs not to ſubmit to his command concerning another place, and I muſt continue the preſumption now, to do ſo again; for I could as little ſerve him in this place of a Secretary, being ſo utterly ignorant in thoſe languages, which were neceſſary to that office. His Majeſty vouchſafed to argue with me on my own behalf, and by inſtances of other men who had poſſeſſed that place, and other arguments to perſuade me that I was fit for it: 'till I beſought him to excuſe me, who might be apt to overvalue myſelf, but could not confeſs any weakneſs that was not in truth in me, and concluded, that I would not preſume to enter upon that place, for which I knew myſelf ſo unfit, to ſave myſelf from ſtarving. And ſo, for that preſent, his Majeſty ſaid no more of that argument; but after, both by himſelf and ſome of my friends, endeavoured to draw me from my opinion.

7. Shortly after, the Chancellor of the Exchequer being made Maſter of the Rolls, the King told me he would make me Chancellor of the Exchequer; when, amongſt other things, I told him, that the place was very far above my condition or merit, and for which I was in no competent degree worthy; but that I deſpaired not by diligence, faith and induſtry, to enable

enable myſelf to ſerve him in it, and that I was therefore ready to obey him. And I muſt call God to witneſs, that I ſubmitted to it, not out of ambition, or want of foreſight of the intolerable envy that would attend it, but out of an opinion and conſcience that I ſhould be able better to ſerve his Majeſty and my Country with it, than without it. *A.D.* 1647.

8. By this great and unequal Honour I was engaged in a higher condition of life, which was ſupported out of my own ſmall fortune, and the money I borrowed; having, I call God to witneſs, never gotten a penny by that office, directly or indirectly, more than what I received by publick warrant of the ſmall fee due to it, which amounted to a ſmall matter, and much leſs than was due to me.

9. In the whole courſe of my ſervice and attendance, I can with a very good conſcience ſay, that I never declined the leaſt opportunity of doing a good turn to any good man, being God knows as glad of any ſuch opportunity, as any man could be to receive the benefit; or ever did out of malice, or perſonal animoſity do the leaſt purpoſed diſcourteſy or unkindneſs to any man, though I was compelled by my place, the King's neceſſities, and for his ſervice many times to leave many unſatisfied, and to diſcontent others. For the publick, I never gave his Majeſty advice, neither did I ever know his Majeſty deſire any thing, but what was unqueſtionably his own right, and that the laws of the land, and conſtitution of the Kingdom in Church and State might be entirely and inviolably preſerved. And for any particular perſons (how unjuſt ſoever many have been to me) I deſire ſuch mercy in the next world, as I have been always reſolved to do my utmoſt to have preſerved the greateſt enemy I had, if it might lie in my power; and therefore I cannot but hope that Almighty God will preſerve my Wife and Children from that fury and rage which hath ſo unjuſtly perſecuted me.

Edw. Hyde.

*Jerſey, this 6th of April* 1647.

*An Original.*

*Sir* Edward Hyde *to Mr. Secretary* Nicholas.

*Sir*,

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I THANK you for your friend Lilburne, and deſire you to ſend me as many of his books as you can. I learn much by them; and in earneſt I find a great benefit by reading ill books, for though they want judgment and logick to prove what they promiſe, yet they bring good materials to prove ſomewhat elſe they do not think of. And ſo I gain very much law by reading Mr. Prynne, though nothing of it be applicable to thoſe purpoſes to which he produces it. And Mr. Cornelius hath delivered me (but as lent by you to him to be reſtored) your bundle of hereſies and frenzies, which ſure does not comprehend a moiety of the new propagated doctrines, except Mr. Milton's opinions of wedlock (from whence a race of goodly concluſions will naturally flow) be received and confirmed as orthodox by the aſſembly.

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I am glad to hear that our feminine Clergy get any aſſignments out of their huſbands' eſtates; it is a ſign no new incumbents are preſented in their

*A.D.* 1647. places. I am not of the Dean's mind; if I could not get enough to keep me out of England, I would rather take a Gaol, than ſkulk up and down with the perpetual agony and apprehenſion of being taken. A Gaol is a quiet place; beſides the benefit of having a man's friends know where to find him; which, as the world goes, is no ſmall conveniency. I wonder at our friends, who are ſo intoxicated with the love of the Engliſh air, do not get them lodgings there; it is worth a hundred of compounding.

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In the packet I now ſend you, you will find a bundle of papers ſealed up; which if it ſhould pleaſe God to call me away, I deſire you to open; otherwiſe not; for it contains my will and ſome other things, which but in that caſe, ſhould be concealed: Amongſt the reſt, there is my deſire to you, in what manner to diſpoſe of thoſe, and all my other papers which I appoint to be ſent or delivered to you. There is likewiſe ſomewhat to the King, fit enough to be ſaid on my behalf when I am dead. If it ſhould pleaſe God to take you before me, you will give direction that it may be reſtored to me. After all this, I hope we ſhall live many good years together, and finiſh this ſtory, with a chearful and happy concluſion.

I do every day expect Will. Hyde from London. I preſume you will ſee him firſt at Caen, for which place he ſhipped ſome books three weeks ſince for me. I would they were come ſafe hither, and a ream of paper, which I expect from Rouen, and then let Waller or the Devil come when they will. I hope by him to take ſuch order (for it is not poſſible to do any thing of that nature by letters), that I may be able ſhortly to pay you your money, or a good part of it. How happy ſhould I be if I were near you; but what a life would you lead, and how would you be tormented, that at this diſtance are thus tired by me; yet if you complain, the next letter ſhall be twice as long, till you require a truce. God of Heaven preſerve you and me as I am,

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

*Jerſey, 7th of April* 1647.

*Yours &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Mr. Juſtice* Jenkins's *Anſwer to the Committee of Examinations, the tenth of April,* 1647.

*Gentlemen,*

I STAND committed by the Houſe of Commons for High Treaſon: For not acknowledging nor obeying the Power of the two Houſes, by adhering to the King in this War. I deny this to be Treaſon. For the ſupreme and only power by the laws of the Land, is in the King. If I ſhould ſubmit to examination derived from your power (which by the negative oath ſtands in oppoſition to the King's power) I ſhould confeſs the power to be in you, and ſo condemn myſelf to be a Traytor, which I neither ought nor will do. I am ſworn to obey the King and the laws of the land. You have no power to examine me by the laws of the land, but by the King's Writ, Patent, or Commiſſion. If you can produce either thereof, I will anſwer the queſtions you ſhall propound; otherwiſe, I cannot without the breach of my oath, and the violation of the laws; which I will not do to ſave my life. You yourſelves all of you, this Parliament,

liament, have ſworn, that the King is our only and ſupreme Governor: *A. D. 1647.* Your vow and covenant, your ſolemn league and covenant, your declarations, all of them, publiſh to the Kingdom, that your ſcope is the maintenance of the laws. Thoſe laws muſt be derived to us, and enlivened by the only ſupreme Governor, the fountain of juſtice and life of the law, the King. The Parliaments are called by his writs, the judges ſit by his Patents; ſo all other officers and all cities and corporate towns, they govern by the King's Charters. Therefore ſince by thoſe I cannot be examined, by you (without power from his Majeſty) I neither can nor will: neither ought you to examine me upon any queſtion. But if as private Gentlemen you ſhall be pleaſed to ask me any queſtion: I ſhall really and truly anſwer every ſuch queſtion, as you ſhall demand.

*In the hand of Sec. Nicholas's Clerk, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

### *His* MAJESTY's *Anſwer to the Officers of the Army.*

*April 21ſt.* 1647.

WEDNESDAY in Eaſter week, a petition was exhibited to his Majeſty by an officer, in the name of the army, to deſire [*him*] to give himſelf to be guarded by them unto the head of their army; who would reſtore him to his Honour, Crown, and Dignity.

*His* MAJESTY's *Anſwer was to this effect.*

WE will not engage our poor people in another war. Too much blood hath been ſhed already. The Lord be merciful to my diſtracted Kingdoms, when he accounts with them for rebellion and blood! But let the army know, that we highly reſent this their expreſſion to us: And when we ſhall, by the bleſſing of God, be reſtored to our Throne in peace, we ſhall auſpiciouſly look upon their loyal intentions to us.

*In the hand of Secretary Nicholas's Clerk; endorſed, as above, by Lord Clarendon.*

### *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* RICHARD HARDING.

*Good Mr. Richard,*

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I ASSURE you, I am very glad the Clergy in Scotland carry themſelves ſo impetuouſly. It is a ſpirit impoſſible to be ſevered from the Presbytery, and will ſooner convert the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, than all the reaſon that can be ſpoken to them; and they will find all the power they have wreſted from the King, will do them no good, if the *jus divinum* of that tribe be ſuffered to conclude that Jeſus Chriſt hath truſted them only with the advancement of his Kingdom. There is no queſtion the Clergy will always have an extraordinary influence upon the people; and therefore (except there be an army kept on foot to govern both, as you will find there is in all places where the Clergy have no power) there muſt be a way to govern the Clergy abſolutely, and keep it ſubject to the rules, and orders of State; which never was, nor never can

*A.D.* 1647. be, without Biſhops; ſo that in truth civil prudence would make unanſwerable arguments for that order, if piety did not.

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I DO thank you heartily for your advice to write to my Lord Marquis Ormond; and do really believe the error is in me, that I do not follow it, rather than in you for giving it. But all errors are not as eaſy to be reformed as diſcourſes. There is a certain mien and graciouſneſs and decency in behaviour, which many honeſt and entire men cannot attain. And if in this matter I did not believe it were a kind of ambition, or vanity in me to write to my Lord of Ormond (which no doubt would appear to be, when I have nothing to ſay to him, but that I am his humble Servant), I want comelineſs (for there is a degree of confidence requiſite, to make any thing comely) to do it; and you muſt not offer violence to a nature ſo abundantly modeſt as my Lord's is in giving him the leaſt provocation to ſuch a buſineſs.

IF ever I come abroad again into the world, and any part be mean enough for me to act, I ſhall have ambition enough to make ſome means to be admitted to my Lord Marquis, whom, in good faith, I take to be the moſt excellent ſubject the King is Lord of; but till then it becomes me to be no pretender to things above me; and it is the only virtue I can brag of, that albeit, I made too great a noiſe when I had ſomewhat to do, I can do nothing with great quietneſs and ſilence; which I do not take to be a faculty to be contemned.

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*Jerſey, 2d May* 1647.

*I am, Sir, &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lady* DALKEITH.

I WILL take my death upon it, you had no pain in your head, or teeth (how much ſoever you brag of it) when you writ your's of the 16th of this month; which came not to my hands till two days ſince. For in pain you could not have been ſo eloquent in extolling the merit and virtue of kindneſs to the ſtars, and then ſo unreaſonable as to think the profeſſion of ſuch excellent and incomparable kindneſs can be a diſturbance and interruption to the thoughts of a man you do not publiſh to be a meer barbarian. And I pray, when you have the next fit upon you, tell me what kind of correſpondence or addreſs you ſuppoſe worthy to interpoſe between thoſe divine thoughts of mine ſince kindneſs is not; that ſo I may value myſelf accordingly.

INDEED if Ned be but a poor Platonick he may find ſome examples to juſtify him; but you will hardly make him ſet it under his hand that he is of that ſect. And whatever he ſays, if you can diſcover his object, you may make a ſhrewd gueſs whether he be a diſciple to that philoſophy. For this is a concluſion, no man was ever a Platonick to a dull ſoulleſs beauty, how delicate ſoever the complexion is. In earneſt, I know him an excellent young man, and love him heartily, as worthy to be brother to the beſt young man I ever knew, and to the beſt woman living, both whoſe friendſhips I am more proud to have been admitted to, than I can be of any other

other good fortune, can befal me; and to whom if my friendſhip hath not been perfect, it hath been for want of virtue; for the little ſtore I had, I gave entirely to it. And you know he is his brother's executor, and ſo hath a title to all I owed him; and therefore I muſt be ſtill ſolicitous that he never entertain, at leaſt, not lodge any gueſt in his room which may check the hopes he hath of happineſs, to a very great degree; whereto I take him to have a ſure title. I ſuppoſe you will not ſuffer him to return into that ill air from whence he came, 'till it be purged. *A.D.* 1647.

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JACK Berkley is ſhort breathed, and quickly weary. I no ſooner commended him for writing letters of a reaſonable length (and yet if he would learn ſuch a pretty hand as mine, they would not ſeem ſo long), but he gives over writing at all. I pray chide him.

IF I had a mind to be ſo ſowery as to make compariſons with you, I could tell you all your tooth-ach and head-ach is recreation and ſport to what I endure; who for three days together was not able to ſit, and now for three days have not been able to ſtand, the gout in my knees tormenting me then that I could not bow my legs, and now in my feet, that I cannot uſe them; ſo that I have in good faith little comfort, but in pure careleſſneſs what becomes of me; for on my conſcience I ſhall never be able again to run ten miles a day.

I BESEECH you when you have the ſpleen next, write me a long letter, that I may know ſome of your mad thoughts, and then I'll tell you freely what pain or humour you ſhould be in. For hitherto methinks the tooth-ach and head-ach, does beſt with you. In thoſe fits you are an Empreſs; and I doubt I ſhall not have ſo long and ſo kind a letter from you, 'till that torment ſeizes on you again.

GOD of Heaven preſerve you, and continue your favour to me as long as I continue my devotion; and then nothing can fall amiſs upon

*Jerſey, 2d May* 1647.

*Your's &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* HOPTON.

*My dear Lord,*

IT was ſo long before your laſt, without any number (for you have now given over any reckoning of your correſpondence with poor Jerſey) of the 30th of the laſt month came to my hands, which was but yeſterday, that I was glad to read it over twice before I could recollect any thing of the letter which engaged you in that diſcourſe; having writ many to you ſince. And if my memory be true to me, I did not ſay any thing peremptorily uncharitable of the ordination in, and communion with, thoſe Churches, who pretend to be reformed, and yet reproach that Church which only is reformed as it ought to be. For the laſt I am ſo far from being of that mind, that I fear the beſt men, and the beſt times, have been too quick and ſudden, and paſſionate in it; and that in truth there are very few ſimple opinions, the difference wherein ought to ſeparate men from communion with one another, which I doubt was brought in, or let in, to the beſt Churches ſooner than were to be wiſhed; and one hath been the greateſt

*A.D.* 1647. occaſion of making rents in the garment of Chriſt, in that matter of Communion; you will not find any errors to lie on that hand. For their ordination, I ſuppoſe I ſaid no more, than that I do not underſtand it, which is true, nor have you informed me ſufficiently, by putting a difference between thoſe made by Dr. Burgeſs and Mr. Caroll, whom you ſeem to acknowledge as I do, to be ſtill laymen, and thoſe which are made in other Churches otherwiſe reformed, becauſe the other is done againſt the laws of the land; which, by your favour, is not reaſon enough, for many things done againſt the laws of the land, and the doing whereof is puniſhable by the laws of the land, yet being done are valid enough. *Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet.* So that if there were nothing elſe againſt thoſe ordained Burgeſs and Caroll, but the laws eſtabliſhed, there might be reaſon ſufficient why they ſhould not be capable of having Eccleſiaſtical freeholds; becauſe the law hath appointed how ſuch perſons ſhall be qualified, or why they ſhould be puniſhed for exerciſing the function, and yet the ſpiritual offices they do might be valid, which you ſeem not to believe; by which I think I have you at advantage; as you do not doubt but he is a lawful Miniſter, to diſpenſe all ſpiritual exerciſes to you, who is ordained by a Biſhop of the Church of England now in Paris, notwithſtanding ſuch ordination is againſt the laws of that State. Indeed, if the Miniſtry be a Corporation erected by the civil power and policy of Princes, no queſtion they may appoint what ways they pleaſe to come into it, or out of it. But if it were ſettled by Chriſt himſelf, or his Apoſtles, give me leave ſtill not to underſtand how any man can be admitted to it through any doors, which in the firſt preſcription were not left open. I aſſure you, it is not my want of language (for that might be ſupplied by a friend) that keeps me from dealing with Monſieur Amivantis, as great a Profeſſor as he is; but two things keep me from ſpeaking out, poſſibly I may think however. The one, that whatever my opinions are of thoſe your friends the Huguenots, it may be, the uttering thoſe opinions, though true, may in ſeveral conſiderations be not only imprudent but unjuſtifiable; the other, I am not ſure I could avoid, ſaying ſomewhat of the power of the Crown of France, which he ſo much extols and prefers before that of our King, which may prove inconvenient to a man that may be put to beg his bread there. For I am enough verſed in the law of Normandy, and Britany to make it evident, that that man cannot in truth think the power of the French King in thoſe Provinces (whatever it is elſewhere, which Comines denies too) to be greater than our Maſter's is; the reſult from whence would be, that they might rebel, if they thought they could get by it. You ſay, you wiſh we would have a very humble opinion of that which I call the dignity and luſtre of our Church, compared with the inward beauty. Truſt me, that which I call the dignity and luſtre of our Church, is in my humble opinion ſo neceſſary for the preſerving and propagating the inward beauty, that the one will decay and fall to nothing, if the other be not upheld; nor can I imagine what inward beauty you can expect in the Church, when the dignity and luſtre of it is trodden down by profaneneſs, and deſtroyed by ſacrilege. Would not you be a little merry with the man that ſhould tell you, that the Court is at Carisbrook Caſtle? and yet, you know the reſidence of the King's perſon and his preſence makes the Court any where, becauſe it is ſuppoſed that the King can be no where without the exerciſe of his Kingly power and without his *Inſignia* of Majeſty. The inward beauty of the Court is, a true and hearty

hearty and conſcientious ſubmiſſion and reverence in all Subjects, and all Servants, to the King, as appointed by God to govern over them. But do you think this inward beauty, this pious reverence to his Majeſty can be eaſily preſerved, if all his officers of State be taken away and his family reduced to a Clerk, a Bailiff, and a Cook. The Church is God's Court upon earth, and he looks to be attended with thoſe Miniſters he hath choſen, and that thoſe Miniſters ſhould be in the equipage as he hath appointed; for the ſupport whereof he hath aſſigned a liberal maintenance; and the inward beauty of this Court will be no better preſerved by your Ptesbytery and your Elderſhip, than St. George's Day would be celebrated, with no other attendance upon the King than the Common Council of London at Whitehall, or Windſor. Indeed, as you ſay, this glorious outſide will not ſo well endure the fiery trial, which is an argument of the heat of the fire, not the illneſs or unuſefulneſs of the outſide. I doubt not the heart may continue entire, where the body is plundered, ſtripped and left naked to the mercy of the winter; yet you do not think the heart in as good caſe, or as long lived, as it would be if the body were cheriſhed, and kept warm. You are beholding to me, that I ſay no more of this argument, for it is more troubleſome, and a greater conqueſt over myſelf to be quiet, than to vex you with this prattle to the end of the ſheet. But I have much more to ſay to you; and I muſt be a good huſband of my paper; for I am in the laſt quire but one; and if Mr. Nicolls ſupplies me not ſpeedily, you know how ſimple a proviſion one quire of paper is for my conſumption. Beſides, I muſt tell you I am not without a purpoſe to write a diſcourſe of ſome length of the weakneſs of that conſideration to the diſadvantage of the Church of England, of the conformity to other reformed Churches; which, I doubt, hath impoſed upon too many honeſt minds, and is in truth, upon weighing, an argument that is not worth the eſteem it finds, and in no degree concluding to the purpoſe to which it is applied. A.D. 1647.

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I WILL trouble you with one memorandum, which may not be unfit for the air you live it. Be not perſuaded in any treaty to conſent to any thing, you do not think ſimply good in itſelf, upon any imagination, that by yielding now to ſomewhat unreaſonable, and inconvenient, you may be able hereafter to reverſe it. It is now in the King's power to have a juſt, and honeſt and an honourable peace, by conſenting to nothing, but what ſhall conſtitute it juſt; but if a worſe be made by him, it ſhall never be in his power, nor I believe in his poſterity, to recover it, or to get any power into his own hands, which he freely reſigns to the two Houſes of Parliament. Let not the general zeal amongſt the people of England be overvalued, or miſinterpreted, as if it proceeded from the pure act of conſcience upon a repentance of what they have done ill, and from the love and reverence to the old form of government. I hope many are really converted, and abhor the wickedneſs they have been guilty of, and that the King's own unparalleled virtue hath a ſtrong influence upon many. But that which works generally, is the experience, that the alteration deſigned cannot be made without a long continued vaſt charge, and trouble of an army; and that that army cannot be kept with their ſecurity, and therefore they had rather things were as they have been, than pay ſo dear for the alteration. Whereas, if you ſhall be content to eſtabliſh any agreement upon which the burthen

*A.D.* 1647. of the armies ſhall be taken off, and a peace ſettled, you ſhall find the people ſo well ſatisfied with any alteration which ſhall leſſen the power of the Crown, that it will never be poſſible to recover them; and the Houſe of Peers ſhall be more grievous to the King than the Houſe of Commons hath lately been. Whatever others do, let me perſuade you, as you have ventured your life and loſt your fortune and your blood in the defence of your Country, ſo do not think you have preſerved it when you have bartered away thoſe fundamental rights, upon which the conſtitution of it is founded.

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*June 9th.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Humble Advice concerning the Buſineſs of* Ireland, *in relation to an Accommodation between the Lord Lieutenant, and the Confederate Catholicks.*

FIRST, I conceive the Marquis of Ormond was ſo far engaged with the Parliament at the time of Mr. Grant's coming to him, that, without betraying his faith and hoſtages, he could not conclude any accommodation with the Iriſh.

SECONDLY, I conceive that if his Lordſhip had had no ſuch engagement upon him, yet he was not then in a condition to admit of any accommodation not including their ſubmiſſion to the peace; or at leaſt not leaving unto his Lordſhip the command over their armies; for by all other agreements that could be thought of, without that, he could never have avoided that which ought to be principally ſhunned by thoſe who enter into a league with ſtronger than themſelves, that is the falling into their hands, whenſoever it had pleaſed them. For I take it for granted, that his Lordſhip's army muſt have been fed and furniſhed with money and ammunition from the Iriſh Quarters; and if ſo, then muſt it have been in their power, by withdrawing of thoſe ſupplies, not only to ſtarve, but even to force him to ſurrender all to them.

THIRDLY, if it could be granted that there was yet room for ſuch an accommodation between the Lord Lieutenant and the Confederate Catholicks, yet cannot that accommodation be pretended to have been offered in the overtures made by Dr. Fennell and Geoffery Baron, Eſq; the third of March laſt, for theſe reaſons: 1. Becauſe that by the 6th article none being permitted to reſide within the Marquis of Ormond's Quarters, without ſwearing the performance of the accommodation; and the City of Dublin, as all other towns within thoſe quarters, conſiſting of two principal factions, Puritans and Papiſts (for there are few Proteſtants in reſpect of either of theſe), by the counterpoiſe of which factions the ſaid Lord Lieutenant hath hitherto, with admirable prudence, preſerved thoſe places, as well from the Parliament, as from the Iriſh Confederates: If that article ſhall have place, the Puritans and many of the Proteſtant party, muſt depart out of thoſe quarters, and conſequently leave the ſaid quarters over maſtered by the Catholick party and Iriſh therein inhabiting. 2. Becauſe by the third article Dublin and the reſt of the King's garriſons are in expreſs terms to be ſecured &c. that is to ſay (as the Commiſſioners expounded it, in their anſwer of the 4th of March) by receiving ſome of the Confede-

rates

rates' forces into the ſaid garriſons, or by delivering to them ſome of them, upon their promiſe of reſtitution when the Lord Lieutenant's quarters ſhall become able to maintain them. 3. Becauſe the ſaid Lord Lieutenant's expreſs conſent, and the conſent of all the Proteſtants in thoſe quarters, is required, as well as their oaths, for the taking away of the Proteſtant religion, and the introducing of Popery, and for the putting of the Popiſh Clergy in poſſeſſion of all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, Church-livings and other profits, at preſent enjoyed by the Proteſtant Clergy (who have conſtantly adhered to his Majeſty all this time) in all the Marquis of Ormond's quarters, *viz.* in Drogheda, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, Trim &c, and in all the Country 30 and 40 miles round about Dublin, that place only excepted (where one Church and no more is inſiſted upon); which his Lordſhip (without ſpecial powers from his Majeſty to that purpoſe) hath no authority to do, nor can be done by a Proteſtant, without infinite ſcandal to his Religion, and manifeſt injuſtice to thoſe of the Proteſtant Clergy who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe livings. *A.D.* 1647.

LASTLY, if it were granted that thoſe overtures are ſuch as will bear an accommodation, and were my Lord Lieutenant conſenting thereunto; yet ſo long as there is throughout all thoſe garriſons, not only the greateſt part of the inhabitants, but all the officers as well of the civil as martial liſt, and far the greater part of the army, contrary to any ſuch accommodation; it may be well doubted whether his Excellency can be able to go through ſtitch with it, without running the hazard which every body may conceive.

IF it be asked, what game then it is poſſible that the Lord Lieutenant may have to play, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs in England, in caſe he hath not delivered thoſe places to the Parliament; I ſhall anſwer, that it is likely that his Excellency will find a game much for his honour, and the King's ſervice, by refuſing to deliver thoſe places to a faction of Parliament, which he is to deliver to the whole Parliament. But as long as the engagement to the Parliament, lies ſtill upon him (as doubtleſs it doth, 'till ſomething be done to take it away) I ſee not what advantage can be for the preſent drawn from it, in relation to an accommodation with the Iriſh, except that of propoſing a ceſſation between them.

*June 25th* 1647.

*In Mr. Poingdexter's Hand.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WHEN his Highneſs left this iſland, my Lord Capel, my Lord Hopton, and myſelf, preſented our duty and an account of ourſelves to your Majeſty, and beſought your commands how to diſpoſe ourſelves to your ſervice. Whether that humble addreſs of our's had ever the happineſs to be preſented to your Majeſty, I know not. This Gentleman, who hath ſerved your Majeſty with great ability and integrity throughout thoſe affairs in which I have been truſted ſince I had the honour to ſee you, hath ſome confidence that he ſhall be admitted to kiſs your hand; and therefore I thought it agreeable to my duty, by this or any other poſſible occaſion, to caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, with the confidence of a man that hath never deceived the leaſt truſt repoſed in him, by your Majeſty, or committed any fault againſt you, and therefore, preſuming that I am not by any publick misfor-

*A.D.*1647. misfortunes or alterations fallen in any degree from your Majeſty's acceptation. I am ſo far from begging your leave to wait on you (though it be the greateſt happineſs I am capable of in this world) that I beſeech your Majeſty not to vouchſafe the leaſt thought or conſideration of me, when it may collaterally give any interruption to what may elſe ſeem uſeful to your ſervice. But when my attendance may be conſiſtent with the ſtate of your affairs, or my ſervice of any ſignification to your Majeſty, no man ſhall with greater devotion obey your commands. In the mean time I flatter myſelf with an opinion, that I am doing your Majeſty ſome ſervice here; whilſt I am preparing the ſtory of your ſufferings; that poſterity may know by whoſe default the nation was even overwhelmed with calamities, and by whoſe virtue it was redeemed. What progreſs I have made in this unequal taſk, and what method I obſerve in it, this Gentleman, will likewiſe humbly inform your Majeſty; and the care I have taken, if it ſhall pleaſe God to take me away before I have the comfort of kiſsing your Majeſty's hand that my papers be carefully preſented to your Majeſty's own royal diſpoſal; which I hope may excuſe any preſumptions that are in them.

AMONGST your Majeſty's proſperous Counſels (ſince theſe diſtractions) there are very few in which you have greater cauſe to rejoice, than your diſpoſing this iſland to the Government of this prudent and dexterous Lieutenant Governor, who reduced it not with greater ſkill, and diſcretion than he hath kept it. Truly, the part that he hath acted in your ſervice hath been a right good one. I beſeech your Majeſty give Mr. Fanſhaw leave to give you an account of the ſtate and condition of this excellent iſland, and of the other of Guernſey, where the Caſtle is ſtill kept for your Majeſty, and hath been hitherto preſerved by the diligence and activity of Sir George Carteret, who is like to find it more difficult than it hath been; for ſince the diſcontinuance of your men of war of this iſland out of an expectation and hope of peace, the Parliament ſhips have not only kept a ſtricter guard and watch upon the Caſtle than formerly, but have more infeſted this iſland by taking the boats and diſturbing the trade; ſo that if it ſhall pleaſe God not yet to vouchſafe a peace to your dominions, it will be moſt neceſſary to know your Majeſty's pleaſure (which may be eaſily derived by Mr. Secretary Nicholas), whether your good ſubjects here ſhall be liable to the acts of hoſtility by the Parliament ſhips, without ſetting out men of war equal to infeſt their neighbours; for want whereof Caſtle Cornet will be in danger. And if theſe diſtractions ſhould continue, (which God forbid!) the recovering that and keeping all theſe iſlands in your obedience, may prove of greater importance than I conceive, hath been heretofore apprehended.

GOD Almighty preſerve your Majeſty, and give you many good days to repair the ill you have endured! which is the conſtant prayer of,

*Sir,*

*Caſtle Elizabeth, 27th July, St. vet.* *Your, &c.*

*A Copy, by one of his Clerks.*

*Sir*

*A.D.* 1647.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* GILBERT SHELDON.

*Sir*,

I HAVE not these many months met with any thing that hath given [*me*] equal comfort and content to that I received by your's of the 12th of July, which came yesterday to my hand. And I could hardly receive better evidence of the intentions of the people, with whom you are, than by their permission of you and your comrade to do your duties; it being not possible they can have a design upon that conscience, to which they allow you to minister. For myself, if I may be preserved in the gracious opinion and acceptation of him, whom I have very faithfully served (of which I thank God I have a confidence good enough to make me very confident) I shall bear my accidents of fortune (whether they proceed from enemies or friends) with the courage of a man that hath not deserved amiss. I have been now above a twelvemonth more conversant with myself, because less with other men, than in all my life before; and I pray God that part of it which is to come may not be less pleasant to me.

WHEN we meet, if that happiness be reserved for me, I shall make it appear to you, I have not been idle, how impertinently soever employed. I hope the constant prayers (solemnly and decently performed) of this very honest place, hath contributed somewhat to those miraculous alterations which have fallen out; and this redemption of the Kingdom, will be the more signal to posterity, by it's being redeemed (as Kingdoms ought to be redeemed) by the sole providence of God and the single virtue of the King; who I doubt not will live to enjoy the full glory, as he hath left the full burthen, of being a King. Remember me to honest Dr. H. and to any friends who are willing to remember me; since you may safely, it will be a notable refreshment to me, if you let me know what you think may in any degree concern

*Sir*,

*27th July, St. vet.*

*Your, &c.*

*A Copy, in the same hand with the last, endorsed by himself.*

*His* MAJESTY *to Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX. †

WE have received information that divers of our party, which served us heretofore in this unhappy war, have engaged themselves in the City of London, in opposition to this army, where our person now is; and that it is conceived by some that this is done by our consent and encouragement. We have hereupon thought fit to let you know, that we are so far from any such intentions or thoughts to that purpose, that we have directed all our party and friends to rest quiet and unengaged, until first they hear us speak; and as a further argument against the credit of such suggestions, hold it seasonable upon this occasion to let you and all others know our observation, and how far we may be sensible of the demeanour and carriage of this army, and the officers thereof towards us and our party, from their constant care, endeavours and faithfulness in the punctual performance of

† *There is a much shorter Letter to nearly the same effect in the Parliamentary History, V.* 15. *P.* 205.

*A.D.* 1647. articles, and admitting us (ſince our coming among them) the free exerciſe of Religion, the attendance of our Chaplains and Servants, the comfort of hearing from our royal Conſort the Queen, and our deareſt Son the Prince; procuring us a ſight of our Children; allowing a free acceſs unto us; and their earneſt profeſſions for a final peace, and preventing a new war. And upon peruſal of your Propoſals to the Commiſſioners of the army, we are moſt glad to find, that ye have not preſſed againſt our conſcience the aboliſhing of Biſhops, or the alienation of Church Lands, or prohibiting the uſe of the Common Prayer, or diſabling Clergymen from exerciſing their functions, or enjoying their benefices; nor urged the Covenant againſt the conſciences of any; nor intrenching fundamentally upon our negative voice in Parliament; and we alſo obſerve the expreſſions tending to the reſtoring our Perſon, Queen and Royal Iſſue to ſafety, honour and freedom, without diminution of our perſonal rights, or further limitation to the exerciſe of our Regal Power; and notwithſtanding the deſires of liberty and freedom in conſcience, we find a willingneſs to ſubmit and conform to a ſettled and civil Government. Upon which conſiderations (although we cannot in honour and conſcience fully aſſent to ſome few of the matters in the Propoſals) yet we conceive great hopes that from thence may grow a riſe and occaſion for obtaining peace in the Kingdom, which our heart deſires; and [*we*] are afflicted with all occaſions that may obſtruct the accompliſhment thereof, it being our duty to defend all force and violence, eſpecially againſt Parliaments, ſo as we cannot but deteſt and diſavow all tumults and diſorders in forcing or diſturbing them any way or the members thereof, and all other provocations to a new war. Wherefore, we do earneſtly exhort you and the army, to make good your profeſſions in ſeeking and purſuing the peace of the Kingdom (without further effuſion of blood) and preſervation of that our populous City of London, towards which ye are approaching; letting you know that as we have herein given ſome teſtimony of your reſpects to us hitherto, ſo, if you ſhall be the happy inſtruments of peace, you may reſt aſſured that we ſhall then ſet a far greater value and eſtimation upon you, and ſhall then hope that you under God may be a means for the reſtoring and ſettling the peace of England; and we do hereby further let you know that we ſhall contribute all our power and engage our friends to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom we ſhall find and diſcern to be the true and hearty promoters of a firm and laſting peace. Given at our Court at Stoke the third day of Auguſt 1647.

*A rough Draught.*

### *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* GILBERT SHELDON.

*Sir,*

YOUR's of the 10th gave me great comfort, at a time when other men began to droop. But truly, I did then and do ſtill believe, that the ſame patience, conſtancy and virtue which hath ſo miraculouſly produced this light out of that diſmal darkneſs, which ſix months ſince covered us all, will in the end (by the ſame bleſſing upon it) produce a full [.....] over the whole Kingdom. It hath given me ſome trouble to find my friends troubled at ſome particulars concerning myſelf, which I always deſpiſed; and that they could imagine, that I, who would never conſent that the King ſhould acknowledge himſelf to be in the wrong, to

ſave

ſave his three Kingdoms, leaſt the grounds and rules by which poſterity muſt be honeſt, ſhould be defaced and wiped out, can ever confeſs myſelf to be a guilty and faulty perſon, to win their good opinion, whoſe favour is a blemiſh to good men, 'till they have changed their principles. Let us never be aſhamed of our obſtinacy in the right, when we are only encountred with obſtinacy in the wrong. You remember your old friend Cato called Cæſar tyrant, for offering to grant him a pardon for his life, for pretending to ſo much power over the life a Citizen. I thank God, I have not guilt enough yet to aſk a pardon from the King and the two Houſes; and when I have, I know where to ſue for it, without caring to be exempted by them who have without reaſon given me the name of a Malignant; for by the way you muſt know, I was never yet ſo much as voted a delinquent. You have given me my heart's deſire in aſſuring me of his gracious favour and acceptance whom I have faithfully ſerved; the contrary whereof (if I had any guilt about me) I have had ſome alarms to apprehend. But as I could not be ſo ſhort-ſighted as not to diſcern thoſe objections which would be naturally made againſt me, ſo methinks thoſe who have any reaſonable opinion of my underſtanding ſhould believe that I had good reaſon for that, which they thought ſo unreaſonable as a ſober man could not be guilty of. And I have not the leaſt doubt, but when I ſhall be heard, I ſhall be abſolved for what I did, and what I did not, by his judgment, to whom mine hath always entirely conformed. In the mean time, pray tell me, if you ſee concluſions fixed, how reaſonably ſoever, which you can neither alter nor ſubmit to (no, not to ſave a Kingdom) in your conſcience or underſtanding; will you either humbly and modeſtly withdraw yourſelf from bearing a part, or upon the pride of your own underſtanding, be a continual diſturber and diſputer againſt the progreſs? And do you think the diſpleaſure of ſuch abſence will be equal to that you ſhall contract, by your continual importunities? A word in your next for my information. If you find any occaſion of imparting any ſecret to me, you will meet with two or three friends who can ſupply you with a cipher. Continue your kindneſs and with your authority retain thoſe friends, who have not patience enough to attend God's leiſure and method. *A.D.* 1647.

THAT you may not think I am idle, I have read over Livy and Tacitus, and almoſt Tully's works, and have written, ſince I came into this bleſſed iſle, near 300 large ſheets of paper in this delicate hand. God of Heaven preſerve you, and bring me once again where you are, to the comfort of

29*th Aug.* 1647. *Your's &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE day that I ſhall have the bleſſing to kiſs your Majeſty's hand can be but the holyday to which Saturday laſt was the eve, when I had the honour to receive your moſt gracious letter of the 19th of Auguſt. I were unworthy of the comfort and joy it brought me, if I could expreſs how great it was, and is, and will ever be to me. Next the conſcience of having ſerved you honeſtly, your Majeſty's acceptation of that poor ſervice is the greateſt reward under Heaven; and having that, no exception can

*A.D.* 1647. diſquiet me a minute. If I underſtand your Majeſty's queries, they are no other than I adminiſtred to myſelf long ago; and if I have been in the leaſt degree faulty, it hath been not only out of my general defect of judgment, but by my particular want of underſtanding your Majeſty. For if I know you at all, I have done nothing, nor left any thing undone, but what your Majeſty will juſtify me in, and for which I had long ſince your warrant. And therefore, I cannot doubt but that any miſapprehenſion from thence (the grief whereof hath made as great an impreſſion in me, as an innocent mind is capable of) will by your Majeſty's goodneſs and interpoſition be removed. Your Lieutenant Governor here is equally confounded with me at the ſenſe of your Majeſty's high favour, and that you have vouchſafed to take him into your gracious conſideration. Indeed, he is ſo much the fitter for a place in your Royal Memory, that he will never put you in mind of himſelf, having the moſt publick, and the feweſt private thoughts, that I have obſerved in any Gentleman. If your Majeſty would receive any information of this good iſland (which is a very valuable part of your dominions, even when you are entirely poſſeſſed of all the reſt), or of Guernſey, Mr. Hinton (who hath like a faithful ſervant born his part in your Majeſty's preſſures as honeſtly and as dutifully as any man) is well able to ſatisfy your Majeſty in all particulars; having with this other honeſt ſervant of your Majeſty's, Auditor Kinſman, reſided here ever ſince his Highneſs's coming hither, and before always attended him in the Weſt. God preſerve your Majeſty!

15*th Sept.*

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to Dr.* Gilbert Sheldon.

*Sir,*

THOUGH I have writ twice to you this week; yet having not ſatisfied myſelf, I cannot believe I have ſatisfied you. There is no affliction under Heaven which I have not prepared myſelf to bear (and poſſibly to expect) but an alteration and diminution of his favour, whom I have ſerved as well as I have been able; which I am ſure can never happen but through ſuch a misfortune, as muſt carry ſomewhat of my fault with it; for not to clear any miſapprehenſion or miſrepreſentation that may be made of me would be a fault in me. I have therefore preſumed again to write to his Majeſty with the warineſs of a man that thinks it very probable his letters may miſcarry, and in truth not the tithe of what I can ſay for myſelf. Let me conjure you to let me know as ſoon as may be (for I am impatient in no other particular), whether by the hints I have formerly given you, or what I have written to his Majeſty, his Majeſty be ſatisfied (that is ſatisfied in his judgment, for I would reſerve his mercy); or whether he will give me leave to write more particularly. I have no ſuch pride to juſtify myſelf by any abſtracted conſiderations of reaſon, and prudence; if I have ſwerved from his judgment, I have done that I meant not to do, and that which I ſhall be very ſorry for; but, 'till he concludes me, I ſhall be abſolved by him. I know not what you mean by an invitation from the Queen to go into France; her Majeſty hath been always very gracious to me; and when ſhe ſent for the Prince, ſent me word I ſhould be very welcome; which as it was an abundant invitation, ſo it was all that ever I heard from her Ma-

jeſty

jesty to this hour. And I had the more reason to hope my stay here would not have been misinterpreted (besides that it was demonstrable I could not have been there of any imaginable use, and must have been a perpetual vexation), because I received at the same time an intimation that if I went into Ireland it would not be unacceptable. I chose that for which I could give myself most reasons, and fewest against; and was so far from being bribed by any passion or affection on my own behalf, that I very well knew what hazards I run, and there was not one person of the island to whom I had ever spoken a word before, and could not be more a stranger in any part of his Majesty's dominions. Yet indeed I think I have been of more use here to his service, than I could have been in any part of the world. In all this time of my suffering still I have not been without many thoughts that it would become me in duty (though at this huge distance, and not within the same Continent) to wait on the Queen and Prince; but the truth is (though by the goodness of the people here I suffer no wants, nor am like to do), I am as well able to fly to Paris as to keep myself there one week. And it may not be an impertinent consideration, that there have been in many towns in France directions given to arrest me (upon a supposition that I would pass that way) for some acts which were very necessary to be done in the West. All that I desire, is a suspension of concluding that I have been faulty 'till I am heard; and then no man shall make a more intire submission. You will give me some ease if you will explain yourself in the particular proposed by me concerning Oxon; which truly I had the vanity to believe would be wished by others more than by myself; whether the prejudice be general to all men of my form, and to all pretences of that kind, or only to me with reference to that particular place; for then upon such an occasion farther care may be taken of me, which in my absence I cannot take of myself. You say I have been more unfortunate where you are than perhaps I imagine. It may be so; and yet I must tell you, not only my imagination but my expectation hath carried me very far in that disquisition. If my misfortunes proceed only from those who have differed from me in opinions, affections and ends, I do not wonder; for I have always to my power opposed them heartily, and (which I believe is more unpardonable by them) will never pretend I am sorry for it. If they proceed from the envy of those who are angry that the King's favour hath been extended in a greater degree towards me than towards them, whose abilities it may be are far greater, I cannot help it; yet it may be, very few of those enjoyed a condition fuller of pleasure and plenty than mine was, before I was the object of that envy. If they proceed from many of my own party, who have taken frequent occasions to be angry with me, it is not more than I imagine; for I could not have served him, to whom my intire faculties were dedicated, so honestly as I hope I have done, if I had not displeased very many. Nay, if they proceed from some good men, who upon misrepresentation of what I have done or said, conclude me a worse man than I am, I shall not wonder; for before I came out of the West, I found so great a trade of lying driven by some men unsuspected, that I was then and have been since told, that it was confidently reported, I had said and done many things, which I no more said, did, or even thought, than I have been guilty of the murder of my Father. But if these misfortunes have proceeded from any men, who have been punctual in the performance of their own duties, and who have any knowledge of me, I confess it is beyond my

*A.D.* 1647.

*A.D.* 1647. imagination; for in good faith if I were upon my death bed, I could with a very good conſcience profeſs to you, that I never omitted an opportunity of doing a good turn to any man, and have been ſo far from being unjuſt to any, that I was never farther unkind, than my duty and truſts to my Maſter obliged me to be; and it may be the Province I have been truſted with would not have been managed by a wiſer man with better ſucceſs. I have done [you]. God ſend us a good meeting.

*Your's &c.*

*24th Sept.*

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE I preſumed laſt to write to your Majeſty I have received by Doctor Sheldon thoſe queries, which your Majeſty graciouſly mentioned in your's, fuller than before I underſtood; and as I have great cauſe humbly to acknowledge your goodneſs in vouchſafing a merciful interpretation of, and a full pardon for, ſuch errors and miſtakes as I may have fallen into, ſo I cannot but bewail my misfortune that I am not able at this diſtance to preſent my humble vindication to your Majeſty; but muſt beſeech you, upon the credit of my former innocency and entire ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty, as far as is in my power, to believe, that I have not ſwerved from the moſt punctual obedience to your pleaſure, 'till I may have the happineſs to be admitted to your preſence, when I ſhall only with humility preſent my own reaſons, never diſpute your's. To the firſt, my opinion was grounded upon ſuch reaſons as abſolutely prevailed over my underſtanding, and which in the light I ſtood in appeared very weighty; being ſo far from conceiving your Majeſty's judgment to be declared in the point, that I had reaſon to believe the contrary, there being no colour of that neceſſity, which every man would have willingly ſubmitted to. To the ſecond, if I underſtand it, I had neither raſhneſs nor ſullenneſs in the reſolution, leſs, any baſe deſign of gaining credit with thoſe whom I always abhorred, but believed my choice to be grounded upon ſuch reaſons as would have been approved by your Majeſty if I had been by you. I confeſs my inability and defect of judgment is ſuch, that I ſhall want your Majeſty's favour and mercy when I have done all that is in my poor power to pleaſe you; but I ſhould not have the impudence to beg that favour, if I had not done all I could. And therefore, I have the confidence to beſeech your Majeſty to paſs your word for me to the Queen, to whom I have cauſe to fear my devotion may have been miſrepreſented by thoſe, from whom I always have, and will always deſerve well. If I were in my heart guilty of the leaſt diſreſpect to her Majeſty, I would not beg your Majeſty's mediation; but I am ſure I can never fail willingly in my duty to her, of whoſe favour no man hath had a deeper ſenſe, or more abſolutely depends upon it. And I ſhall not, I know, be the leſs ſecure in your Majeſty's protection, becauſe I have never uſed the leaſt ſtratagem to preſerve myſelf from ruin, which I never feared, be-

cauſe

cauſe I never deſerved, nor will ever avoid by ill acts; having with all the faculties of my ſoul performed my duty as becomes *A.D.* 1647.

*Your.*

*24th Sept.*

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKLEY.

I HAVE little hope of good by the concluſions of the two Houſes, who can never think themſelves ſecure but by ſuch an abſolute power as will leave nobody elſe ſecure. But from the army my hopes are much greater, which was raiſed upon pretence (whatever the managers intend) to preſerve the frame and conſtitution of the Kingdom; and whilſt they purſue that end, they lay the guilt and envy upon them who led them out of the way. If they are not as much infatuated as the Presbyterians were, they cannot but know they are at this time more odious throughout the Kingdom, than ever the King's party was, or the Parliament is; and then to believe they can govern long by the power of the ſword is ridiculous; their only ſecurity can be in the faith and protection of the King, and the integrity of his party, which they may truſt reaſonably, that is, more reaſonably than they can do any thing elſe, which it may be, they will ſooner find themſelves, than be taught by others. In God's name, diſtribute as many perſonal obligations as can be expected, but take heed of removing landmarks, and deſtroying foundations; whilſt you inſiſt upon thoſe, you have a place to fix your foot upon, but recede one from thoſe, and they will be too hard for you; by your own arguments and your own conceſſions. Abandon your principles, and there is no judge of reaſon left, but plurality of voices and ſtrength of hands; and that deciſion gives no ſecurity for what is laſt concluded. I muſt ſay, that from the beginning of theſe contentions, [that] unreaſonable conceſſions always produced unreaſonable demands; and if they ſee you will not yield, they muſt; for ſure they have as much or more need of the King, than he of them. Believe it, (and you will find it true after I am dead) though a war may be carried on by a new model, a firm peace can never be eſtabliſhed but by the old. I do not ſay, an honeſt, or an honourable peace, but a firm peace; let it be never ſo ſhewy a one, it can never laſt, if the old banks be not kept up. In a word, dear Jack, we are not ſure God Almighty hath not determined the ruin of King and Kingdom; but we are ſure he hath determined neither of them ſhall be preſerved by impious or diſhoneſt means; and methinks he hath ſo miraculouſly interpoſed himſelf lately, that he ſhould not be only conſulted with, but depended on. Pardon this diſcourſe; and believe I am ſo far from thinking you need it, that truly it is a great argument to me, that the intentions are not ill, when they hold any communication with you and your honeſt companion; to whom you muſt carefully and kindly remember me, and continue to love, &c.

*6th Oct.* 1647.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

*A.D.* 1647.

## *The Marquis of* WORCESTER *(late Earl of* GLAMORGAN*) to the titular Biſhop of* FERNES.

*My noble Lord,*

ALTHOUGH the place whither I go be now changed upon ſerious conſideration, and my Lord Nuncio's concurrence therein, as moſt advantageous *ſuper totam materiam*, yet are my intentions the ſame they were when I left your Lordſhip; and I hope a ſhorter way contrived to them than I then imagined, having found a probable (I may call it even a certain) way to bring the Queen about to befriend this nation. In the interim, I beſeech your Lordſhip, together with the Lord Biſhop of Clogher and Mr. Rochfort, to be mindful of your promiſes to me, and to be ſure that General O Neile diſſent not from the letter which you approved; the contents whereof I have not failed accordingly to recommend to his Majeſty: And if I ſhould deceive him therein, I muſt betake myſelf unto your Lordſhip's advice and approbation, given thereupon. The copy of the original letter, together with the Nuncio's recommendation, are to be delivered to General O Neile by Father Definitor; and I have no more to ſay than that your Lordſhips (as I have ſaid before) with Mr. Rochfort are the Triumvirate and the pillars upon whom I build, making no queſtion of the goodneſs of that foundation; and I hope none of you do of my affection, which is not only devoted to yourſelves, but as you ſhall further apply it to ſuch perſons as may be uſeful to God's ſervice, the King my Maſter's, and the good of this Kingdom. And ſo with my ſervice to you all I ever remain,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble*

*and devoted Servant,*

*Galway, 12th Oct.* 1647.

WORCESTER.

*An Original.*

## *The Scots Commiſſioners to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,*

UPON the various reports of your Majeſty's condition, ſince your removal from Holdenby by a party of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, (as we were informed) without your own conſent, and your Majeſty ſtill continuing ſince that time, now near five months within the quarters of the ſaid army; the Committee of the eſtates of your Majeſty's Parliament of Scotland could be no longer ſilent, but found themſelves obliged to uſe all juſt means for the true and certain knowledge of your Majeſty's condition, ſince the ſtability and happineſs of that Kingdom ſo much depends upon the ſafety and wellbeing of your ſacred perſon and thoſe of your royal poſterity; for the preſervation whereof they acknowledge themſelves bound by ſo many ſpecial ties and ſolemn oaths and vows. Therefore they have commanded us to repair unto your Majeſty and in their

their names earneſtly deſire to know from your Majeſty's ſelf, your preſent true condition; and likewiſe to aſſure your Majeſty, that the moſt earneſt and longing deſires of that Kingdom, are to ſee ſuch a happy compoſure of differences and bleſſed peace eſtabliſhed, as your Majeſty may be ſpeedily reſtored to your Throne, Dignity, and Royal Government: That they may live in all dutiful and humble obedience under your Majeſty's protection, as their Predeceſſors have done under the flouriſh[*ing*] Reign and Scepter of one hundred and ſeven of your Majeſty's Royal Progenitors. For the effectuating whereof we are warranted to aſſure your Majeſty, that the conſtant, dutiful and moſt real endeavours of that Kingdom by all juſt and lawful ways will never be wanting. *A.D.* 1647.

LOUDON. LAUDERDAILL. LANERICK.

22 *Oct.* 1647.

CHARLES ERSKINE. HEN. KENNEDY. RO[....].

*An Original.*

*His* MAJESTY'S *Anſwer to the Paper preſented to him by the Scots Commiſſioners, upon Friday the* 22*nd of October* 1647: *in the Name of the Kingdom of Scotland, authoriſed by the Committees of the Parliament of that Kingdom; and in purſuance of a Letter written by them to his* MAJESTY *of the* 24*th of September laſt, to that effect.*

HIS Majeſty having conſidered the paper he received from you upon the 22nd of the laſt month, doth not wonder that this queſtion ſhould be made by you to him; but rather, that it did not come many months ago. And yet knows not very well, how to make a full categorical anſwer thereunto: but is willing to make ſuch a one, as his preſent condition will permit him.

WHEREFORE you are to know, that ever ſince he came from Newcaſtle (he willingly omits to tell what his condition was there, and the rather becauſe it is as well known to you, as to himſelf) and all the while that he was at Holdenby, he was kept with all ſtrictneſs and rigour, as for the admittance of any perſons to him, or for receiving, or giving any letters. So that (ſaving ſo much permiſſion as to take the air ſometimes) never no cloſe priſoner was more ſtraightly kept. And yet it is moſt true, that he was carried away from thence, by a party of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army againſt his will. But it is as true, that ever ſince he came into the power of the ſaid army, he hath been uſed with much civility, and far greater freedom, than formerly he was. For, they did not ſtick, at the firſt intimation, to give him the free exerciſe of his conſcience, by the attendance of ſome of his Chaplains, which he deſired; which was denied him, when he was at Holdenby, though he made divers inſtances for the ſame. Likewiſe, they have permitted the attendance of ſome ſuch ſervants, as he hath named unto them; and have aſſiſted him to the converſation of his Children; and not denied the acceſs and viſits of any of his friends. And likewiſe have rather offered help, than hindered him to a free intercourſe of letters with his Wife, which (next to the free exerciſe of Religion) is of moſt contentment unto him.

THUS you have a ſhort, but true relation of his change of condition, ſince he came from Newcaſtle; but to anſwer perfectly, what his true preſent

*A.D.* 1647. ſent condition is, he really profeſſes, that he cannot: but muſt refer you, for that, to thoſe, who according to the times are only able to do it, that is to ſay, the two Houſes of Parliament, and the army. Which when you have known from them, you may eaſily reſolve which will be the beſt way for you to ſhew yourſelves ſuch dutiful, humble, obedient, and affectionate ſubjects to his Royal Government and Perſon, as you profeſs to be. Given at our Court the Day of November 1647.

*A Draught, corrected by the King.*

## *Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Mr.* EDGMAN.

*Sir,*

I HAVE by this poſt no letters for Mr. Chancellor but the incloſed from myſelf; which you may be pleaſed to convey as ſoon as you meet with an opportunity. I hear all things are in England in very great confuſion ſtill. As the King at firſt called a Parliament he could not rule, and afterwards the Parliament raiſed an army it could not rule, ſo the army have made agitators they cannot rule, and the agitators are ſetting up the people, whom they will be as unable to rule. What will in the end be the concluſion of this, God only knows, and I find many able men much apprehend. But I hope the beſt, and ſo reſt

*Sir,*

*Your affectionate friend*

*to ſerve you*

Jo. WILCOCKS. †

:: *Oct.* 1647.

*An Original.*

## *Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to one of his Clerks.* *

SIR E. H. deſires he may have ſpeedily Sir Ed. Walker's journal of the Weſtern buſineſs; and I pray move the King from me to ſend a command in writing to Mr. Dugdale, to ſend to Sir E. H. or to me for him, all the notes and collections he hath of the buſineſs of theſe times. And you may let the King underſtand, that (as you know) I did from time to time contribute to Mr. Dugdale's collections all neceſſary particulars for that purpoſe. When Mr. Dugdale ſhall ſend the ſame (which I pray haſten), if you deliver them to Mr. Will. Hyde, he will ſafely and ſpeedily convey the ſame, and any thing elſe, to Jerſey. Sir E. H. alſo deſires, that the King would give particular command to the loyal lawyers, who have acceſs to him, to make ſome material notes upon thoſe particulars his Majeſty would have mentioned in the preface of his Hiſtory, for his better aſſiſtance in a work of that conſequence. Likewiſe, if there be any of my old fellow Clerks of the Council thereabouts, that may be truſted, I pray get the King's command to them, to make ſome extracts out of the Council-books, of the moſt ſignal acts of power of the Council-board in the beſt of times;

† *A fictitious name.*

* *This is an Extract, and appears to have been ſent by Sec. Nicholas to Sir Edward Hyde, in order to ſatisfy him that he had done what he could towards procuring him Materials for his Hiſtory, agreeably to Sir Edward's Requeſt intimated to him in his Letter of Jan.* 1. 164°. *which occurs above.*

as in the times of H. 7. H. 8. Q. Eliz. and beginning of King James. If I were there, I could eaſily and privately procure all theſe things. And becauſe it is incumbent upon me, as well by my place (if I might be allowed to execute it), as it is in my kindneſs and friendſhip, to furniſh Sir E. H. with theſe particulars, I pray do me the favour to be very ſolicitous from time to time to procure the ſame for him. *A.D.* 1647.

4 *Nov.* 1647.

*In the hand of Sec. Nicholas's Clerk, chiefly in Cipher, deciphered by Lord Clarendon, and endorſed by Sec. Nicholas.*

*Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS *to Mr.* EDGMAN.

*Sir,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I HAVE had but two letters from Mr. Chancellor ſince Mr. Hinton was here, who is now ſafely arrived in England, and hath been with the King; who is in a ſad condition, being tormented between two rebellious and miſchievous factions, but holds ſtill his integrity, and remaining firm to his own magnanimous principles, will, I am ſtill confident, in the end be (through God's mercy) delivered out of his miſery, with honour. When the Scots Commiſſioners ſhall be all come, (who are expected every day, the Earl of Lanerick having been there near a fortnight), we ſhall ſee what will be the iſſue. But in the mean time, the Houſe of Commons hath again voted the ſettlement of Presbytery, with liberty for tender conſciences; which is a back door to let in all ſects and hereſies. The Socinians now begin to appear in great numbers under the title of Rationaliſts; and there are a ſect of women lately come from foreign parts and lodged in Southwark, called Quakers; who ſwell, ſhiver, and ſhake; and when they come to themſelves (for in all the time of their fits Mahomet's Holy Ghoſt converſes with them) they begin to preach what hath been delivered to them by the Spirit. I ſhall now add no more, but that I am,

*Sir,*

*Your moſt affectionate friend*

*to ſerve you,*

4 *Nov.* 1647. *St. no.*

JO. WILCOCKS.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Edgman.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* DIGBY.

*My dear Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

YOUR two Secretaries by your dictating might ſupply me with many things neceſſary for this work you know I have in hand; which I often wiſh I had never begun, having found leſs aſſiſtance from it, than I thought I ſhould have done, as if all men had a deſire, the ill ſhould be remembered, and the good forgotten. I have not the leaſt curioſity to know what you are doing, or how you come to be ſo buſy, when all your friends

*A.D.* 1647. are at ſo much leiſure. I doubt not but, as you have a ſpirit better able to wreſtle with difficulties than they have, ſo you have a clearer proſpect of the way; and there is no reaſon that you ſhould ſit ſtill, becauſe they are in the dark; only let me be ſtill your remembrance[r], and conjure you, that no misfortunes or ſufferings leſſen the innocence for which you ſuffer, nor no ſtratagems or deſigns to live, make you leſs fit to die. Watch thoſe infirmities and weakneſſes to which your nature is moſt inclined, and be ſure that nothing break through thoſe and make your mind leſs virtuous; and think not the worſe of being honeſt, becauſe villany is yet ſo proſperous. Believe it, they who continue firm and unſhaken, will ſee fine days yet after this diſmal ſtorm. Well; your John and I cheriſh one another, and are both cheriſhed lovingly by the good friends you left me with, and remember you often as we ought. It will be but juſtice in you to let us hear ſometimes from you. I am ſo far from doubting your affection, that if you ſhould tell me you did not love me, I would not believe you, for I know it is not in your power not to love me; for I am very juſt and true to you, and ſhall bring no ſhame to you. And now, I pray tell me, is it not in your power ſo far to reſtore me to the Queen's gracious favour and acceptation, as that ſhe may not repent the favourable opinion ſhe hath formerly had of me? Am I the only man living, whom malice itſelf can accuſe but of once diſpleaſing her, that am never to be pardoned? Sure, I lie under ſome other charge (which muſt be an unjuſt one) than I can ſuggeſt to myſelf; or elſe one act, for which I am confident I can give reaſons which will abſolve me to her Majeſty, could not render me ſo unfortunate. You ſhall do me a favour, if you will inſtruct me fully in what you can inform yourſelf of it; and which way I may free myſelf from the inſupportable burthen of her diſpleaſure. If you think fit, let me know what your thoughts are of the affairs of England, and what correſpondence you have there. God of Heaven bleſs you and bring us well again together! to the comfort of, &c.

*Jerſey, the 21ſt of Nov.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

AS ſoon as your Lieutenant Governor here, received ſure information of your Majeſty's being in the Iſle of Wight, he provided this veſſel and meſſenger to ſend thither (though the roughneſs of the weather kept them in for ſome days) and to bring back the bleſſed news of your ſafety, which is of the moſt precious concernment in this world; and upon which the fate of all good men depends; and therefore we have all great reaſon to be in pain till we are aſſured of it. If your Majeſty finds that my correſpondence with the place where you are will be endured from this iſland, and that it may be of any uſe to your ſervice, care will be taken for veſſels frequently to paſs from hence thither. I fear your Majeſty's ſudden remove from Hampton Court, hath for the preſent taken away the opportunity of deriving thoſe materials which your Majeſty graciouſly intimated by Mr. Secretary Nicholas you intended to me, which renewed my courage,

courage, when I was even ready to faint for want of ſome ſupply; and I doubt whether your Majeſty will pardon the preſumption I have uſed in ſpoiling ſo much paper upon the ſtock of an ill memory, refreſhed only with ſome few pamphlets and diurnals. God requite your Majeſty's exemplar patience, and courage, and conſtancy, with all thoſe bleſſings, ſuch virtue merits, and is rarely diſappointed of; and which is begged of him in the daily prayers of *A.D.* 1647.

*Your &c.*

12 *Dec.* 1647.

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* FREDERICK CORNWALLIS.

*My good Friend,*

I HAVE received your ſharp letter of the 14th of this month † from Rouen; which I muſt confeſs was ſtranger to me than any thing I had met with ſince my retirement; in which I thought my condition ſo harmleſs, and inſignificant, that I ſhould at leaſt have kept all the friends I had without leſſening the number. What you mean by placing my applications and my neglects, by which you judge me to be grown ſo good a Courtier, I do not underſtand; and I believed myſelf to ſuffer ſo much under the brand of an ill Courtier, that I could never have loſt a friend by being a good one. Sure I am neither ſo haughty in my nature, or my fortune, as to chooſe this time to faſten neglects upon any man, and I confeſs I am as little ſubdued to make applications. If you intend by application writing oftener to others than I have to you, you will find my letters to any body, have been but anſwers to thoſe received, and upon no other arguments than to what I was led; and I am confident you will remember that as I wrote firſt to you after your coming into France, ſo I wrote laſt too; yet upon my word I never thought you neglected me by not writing, neither do I think you leſs my friend in heart for ſaying ſomewhat to me, not ſo agreeable to your kindneſs and good nature; but I impute it to the diſeaſe of the times, which ſhakes, I ſee, the moſt ſteady conſtitutions. For myſelf, I do aſſure you, if I know any thing of myſelf, I am not altered in the leaſt degree in opinion of things or perſons ſince I ſaw you; and therefore you may conclude, my affection to you deſerves no reproach. And that you may ſee how much I am the ſame, I do earneſtly deſire and adviſe you, to watch thoſe infirmities which are moſt like to prevail over you and not to ſuffer any impatience in yourſelf, the examples of others, or the ſucceſs of ill men, to perſuade you that is fit to be done, which your reaſon and conſcience convinces you, is ‡ and that you ſwerve not from thoſe principles by which you lived when your underſtanding was as incorrupted, as it is now like to be. I doubt not but we ſhall meet happily again; in the mean time, if you will write to me, I ſhall be glad to hear of your happineſs, and I am confident you will find no cauſe to think worſe than you have done of.

*Dear Frederick,*

3d *Dec.*

*Your's &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

† *This date, or that of this letter, muſt have been miſtaken.*

‡ *Blank in the MS.*

*A.D.*1647.

### *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* JOHN EARLES.

*Sir,*

I TOLD you long ſince, that when I came to ſpeak of that unhappy battle of Newbury, I would enlarge upon the memory of our dear friend that periſhed there; to which I conceive myſelf obliged, not more by the rights of friendſhip, than of hiſtory, which ought to tranſmit the virtue of excellent perſons to poſterity; and therefore I am careful to do juſtice to every man who hath fallen in the quarrel, on which ſide ſoever, as you will find by what I have ſaid of Mr. Hambden himſelf. I am now paſt that point; and being quickened by your moſt elegant and political commemoration of him, and from hints there, thinking it neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat for his vindication in ſuch particulars as may poſſibly have made impreſſion in good men, it may be I have inſiſted longer upon the argument than may be agreeable to the rules to be obſerved in ſuch a work; though it be not much longer than Livy is in recollecting the virtues of one of the Scipio's after his death. I wiſh it were with you, that you might read it; for if you thought it unproportionable for the place where it is, I could be willingly diverted to make it a piece by itſelf, and inlarge it into the whole ſize of his life; and that way it would be ſooner communicated to the world. And you know Tacitus publiſhed the life of Julius Agricola, before either of his annals or his hiſtory. I am contented you ſhould laugh at me for a ſop in talking of Livy and Tacitus; when all I can hope for is to ſide Hollingſhead, and Stow, or (becauſe he is a poor Knight too, and worſe than either of them) Sir Richard Baker. But if I had not hooked them in this way, how ſhould I have been able to tell you, that I have this year read over Livy and Tacitus; which will never be found by the language and leſs by the Latin. We have had no boat out of Normandy theſe ten days, ſo that we have heard nothing from the Iſle of Wight ſince the King's firſt meſſage thence. God ſend us good news, that we may again (in what condition ſoever) enjoy one another; which will be a very great ſatisfaction to,

*Your moſt affectionate humble Servant.*

*Jerſey, this* 14 *Dec. St. vet.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

### *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* HOPTON.

*My dear Lord,*

YESTERDAY I received together your 57th and 58th letters; and all to that number I had received and acknowledged before. When I wrote laſt to you, I had ſeen the King's meſſage from the Iſle of Wight;† but becauſe I could neither comprehend the reaſon of it, nor underſtand the ſenſe of it, I forbore to ſay any thing of it, as you know it was always my infirmity to hold my peace, when I knew not what to ſay. Yet thoſe accidents make leſs impreſſion with me, than with other men; for I never heard of any extravagant thing done by wiſe men, contrary to their principles, or that reaſon and honour that hath uſed to ſway their actions, but I conclude there is ſome myſtery in it, that will ſatisfy me if I knew it, be-

† *This was the meſſage of* 17 *Nov.* 1647. *See K. Charles's Works, P.* 120.

cauſe

cauſe it hath ſatisfied them; and it is not poſſible to make any judgment at a diſtance by any particular act, what the general ſucceſs will be. He that promiſes any great ſervices to the King by the gaudy expoſtulation and meſſage lately ſent to the Houſes by the Scots, will find any reaſonable expectation in that point checked by their execution of his ſervants at Edinburgh at the ſame time even in defiance and contempt of his interceſſion. No man can think that they who executed a Leveller in the Head of the Regiment, and they who gave John Lilburne leave to walk London ſtreet the day before, intend one and the ſame thing. *A.D.* 1647.

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I CONCEIVE by the overture the private perſons are as well provided for, as the Biſhops: for [*by*] the conceſſion of the Presbyterial Government to thoſe who are deſirous of it, with liberty to Diſſenters, no legal poſſeſſion or tithe is altered; and I have no fear of the Presbyterians getting any credit in England by ſuch a toleration; and that I am perſuaded they well know. Yet I am of your Lordſhip's opinion, that the poor Clergy may lie under a great burthen of envy by this care taken of them in the King, when he ſeems to depart from any care of himſelf, though on my conſcience they are extremely innocent from the advice and continuance of it. †

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I CAN therefore give you but two reaſons upon which the King might be perſuaded to ſend it; I do not tell you, I would perſuade him by theſe: 1. That it would be rejected by the Houſe of Commons (which no doubt is an unreaſonable unruly Congregation); and then, it comprehending every thing that was demanded when arms were firſt taken up (for in the 19 Propoſitions extirpation of Epiſcopacy was not included, that was prepared for the firſt treaty, after the battle of Edgehill) the army might more juſtifiably proteſt againſt the Parliament when they would not be ſatisfied with all themſelves demanded before the war; and that clauſe of Presbytery for three years would ſalve the honour of the Scots. When in truth if this were ratified, the Independents would be the only men (notwithſtanding their Salvo) who would be utterly undone, and unprovided for; I mean in the licence of conſcience. 2. Which you know is an old Scotch trick; that by this full gracious offer of his Majeſty he had put it into the power of the Parliament to merit of him, by laying thoſe regalities again at his feet, which are more proper for the exerciſe of his ſingle judgment (which cannot but be well informed now by his experience of perſons) than for the votes of a multitude. For in good earneſt there is not (that I know) a man amongſt them, who hath reputation enough for honeſty amongſt themſelves (ſetting rebellion and perjury aſide) to bear the envy of receiving our office upon ſuch a concluſion. Now the truth is, though neither of theſe reaſons be ſo ridiculous, as upon ſome exigents of affairs may not be fit to prevail, yet I confeſs I could upon no probabilities, or aſſurance have been the adviſer of it; for I ſhould be ſo dull (which renders me unfit to be preſent in ſharp and bold Counſels) as to apprehend more inconvenience and infamy from the preſent ſcandal, than would be repaired by the beſt ſucceſs. And in good faith the honour and glory the King hath attained by his conſtancy and firmneſs to Kingly principles is ſo great, that I am ſure, that what would unqueſtionably follow his full and wiſhed reſtoration to all his authority and

† *The Paſſage here omitted is in Cipher.*

*A.D.* 1647. power, can be equal to it. For as in your trade you hold it a part no leſs worthy a brave and experienced General to make a fair and ſafe retreat (which is but an orderly running away) than to win a battle, ſo there is not only as much virtue, but as much renown and glory in periſhing nobly and handſomely, as by preſerving a man's life by the moſt juſtifiable ſtratagems. And after all, I am confident God Almighty will preſerve and carry the King through this ſtorm, and all honeſt men who are ſhipped with him, in ſpight of the malice of others, or their own unſkilfulneſs.

* * * * * * * * * * *

*I am*

16 *Dec. St. vet.*

*Your Lordſhip's, &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *A Paper in the hand-writing of the Lord* CLARENDON. †

NOT only no reſtraint or impriſonment, but no torment ſhall make his Majeſty acknowledge, that the proceedings which have been againſt him, have been juſt; having an abundant teſtimony from his own conſcience, that the endeavours of his heart were always for the peace, happineſs and proſperity of his people, and he is ſure he made ſufficient reparation for errors of judgment; or, that the large offers and conceſſions made by himſelf, are therefore made, becauſe he thinks it reaſonable thoſe things ſhould be demanded of him; but out of the deep ſenſe of the miſeries and calamities of his ſubjects, and the deſolation that threatens his three Kingdoms, he hath made thoſe offers, to ſhew what a price he will be content to pay, for the redemption of them from the ruin that hangs over them. This being therefore his only end, he will never be perſuaded to expoſe his honour to the cenſure of the world, paying the price, without delivering that peace to his people, for which he pays it; but will have a clear proſpect of all particulars that ſhall be demanded of him, and a full view of the condition, in which himſelf, his Royal Conſort, Children, faithful ſervants, and dutiful ſubjects ſhall be ſure to live, before he will give his aſſent to any one Act of Parliament. To this nothing is or can be ſo expedient as a perſonal free treaty with his Majeſty, and even with the admiſſion of his ſworn Counſellors about him; which yet he will no further preſs, than as it ſhall be thought reaſonable by them without whoſe conceſſion it cannot be. And from hence, if there be an intire deſire of peace or quiet to the Kingdom, there will infallibly enſue a concluſion ſuitable to the hopes of all good men; if there be not ſuch a real deſign and intention, his Majeſty will never be acceſſory to his own undoing, by conſenting to any preliminary determinations, which in the nature of them ought to be matters of circumſtance only, not of ſubſtance; but will in ſilence lift up his hands and heart to Almighty God, who hath hitherto wonderfully preſerved him, and rely upon his protection. And if his divine pleaſure be ſuch, he doubts not but he ſhall be as glorious by his ſufferings, as other men have promiſed to make him by their undertakings: and will die a King, if he be not ſuffered to live one.

† *It is a rough draught, and ſeems to have been intended as a meſſage to be ſent by the King to the two Houſes, ſubſequent to that of Nov.* 17. 1647. *In the meſſage which his Majeſty ſent of Dec.* 28*th. following ſome of the thoughts as well expreſſions which occur in this draught, are adopted.*

*A juſt*

*A.D.* 1647.

*A juſt and ſolemn Proteſtation of the freeborn People of* England *and free Citizens of* London, *againſt a Clauſe in the late Ordinance to deprive them of their free Elections, and enſlave them.*

WE the freeborn people of England, and free Citizens of London, do proteſt and declare, that it neither is, nor ought to be in the power of one or both Houſes of Parliament to make or declare new Treaſons (of things not treaſonable in their own nature) to carry on the private deſigns of any prevailing faction in the Houſes and Army; and, by colour thereof, to deprive us of our lives, liberties, offices, eſtates, and franchiſes at their pleaſure; it being contrary to *Magna Charta*, the petition of right, the fundamental laws of the land, the ſolemn league and covenant, and their own declarations at this Parliament 'till of late, and the higheſt pitch of that arbitrary and tyrannical power, they, and we have ſo long proteſted, and fought againſt; which we neither may nor can ſubmit to. That it is one of the undoubted liberties and cuſtoms of the City of London, confirmed by *Magna Charta*: c. 9. and ſundry other Acts of Parliament ſince, that they may freely elect ſuch Citizens for the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council-men, and other publick officers of the City, as they ſhall think meeteſt and ableſt to diſcharge thoſe places, and the ſtatute, 3 Eliz. 1. c. 5. directly enacts, That all Elections ought to be free, and that no great man, nor other, by force of arms, or menaces, ſhall diſturb any to make free Elections; which Sir Edward Coke in his commentary upon this ſtatute (printed by order of this preſent Parliament) proves to be the common law of England, and ſubjects birthright. And therefore we can no ways ſubmit to the late ſudden ordinance (contrived by the practice of pre-engaged members and officers in the army) of the 17th Dec. 1647. in this particular clauſe; "That no perſon whatſoever who hath entered into that late engagement in or about the City of London, adjudged treaſonable by both "Houſes of Parliament, [or] ſhall by the ſpace of one whole year" (by the ſame reaſon they might have added 20 years) "to be accounted from the "25th December 1647, be elected, choſen or put into the office or place "of Lord Mayor of the City of London, or of Alderman, Sheriff, Deputy of a Ward, or Council-man of the ſaid City, nor ſhall have any "voice in election of any ſuch officers. And all ſuch perſons are made "hereby uncapable (and be declared ſo to be) of any of the ſaid places. "And if any Election ſhall be made of any ſuch perſon, the ſame is hereby "ordained to be null and void. And the Lord Mayor of the City of London for the time being is from time to time to give ſpecial order that this "ordinance be publiſhed at all Elections, and that the ſame be ſtrictly and "punctually obſerved." And therefore, we do in all humility (in vindication of our juſt rights) proteſt againſt it, as an high violation of, and encroachment upon our undoubted liberties, and freedom, and a miſchievous plot of the Confederate Independent Party in the Houſes, Army and City, to raiſe up new combuſtions and diſcontents between the City and Houſes, todeprive us of our antient freedom in the Elections of our City Officers, now at hand, to bring in a new pack of independent Aldermen, Common-council-men, and other Officers, to overtop and ruin the City; and put by thoſe faithful Aldermen and Citizens from bearing office, in whom we

*A.D.* 1647. moſt confide; which they formerly endeavoured and in part effected by impeaching and impriſoning our late Lord Mayor, and faithful Aldermen, and Citizens, upon falſe pretences and endeavours to bring up the army to quarter in the City at this time, and the late ridiculous plot diſcovered to, and by the Speaker. And we do further avow and proteſt, that this engagement in the City declared by theſe Confederates' power (whilſt the Houſes were under the army's force and wardſhip) to be treaſonable by this, and a former repeated ordinance, is in our judgment no ways treaſonable, but agreeable in all things to our ſolemn league and covenant, wherein both Houſes engaged us, and nothing like ſo dangerous or treaſonable, as the many late printed engagements of the army, or that engagement of the ſpeakers and members of both Houſes to, and in the army; who contrary to their truſt and duty withdrew themſelves from the Houſes to the Head-Quarters, and ſubſcribed that engagement, To live and die with the army, &c. and engaged them to march up to London and Weſtminſter againſt both Houſes then ſitting, and the City, in a warlike manner, againſt the Houſes' votes and orders, and thereby levied actual war againſt them, and the King too, whom they had forcibly ſeized, and then kept priſoner from both Houſes. For which cauſe (having no other means to right ourſelves herein) we humbly appeal to all indifferent and diſengaged members of both Houſes, all the free people of England (the only competent judges in this caſe), whether this forced ordinance thus procured without once hearing of us what we could object againſt it, ought to forejudge us of our unqueſtionable rights and privileges in Elections? And, whether thoſe pre-engaged Members of the Houſe and Army (by the rules of their own law and juſtice towards us) ought not firſt to be ſuſpended the Houſes and Army, and diſabled from bearing any office (for the time limited in this ordinance) in them, or in the commonwealth by reaſon of their ſaid engagements, before we or any other Citizens or freeborn people of England be diſabled and ſuſpended (without any conviction, proof, or particular deſignation of our names and perſons) from being elected Aldermen, Common-council-men, Deputies, Sheriffs, or other Officers in the City, or bearing any office whatſoever, though we have been as faithful to the Parliament and hazarded our lives and eſtates as far as any contrivers of this ordinance in their defence and ſervice. And 'till this be decided judicially by them upon full hearing, we reſolve, by God's aſſiſtance, to maintain and enjoy the freedom and free choice, we, and our anceſtors ever uſed in our Elections to all the aforeſaid offices, notwithſtanding this or any other ordinance; being yet nevertheleſs ready to obey both Houſes in all their juſt commands and ordinances, not deſtructive to our privileges, covenants and obligations, to the national and common freedom of the Kingdom, and City, which we neither can, nor dare betray to humour any mortals, or prevailing faction whatſoever; eſpecially in this juncture of affairs, when we are in greater danger of arbitrary tyranny, and ſlavery (againſt which we have ſo many years ſtruggled to the expence of our eſtates and blood) than at the very beginning of our wars, and that from theſe who moſt pretend to make us freemen.

*December*, 1647.

*Endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

*Some*

*A.D.* 1647.

## *Some Heads of an Anſwer to ſome particulars in the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons againſt the King.* †

IT hath been wiſdom in this declaration to mention the Scots former concurrence, and to paſs by their preſent diſaſſent, the cauſe whereof they know will not endure the ſearching.

THEY then ſay the King never made any offer fit for them to accept. It ſeems the Scots are of another mind, who declare their judgments to be that his offers from Carisbrook Caſtle might have given ſatisfaction. But ſince they will neither remember any thing but that which is for their advantage, it will be fit to put them in mind of ſome petty ſlight offers, that by the King have been made unto them, leaving aſide his general requeſt unto them; that they would ſet down together all ſuch means as would give them ſatisfaction, whereunto they ſhould receive a gracious and ſatisfactory anſwer to all that they could juſtly or reaſonably deſire. But this being in January 1642. time may have worn it out of memory: but they remember his offers from Holmby, from Hampton Court, and from Carisbroke Caſtle. In them he offered the ſettling Religion in the Presbyterian way (which was that which themſelves had voted) for three years; and then to be fully ſettled, as ſhould be agreed by their own aſſembly of Divines, only with the addition of 20 to be nominated by himſelf; to the end that before a full and final ſettlement, all reaſons might be heard; yet no doubt might be raiſed of carrying any thing by plurality of votes ſince thoſe nominated by themſelves were 4 times the number.

HE hath offered to put the whole power of the Kingdom both by ſea and land into their hands during the whole time of his reign.

AND for the civil Government, he hath offered them the nomination of all thoſe Miniſters by whom the Kingdom is to be governed.

HE hath offered a general pardon and an act of oblivion; which is an important point, if that be true which Sir Edward Coke, Judge Jenkins, and all the books of law do tell us, or that the army have not changed their minds; who a few months ſince did declare that no indemnity could be ſafe without the Royal aſſent, and that they would not be ſatisfied with any other.

HE hath offered £400,000. to be paid in the ſpace of one year and a half for the payment of the arrears of the army: but all theſe trifles are not worthy to be remembered, although their memory doth ſerve them better when they come to make up the catalogue of thoſe falſe and ſcandalous reproaches wherewith they revile the Lord's anointed.

THEY then ſpeak of the articles for the intended match with Spain, which were concluded 25 years ſince by King James; and likewiſe of the articles of the match with France, which certainly ſhould be without their cognizance; for the Houſes of Parliament have declared often that the making of peace and war, and the marriage of the King's Children belong wholly to the King; and it is well known that Queen Elizabeth impriſoned a Member of the Houſe of Commons ‡ for preſuming to ſpeak in the Houſe con-

† *The Declaration of the two Houſes, after the vote of no more addreſſes.*
‡ *Mr. Wentworth.*

*A.D.* 1647. cerning her marriage. And the articles of the marriage with France were likewiſe agreed by King James before his death. But however, it is a great audacity in the Houſe of Commons ſingly, (after more than 20 years and many intervenient Parliaments, that would never preſume to meddle with the King's marriage, nor the treaty thereupon) now to draw arguments from thence whereby to diſaffect the people to the King; but that they will leave no corner unſwept, nor action unſtrained, whereby they may render the King leſs beloved.

And as for keeping a continued correſpondency with Rome, or having an agent of his there, as is alledged in this declaration; it is moſt falſe. The Queen perhaps may have had and maintained ſome perſon there for ſuch things as ſhe held neceſſary for her in point of her devotion. And it is well known that concerning the affairs of the Princes of Chriſtendom, from no place ſo perfect knowledge and intelligence could be got as from Rome. And Queen Elizabeth, and King James, that were wiſe Princes and no Papiſts, were of that mind, and were at no ſmall charge to hold correſpondency, from time to time with very eminent perſons of that Court, without the leave of the Houſe of Commons, being a body not well modelled for ſecrecy, conſiſting of near five hundred perſons. But the hatred to the whore of Babylon, to the Pope and Rome is ſuch, that it was thought the very naming of them would reflect with ſome hatred upon the King, which was that which was only aimed at.

Then they come to plant their main piece of battery, or indeed rather to work in their mine, whereby they would blow up the honour of his Majeſty in order to the making him a glorious King; by calling to mind and reviving the paſſages in the Parliament the ſecond year of his reign, concerning the death of his royal Father as they term it; whereas in all their impeachments againſt the Duke of Buckingham they did never ſo much as accuſe him, or lay to his charge the death of King James; but only called that which he had done an audacious action; and voted that he ſhould be accuſed only of a miſdemeanor of ſo high a nature as might juſtly be called, and ſo was deemed by the ſaid Commons, to be an act of tranſcendant preſumption, and dangerous conſequence; and for ſuch tranſmitted it to the Lords. But now, conceiving it would be for their turn to have it inſinuated and let into the people, that amongſt the articles of their declaration againſt the King, one was touching the death of his Father, they ſo ſtile it: *viz.* The proceedings and paſſages of Parliament concerning the death of his royal Father.

King James fell ſick in the Spring in the year 1624. and died 27 March 1625. and his ſickneſs began with an ordinary Tertian intermittent Ague, which is not held mortal eſpecially in the Spring; but the King having a full body, and hard to be ruled or governed by his Phyſicians in his ſickneſs, his Tertian turned into a continual Fever, whereof he died.

In the time of his ſickneſs certain plaiſters and poſſet-drinks were applied and given to him, ſuch as are ordinarily given by women in the country; for that in England men ſeldom apply themſelves to Phyſicians in ordinary agues, but to ſuch received and known medicines as are commonly uſed. And theſe were ſaid to be given by the Duke of Buckingham's procurement, and prepared in his Lodgings without the direction or knowledge of the Phyſicians until after they had been adminiſtred unto the King. After

almoſt

almoſt two years (there having been in the interim a Parliament; and nothing ſtirred in the buſineſs) the Duke of Buckingham having much diſtaſted the Houſes, and they being highly incenſed againſt him, a ready ear was given to all complaints that might afford any probability of queſtioning him and his actions; and there were ſeveral articles by way of impeachment exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Peers; and among them one was touching the Duke's adminiſtring of drinks and plaſters without the conſent or knowledge of the Phyſicians. And many Phyſicians and others were examined, and it was with great vehemency preſſed, that there might have been an accuſation of Treaſon drawn up againſt him thereupon. *A.D. 1647.*

But when the ſaid article came to be voted in the Houſe of Commons, and the caſe and evidence had been truly ſtated before them by Sir Dudley Diggs, who had the managing of that article of their charge, the Houſe did hold it fit that he ſhould not be impeached of Treaſon (the evidence indeed not bearing it), but only of tranſcendent preſumption, as is truly ſet down in their declaration. But if there had been any the leaſt ground or evidence of any wicked intention in the Duke to deſtroy the King, or any ſymptom, that the King's death had been cauſed or haſtened by thoſe things that were given, or that the ſaid drinks or plaſters had been of any noxious or hurtful quality, it is well known that the deteſtation againſt the Duke at that time was ſuch, that he would not have been forborn, if the evidence would have born an impeachment of Treaſon. And many preſſed it far, alledging that without an accuſation of Treaſon, they could neither remove the Duke from about the King's perſon, nor from ſitting in the Houſe of Peers; without which it was thought they would hardly prevail againſt the Duke. But the evidence falling ſhort, it was carried in the Houſe for an impeachment only of miſdemeanor, and a tranſcendent preſumption, and not of Treaſon. And of theſe particulars ſome now ſitting among them (if they had ſo much ingenuity, or had not been reſtrained with fear †) might have informed them; and this their declaration (although it be ſet out with ſome ſtrains and aggravations) containeth little more than is here declared, concluding in theſe words; "That it is an offence and miſdemeanor of ſo "high a nature as may be juſtly called, and is by the ſaid Commons deemed "to be an act of tranſcendent preſumption and of dangerous conſequence." So that by their own charge, nothing is laid down againſt the Duke, but a miſdemeanor and an adventurous act, unto which they confeſs in this declaration, that he put in his anſwer of the 8th of June; and the ſaid anſwer doth yet remain upon record in the Journal Book of the Houſe of Peers. And certainly, it had been much more fair and ingenious to have likewiſe ſet down the anſwer, and not to have publiſhed only the accuſation, and concealed from the world the Duke's anſwer; ſince they do acknowledge that they knew of the anſwer; but it ſhould ſeem that made not for their purpoſe; for that, if the anſwer had been weak and impertinent, doubtleſs they would not have paſſed by that, which would have added ſtrength to their own ſuggeſtion; but finding the anſwer ſuch as formerly had diſcouraged them any further to ſtir in the buſineſs, they have judged it fitter to paſs it by. For it muſt be known, that after the Parliament which they ſpeak of to be diſſolved, and in which this impeachment was exhibited againſt the Duke, there was (before the Duke was ſlain) another Parliament

† As Mr. Selden was. *This is added in the margin by Sec. Nicholas.*

*A.D.* 1647. in the which the Duke ſat in the Houſe of Peers; but the Houſes having ſeen the Duke's anſwer, thought it not fit to revive their former accuſation, but have let it lie aſleep almoſt theſe 20 years, until their malice and deſire to blaſt their King hath awakened it.

In all their declaration there is not one word reflecting upon the King, but that he cauſed not (as they ſay) the Duke's preſuppoſed miſdemeanour (which they to make the ſtory ſeem more odious call the King's death) to be legally proſecuted; in which many amongſt them muſt needs conceal their knowledge, that upon the breaking up of the Parliament, there was by Sir Robert Heath, the King's then Attorney General, a bill exhibited in the Star-Chamber (which is the ſupreme Court where all high crimes and miſdemeanors are judged); and that at the inſtance of the ſaid Duke; who ſaid, he would not have that cauſe which ſo highly concerned him lie buried, but that he would acquit himſelf of that foul aſperſion though it ſhould be with the hazard of his life. But his employments to the Iſle de Rhe, and death, following not long after, gave an end to any further proſecution.

So that having in their own declaration not charged any thing againſt the Duke of Buckingham more than miſdemeanor and high preſumption, nor the leaſt reflection upon the King, but only of not cauſing the ſaid miſdemeanor of the Duke to have been legally proſecuted, which was hindered by the Duke's death, and the impediments formerly ſet down; the ſole end and ſcope of inſerting this particular in their declaration is evident to be, to make the King odious, as judging that nothing could more incenſe the world againſt him, or make his ſufferings leſs commiſſerable, than to have it inſinuated unto the people, that amongſt many articles againſt him, one is concerning the death of his Father; which how groundleſs ſoever, yet they think that it may in the interim amuſe the people, and poſſeſs them with prejudice againſt the King, and not make them have the ſenſe and compaſſion of him, and deteſtation of his wicked uſage, as otherwiſe they would have.

And certainly amongſt all thoſe artifices, which have been uſed againſt him, to alienate the hearts of his people from him, and to render him odious to the world, this is one of the moſt falſe, malicious and ſubtle; and which can have no other drift, but by the deteſtableneſs of this aſperſion to allay the deteſtableneſs of their proceeding towards him, which certainly no age can parallel of ſubjects toward the King; but God will in his own time turn all their wickedneſs to his advantage, and being refined by afflictions and their fiery trial, will again ſhew him to the world, as one that is among men the leaſt reproveable, and among the beſt of Kings.

Touching the buſineſs at Rochelle, it is true, that the King was perſuaded to lend ſome of his ſhips to the French King. He was newly married unto that King's Siſter, and entered into a new ſtrict league and alliance with that Crown, being then at difference with Spain. And certainly there might be many ſecret reaſons of State for the King's obliging the French King at that time, which may be altogether unknown unto the Houſes of Parliament, for that it was the doctrine of thoſe times, and is a truth undeniable, that all things belonging to peace or war, or the marriage of his Children, did ſolely and ſingly belong unto the King; neither need he conſult with his people therein, unleſs he craved their aſſiſtance in Parliament, by way of ſubſidy or ſupply. And it is ſtrange they ſhould now interpoſe

terpoſe by way of charge in a buſineſs paſſed more than 20 years ſince, but that they leave no corner unſought, from whence it may be conceived any thing may be raked to make the King odious, as the aim in this particular is to do in two kinds; firſt, by adding ſtrength unto that falſe and wicked aſperſion of the King's unfirmneſs in the Proteſtant Religion; ſecondly, by nouriſhing that diſtaſte, which they have with great induſtry and artifice raiſed in thoſe of the Reformed Religion in France and other places againſt him. *A.D.* 1647.

It is true, that Counſel pleaſed not many, and the uſe made of thoſe ſhips was diſtaſteful to all Proteſtants of England, which the King and the Duke of Buckingham (on whom the Counſel of that action and the blame was chiefly caſt but could not be fixed), to ſhew that there was no intention by the loan of thoſe ſhips to lend a hand to the deſtruction of the Proteſtants (as it fell out), endeavoured to redeem that miſhap by actually entering into a war with the Crown of France; for which one of the chief reaſons was (although there were likewiſe other diſtaſts) the wrong employing thoſe ſhips (which the King had lent) contrary to the King's intention, and the intimation of the French how they intended to make uſe of the ſaid ſhips.

And that it was contrary to the King's intention may appear by his ſubſequent actions; for he avowedly ſent a fleet and an army to the Iſle of Rhe under the command of the Duke of Buckingham, and to be adviſed by Mr. de Soubize, how thoſe forces might be beſt employed, for the relief of Rochelle and thoſe of the Reformed Religion. And although the expedition to the Iſle of Rhe proved not ſucceſsful; yet the intention, and not the ſucceſs, is to be looked upon; and the Duke of Buckingham purſued his intention of relieving Rochelle, and the Proteſtants; and to that end a new army and a new fleet was prepared, and he in perſon was gone to Portſmouth, ready to ſet ſail for the ſaid enterprize, when by the hands of Felton he was ſuddenly ſlain; and thereby thoſe ſuccours were retarded, whereby leiſure was given to the French ſo to fortify and block up all the acceſſes to Rochelle, that the relief thereof was rendered impoſſible; which yet notwithſtanding, was attempted by the King's ſaid fleet and army under the conduct of the Earl of Lindſey; though without ſucceſs.

So that certainly no good argument can be drawn from hence, either of the King's diſaffection to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, or to have willingly intended their hurt, whatſoever error there might be, either in the Counſel or conduct of the ſaid buſineſs; much leſs can there well be drawn from hence any thing to juſtify them in their preſent proceedings againſt the King, which they themſelves ſet down to be the ſcope and intent of this their declaration.

As for that plot preſuppoſed to be many years ſince deſigned, of bringing in an army of German Horſe to have compelled the ſubjects to have ſubmitted to an arbitrary Government; they might have remembered, that thinking thereby to have raiſed a hatred againſt the King, they have publiſhed this aſperſion in ſeveral of their papers and declarations, and particularly upon the breach of the treaty at Oxon. May 18th. 1643. whereunto his Majeſty made anſwer as appears by his declaration printed and publiſhed by their own order in the ſecond volume of orders and ordinances page 109. wherein he ſaith, That he — (*vide plus* in their book) — and take notice, that Sir William Barford and Mons^r. Dalbier, who

*A.D.* 1647. were the perſons that they themſelves whiſpered to be the men employed in that deſign, have been, as is well known, highly employed during this Rebellion. And beſides it is notorious that they employed a regiment of Walloons, who being Papiſts, and quartered ſometimes at Putney, had Maſs ſaid there ordinarily, and avowedly.

They then ſay, that they were worſe than ſlaves; for they were prohibited by proclamation to ſpeak or hope for another Parliament. They ſhould have done well to have ſpecified the year and date of ſuch a Proclamation, and to have ſet down the very words contained therein.

As for the ſearching of cabinets, cloſets &c. It is ſet down to be after the diſſolution of Parliament; ſo that, that ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, never to be forgiven, of breaking privileges of Parliament, is not charged; and any other ſin will not be found; for it is lawful and uſual for the Juſtice or Council of the King to ſearch the cloſets or cabinets of ſuch as they had good cauſe to ſuſpect of practices or correſpondency to the prejudice of the King or Kingdom; neither have the King's or Queen's letters or cabinets, nor the deſpatches of Ambaſſadors, and foreign States, been free from their inquiſition and ſearch.

Upon complaint this Parliament, all grievances have been redreſſed, all doubtful Patents cancelled; care had for the preventing of the like for the future; all Referees and Patentees left to Juſtice; and all puniſhed but ſuch as the injuſtice of the Houſe hath protected.

Concerning the Rebellion in Ireland: It is well known that that brake forth about October 1641. when the King was in Scotland, whence his Majeſty upon notice of it, ſent ſuch orders for the ſuppreſſion thereof, as were then thought fit by the advice of his Council of that Kingdom, and of ſuch Engliſh Counſellors as were then there with him, as old Sir H. Vane (his then Secretary there attending) well knows. † About the end of December following, the firſt perfect relation of that Rebellion came to his Majeſty; and Council in England, from the Lords Juſtices (Sir W^m^. Parſons and Sir To. Borlaſe) and Council of Ireland, wherein was alſo ſent a draught of ſuch a proclamation, as they conceived beſt for the ſuppreſſing thereof, becauſe thoſe Rebels did (as thoſe in England at firſt and for the moſt part all Rebels in their beginning do) pretend, that what they had done was for the King's ſervice, and not without ſome authority from his Majeſty. It was by the ſaid Lords Juſtices and Council deſired, that 20 copies of thoſe proclamations might be ſent over ſigned by the King (whereas the uſual courſe was only to ſend one ſo ſigned) that (beſides thoſe which they were there to print and publiſh after the uſual manner) they might ſend ſome of thoſe originals to ſome of the chief of the Rebels, to manifeſt the falſhood of that their traiterous pretence. And whereas proclamations (which the King ſigns either for England or Ireland) never uſe to be printed, it was now for better expedition held fit by his Majeſty and the Lords of his Council, (whereof divers of thoſe now ſitting in the Houſe of Peers at Weſtminſter were then perſonally preſent), that thoſe proclamations his Majeſty was to ſign ſhould be printed, which Secretary Nicholas was directed to cauſe forthwith to be done; who accordingly preſently ſent order to the King's Printer to print about 40 copies, and to deliver out none to any other, for that theſe were to be but originals,

† *See Sir H. Vane's Letter of* 16 *Mar.* 1640.

originals, and others were to be printed in Ireland according to theſe as the uſual courſe was. And to have any copies diſperſed in England before they were proclaimed in Ireland, as it could not be of any uſe and was never practiſed, ſo it was conceived it might be prejudicial; for that the Rebels (who had forged the former falſhood) might peradventure (if they had gotten any copy of them before they had been proclaimed in Ireland) have divulged ſome other traiterous fiction to have rendered that proclamation of leſs credit with their party. *A.D.* 1647.

THE ſole management of the whole buſineſs of Ireland was by his Majeſty (I think before his coming from London) put into the Parliament's hands. And the King when he was at York ſent a meſſage to the Houſes offering to go himſelf in perſon into Ireland for the better and more ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of that Rebellion; but that his gracious offer was totally rejected.

THE ceſſation in Ireland was made by the advice of that Kingdom, and for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects there, who had been otherwiſe all deſtroyed, for want of ſuccours out of England, which the two Houſes promiſed and pretended to take care to ſend them, but never ſent any.

CONCERNING the Queen's tampering with the Papiſts in England for ſome contribution or raiſing of monies from them, &c. The Houſes had Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Wa. Montague under examination about that buſineſs; and when they could make nothing of it, they gave it out; yet now they inſert it into this ſcandalous declaration.

Vide 2 Pet. 2 Chap. & Ver. 9, 10, 11, 13 & 14.

*In the hand of Sec. Nicholas's Clerk; corrected, and endorſed by the Secretary.*

*The Proceedings againſt the* UNIVERSITY *of* Oxford.

THE 28th of December 1647, being the Feaſt of the St'. Innocents, was deſtined for the ſentencing of thoſe who had given in their anſwers to the Committee of Lords and Commons for the reformation of the Univerſity of Oxon. concerning their refuſal to ſubmit to the viſitation of thoſe who were ſent down by both Houſes with a Commiſſion for that purpoſe, under their Great Seal; which anſwer of theirs had been before voted a high contempt of the high Court of Parliament. The Committee accordingly met in the painted Chamber, where Mr. Rouſe, the Chairman, and Clerk of the Committee, ſignified what was the purpoſe of that meeting. To which Lord North made anſwer, that the perſons who were then to receive ſentence were forced to be abſent by virtue of an ordinance of both Houſes commanding all that had adhered to the King to depart 20 miles from London; in which ordinance though there were ſome limitations, yet they none of them reaching to the perſons with whom they were to deal, he conceived it neither juſt nor reaſonable to paſs any ſentence upon them 'till they were admitted to appear perſonally; it being the conſtant cuſtom of England, not to condemn even thieves and murderers after the bills were found againſt them, until they had firſt called the malefactor to the bar in perſon, and there aſked what he could ſay for himſelf, why he ſhould not ſuffer death according to the law. Beſides (ſaid he), who knows

*A.D.* 1647. whether ſome or other of theſe Gentlemen, whom you would now ſentence, would not, if they were upon the place, give ſuch ſatisfaction to this Court by their ſubmiſſion, and acknowledgment of their error that we ſhould be willing to accept from them, and diſmiſs them with abſolution; and this I am the rather inclined to believe may prove to be their caſe, becauſe in a paper which they preſented to this Committee they have theſe or the like words; "It is poſſible we may be in an error, and yet we are ob- "liged to perſevere in what we have done 'till we be informed and convinced "that we are deceived; and therefore, we deſire we may have liberty to "adviſe with learned Council" &c. It is (ſaith he) therefore my opinion that we ſhould rather now contrive ſome expedient to bring them again to this place, or elſe to defer their ſentence 'till they may come to anſwer for themſelves. To this Mr. Poole ſeemed to reply to this purpoſe; "That he "ſaw no grounds why they ſhould not proceed to the buſineſs of the day, "but if it ſhould hereafter appear, that they repented of their obſtinacy, "they might find acceptance with the Houſes, whom all the world knew "very merciful;" † and deſired Mr. Rouſe, it might be put to a vote, whether they ſhould proceed to ſentence or not inſtantly. It was carried in the affirmative; then the Lord North with much indignation left them. Then came in Mr. Selden, with Mr. Whitelock; and finding the Committee fiercely voting Doctor Fell out of his Deanry and Vice-chancellorſhip, told Mr. Rouſe, it ſeemed to him a ſtrange manner of proceeding to vote a man out of his livelyhood or freehold for contempt, that (ſaith he) is uſually mulcted with a fine or impriſonment, *ſalvo contenemento*; and inſtanced in divers caſes; which argument Mr. Whitelock purſued very dextrouſly and cloſely. Then both reſumed the former plea of the Lord North, but purſued it more vigorouſly. Their anſwer to that was, that theſe reaſons had been urged before they came, and concluded againſt by a vote, but a few minutes before. But to the argument concerning the penalty of a contempt they vouchſafed no anſwer at all, but proceeded to the removal of Doctor Fell, and placing Mr. Reynolds in both his chairs. Here Mr. Selden again interpoſed, that though Mr. Reynolds were an able man, and deſerving enough, yet he conceived an Act of Parliament, this Parliament, rendered him uncapable of one office, it being an office of temporal juriſdiction, as well as eccleſiaſtical Government. Beſides to vote Mr. Reynolds Dean of Chriſt-Church ſeemed to oppoſe the ordinance which had put down all Deans and Chapters. This puzzled them a little; but being reſolved that nothing ſhould ſtop them in their deſtined Career, they replied, that the power of the Vice-Chancellor might be qualified by Mr. Reynolds, ſeeing he was not fit for it; and inſtead of Dean of Chriſt-Church, he ſhould bear any name which was agreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſes. Thus it paſſed. Then Mr. Waring of Chriſt-Church and Mr. Hunt of Mag. College were voted out of their Proctorſhips, though after long debate, and Mr. Button of Merton College, and Mr. Croſs of Lincoln College, to ſucceed them for two years; ſo that (as Mr. Selden ſaid) the Proctors who were not

† *In the Margin*; When Mr. Selden had received this Anſwer upon his urging the Lord North's Argument, he replied, that "by placing others in the room of thoſe they removed, they "made themſelves utterly unable to ſhew any mercy at all, in caſe the removed did repent; for "they muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the perſons put in ſhould continue firm to their principles, or "ſtart from them. If they continued firm, the removed could not be reſtored; for what pre- "tence could be made to remove the lately preferred? If they ſtarted from them, and ſo made "room for the former, they themſelves ſhould be argued of raſhneſs and precipitancy."

then

then deſigned for the next year's Proctorſhip, and conſequently, could not be guilty of that contempt, ſhould yet ſuffer more than thoſe that were guilty. The anſwer was, that the new Proctors were to buy new Gowns, &c. which could not be paid for by the profits of this year. Thence they deſcended to conſider Doctor Iles, upon the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Wilkinſon, who ſucceeds him. Mr. Selden again interpoſes, that Doctor Iles was a private perſon made not ſo eminently notable in this contempt as the prime officers might be preſumed to be; and therefore conceived his ſentence might be deferred till another day. For if they reſolved to proceed againſt all private men who might poſſibly be involved in this contempt, they were not like to leave any thing for the Viſitors, but would themſelves deſtroy rather than reform one of the moſt famous and learned companies of men that ever was viſible in the Chriſtian world. Mr. Poole again to this anſwered, that the Doctor named was a moſt drunken debauched fellow. Then was he voted out alſo; then the ſtorm drew towards Doctor Gardiner, being invited by Mr. Cheynell. Here Mr. Selden ſtept in again, and was ſeconded by Mr. Whitelock; but was not hearkened unto. For Mr. Cheynell ſaid he was a fierce Arminian; and thus Doctor Gardiner was blown off; but before the vote paſſed Mr. Selden told them, it ſeemed to him a ſtrange thing that thoſe whom the Parliament had appointed to be Viſitors and Judges of the Univerſity ſhould here become their accuſers, or that thoſe perſons who were to ſucceed in their preferments, ſhould be admitted to ſuggeſt informations againſt whom they were to ſucceed. Thus was Mr. Cheynell debarred from coming in, though it could not hinder Dr. Gardiner from being caſt out. Then Mr. Rouſe nominated Dr. Morley, for him Mr. Whitelock made a large and full anſwer inſiſting much upon the worthineſs and integrity of the perſon. † Sir Gil. Gerard opened his mouth too in favour of him; and ſome more. Mr. Selden came laſt, and ſaid plainly, that, if they intended reformation, they had made examples enough in one Society already; and deſired they would proceed no farther. Mr. Whitelock told them, he might conceive by this ſharp proſecution of the Prebends of Chriſt-Church, they looked more after the wealthieſt than the corrupteſt places. To this Mr. Poole replied; "Mr. Rouſe, that Gentle-"man in the Gown ſeems to ſpeak more like an advocate entertained in the "cauſe than a Judge to deliver his conſcience." Mr. Whitelock in ſome little heat, but handſome, ſays; "I would have that Gentleman know I came "hither as a Judge to ſpeak my conſcience, that I have done ſo, and that "I can and do ſometimes put off this Gown, and wear a ſword, if occa-"ſion be offered." Then Mr. Rouſe ſaid, it was late and high time to adjourn, and ſo they did till Thurſday following; only as they were riſing in haſte, whiffled out Dr. Bayly, and ſo went to ſupper. On Thurſday the whole buſineſs was to turn out Dr. Morley, the next meeting Dr. Oliver. Dr. Potter and Dr. Ratcliff were deſpatched with ſome oppoſition, but not very remarkable; and Dr. John Wilkinſon appointed to ſucceed in Magdalen College, Mr. Greenwood in Braſen-noſe, Mr. Harris in Trinity College, Mr. Cheynell in St. John's, Mr. Wilkinſon in Magdalen Hall, and a Prebendary of Chriſt-Church, Mr. Langley in a Prebendary, and Mr. Rogers in another Prebendary. But in the cloſe of this meeting Mr. Selden by much diſputation and importunity gained an order, that no perſon that ac-

A.D. 1647.

† *See a Letter from Dr. Morley to Mr. Whitelock, Memorials, P.* 249.

*A.D.* 1648. cepted a generous place in Oxon, ſhould enjoy any ſpiritual preferment without the City. All the meetings ſince have been ſtollen, and very ſhort, though much miſchief has been done in them. All this was confirmed by ordinance on the ſecond or third day of March 1647.

*A Draught, in an unknown hand.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Sir,*

THE great honour I have lately received from your Highneſs by Mr. Harding in the very uſeful Memorials of Prince Rupert's marches, † by which the preciſe time of all actions appears, and many material circumſtances may be recollected by a reaſonable memory, gives me the preſumption to addreſs my humble acknowledgments to your Highneſs, and to preſent my own duty to you myſelf, which I hope ſome good friends have frequently done on my behalf. For I do flatter myſelf that whilſt I am without the happineſs and comfort of attending your Highneſs, I am ſtill doing you ſome ſervice, which will not be unacceptable to you, and poſſibly hereafter not altogether unuſeful to lie by you, however the light of the times may not be clear enough to read it publickly by. If the work were at all neceſſary to be done by me, the ſolitude which I have by your Highneſs's leave and favour enjoyed, was as neceſſary, ſince a head no better compoſed than mine, would have been hardly vacant to it, in a greater noiſe and diverſity of thoughts; and therefore, as my devotion to your Highneſs (next to that to your royal Father) was the principal encouragement to the undertaking a taſk, to which I am ſo unequal, ſo I muſt acknowledge the progreſs I have made in it to be wholly by and under your protection, in the quiet I have enjoyed and the extraordinary kindneſs I have received in this place, from thoſe who are moſt devoted to your Highneſs, and could have no other conſideration of me, than for the favour you vouchſafed me, and my relation to your ſervice. When I firſt ventured upon it, I did not think the recollection would have required ſo long a time as I have had allowed me. But my unſkilfulneſs hath not been greater ſince in the compoſure, than it was in that conjecture; and in all this time (not very lazily ſpent) I have not been able to proceed farther than into the year 1644. the ſeventh book ending in the year 1643. It pleaſed the King, who hath graciouſly vouchſafed me to pardon and approve my deſign, very few days before he left Hampton Court, to ſend me word that he had ſome inſtructions for me for the year 1644, and I am ſure his Majeſty delivered them to a very ſafe hand to be conveyed to me, though I have not the good fortune yet to receive them; but I have ſome reaſon to believe they are on the way hither; and then it will not be long before I ſhall finiſh that year, as much as I can do without particular animadverſion of the affairs in the North, in which I am very ignorant.

IT may be, I have been too ambitious in troubling your Highneſs with theſe particulars; and [*I*] ſhould hardly have ventured upon ſuch an account if I had not thought this contribution from your Highneſs a kind of obligation to it; and I thank God; I have a conſcience good enough to

† *This Journal is among the MSS. of this Collection.*

aſſure

assure me, that there will be always in your Princely memory such a vacancy, as may retain some thought of *A.D.* 1648.

*Sir,*

*Your Highness's most humble*

*and most obedient Servant, &c.*

*Castle Elizabeth, this* 16 *of April, St. vet.* 1648.

*A Copy, endorsed by himself.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the* QUEEN.

*May it please your Majesty,*

I HAVE not suffered so great an affliction from all the calamities of these ill times, as from the fear and apprehension I have had of your Majesty's displeasure; for I am sure I have never contributed to the former, and so whatsoever share I bear in the misfortune I have none in the fault. But I am too full of duty and acknowledgment of your Majesty's great obligations upon me, to imagine I can fall into a hazard of the latter, without some guilt of my own; and therefore in any censure your Majesty shall at any time inflict upon me, I shall never otherwise appeal than from your justice, to your own mercy; being very confident that I shall always have some simplicity about me, not unworthy of that, how unfit soever I am to appear before the other.

I SHOULD not have received the courage to make this humble address to your Majesty if I had not received assurance from some very good friends, who have for my sake taken the boldness to mention me to your Majesty, that you still vouchsafe to retain a gracious acceptance of my poor service; which gives me the boldness to beg your Majesty to believe that it is not possible for me to displease your Majesty but through want of discretion. For truly, to give your Majesty the least offence willingly and wilfully; I shall always think too great a price, to save the impertinent life of

*Madam,*

*Your Majesty's most obliged*

*and most obedient Servant.*

*Jersey, this* 16*th of April* 1648.

*A Copy, endorsed by himself.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* HOPTON.

*My dear Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * *

I DO assure you, I do not flatter you, when I tell you, that I think your principles as good and as worthy, either by the rule of conscience, or the rule of honour, as any man's I know, and that you are as unlike to swerve from those principles, and particularly that concerning the Church. And yet it may be, others do not, or have not thought you so resolute in that particular; the which I do the easier forgive them, because till I had the happiness to know you so particularly as I do, (and in good faith I am the more charitable to this rebellion for bringing me to that good fortune) I did not think you so myself. And I do still believe that, as all the errors

*A.D.* 1648. of your life have proceeded from too great an exceſs of charity and therefore they may the rather be called the errors of other men than your's, it is poſſible you may exerciſe more of that Chriſtian virtue, towards thoſe misreformed Churches, than their conſtitution deſerves. I agree with you, there ought rather compaſſion and pity, than aſperity to be uſed towards them; becauſe their Reformation and Government is not ſo perfect as it were to be deſired. But if they in their defects ſhall contract ſuch a pride and inſolency, as to obtrude to other Churches whom God hath bleſſed with greater opportunities and endowments for his worſhip, and under the ſhelter and warmth of which their ſtarvedneſs and leanneſs have been refreſhed and cheriſhed to the plight they are in, and ſhall take upon them to preſcribe thoſe rules (to which their indigency hath been compelled to ſubmit, and which under no other notion of Chriſtianity are excuſable, than as they are impoſed by neceſſity) as exemplar to other Churches, which are not liable to the ſame neceſſities, I cannot tell whether ſome aſperity be not to be applied to ſuch pride and arrogance; and whether ſomewhat like want of charity, be not fit to encounter that want of humility, which no Church of Chriſt ought to be without. The reaſon of the indulgence due to theſe reformed Churches, I ſuppoſe, is, becauſe their reformation being as it were by ſtealth, without the concurrence of the Crown, and ſo upon the matter, but a reformation of particular opinions, according to the dictates of men's ſeveral conſciences, they were compelled to nurſe up their opinions by as thrifty a combination as they could, and according to thoſe neceſſities which are always incumbent upon people who are to provide for their ſubſiſtence againſt the current of the laws, and conſtitution of the ſtate wherein they live. But I pray, aſk any ſober Huguenot (if there be any ſober Huguenot), whether, if the reformation in France had been or ſhould yet be made as it was in England, by the concurrent power of the States, and royal aſſent of the Crown (without which no reformation can be perfect, nor it may be, ought in any degree to be publickly attempted or avowed), and ſo the poſſeſſions of the Church ſhould be aſſigned for the ſupport of the reformed Clergy, would he not be of the religion, becauſe Biſhops were left (as they would be left, if there were maintenance left for them) in the Church? Was Luther or Calvin himſelf (againſt whom, I doubt not, much of our ſharpneſs is directed, which is only due to his diſciples) offended or ſcandalized at the function or office of Biſhops? Nay, have not the moſt learned of thoſe Churches lamented, that they have not means to ſupport that Government? living as it were under perſecution: for whoever hath not the full countenance of the law, as well as protection from rigour, lives under a kind of perſecution. And therefore, ſince the Biſhops of the State where they lived, would not ordain men of their opinions into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, they were compelled to agree upon another device to ſupply that; and having lived ſtill under the ſame neceſſity, have continued their ſubmiſſion to the ſame device; not thinking upon any other way to ſupply it; and we out of charity (without too ſtrict examining the invinciblenes of that neceſſity), hope that God accepts what they do, and forbear to cenſure them for it. And the Church of England, hath been willing, for their pretended conformity in opinion, to entertain them into the ſame Communion; looking upon them rather as without any diſcipline at all, than affected to one contrary; and without Biſhops, only becauſe they could have none. But

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it is an intolerable and wicked preſumption in them, to deſire that we ſhould part with our Government, becauſe the King of France will not eſtabliſh the like for them, and that we ſhould prefer their dreams, before our own viſions. And in good earneſt for my own part (without the leaſt thought of reproaching any body, who thinks otherwiſe), I could as devoutly hear Cromwell or his Lieutenant in buff, preach, or receive the Sacrament from his hand, or ſee him execute the other offices of the miniſtry, as the fellow in black who was laſt ordained by Dr. Burges and Mr. Caroll; who on my conſcience can no more confer orders, than Sir Thomas Fairfax can do. So that before I conſent to the taking away Biſhops, I muſt be perſuaded, that the exerciſe of the Miniſtry is of no moment; and that chriſtening, and marrying, and preaching, and praying, and receiving the Sacrament, are needleſs things, or may be done without having Miniſters. For upon my word, I know not which way to have Miniſters without Biſhops: A neceſſity of our own making being I am ſure no excuſe, whatever the other is. And I doubt the indulgence of ſome pious and learned men to the excuſes or impoſitions of neceſſity (beſides that a little logick or rhetorick will make every great and notable conveniency look too like neceſſity) have brought no ſmall inconveniencies into the Church; as poſſibly the contempt the miniſterial function hath incurred with ſome men, proceeds principally from that charitable opinion, that ſome of their offices may in caſe of extremity be performed by others; when it may be, with the ſame charity and with more reaſon, they might conclude, that God would rather in thoſe caſes diſpenſe with the offices, than with the officers; as, that it were better that a child died without baptiſm than that it ſhould be chriſtened by the midwife, or other lay-perſon; or, that I being caſt into the Indies ſhould live there all the days of my life without receiving the Sacrament, than that I ſhould receive it from the hands of one who had no other authority to give it, than becauſe he is choſen by the company to that office. *A.D.* 1648.

I CAN make no excuſe to you for all this prattle, than by profeſſing to you, (ſo God help me!) I meant it not when I began my letter, and was gotten into it before I thought of it, upon a very ſmall provocation in your letter. But in ſpight of all my patience, and my charity, (which are the two Chriſtian virtues I do moſt ſtudy to attain) I never have occaſion to mention thoſe reformed Churches (to which your's provoked me) but their peeviſhneſs, and their pride afflicts me to ſome ſeverity againſt them; inſomuch as I can very hardly refrain from writing half-a-ſcore ſheets of paper againſt Mons^r. Amyrant's apology for thoſe of the religion printed at Saumurs this laſt year, in which he excuſes them for their inclination to the Parliament of England, upon ſuch reaſons and grounds as to me ſeem ridiculous and ſcandalous. And ſince I have ventured to preach to you, let me propheſy too; that thoſe reformed Churches will be deſtroyed and grow into contempt for want of Biſhops, whom they ſo much contemn; and even that Kirk of Scotland will deſtroy that State. And if the nobility there do not find ſome way to reſtore Biſhops, they ſhall become in ſeven years after their army is diſbanded, of as little power, as they have made the King. And if they ſhall once be able to extirpate Epiſcopacy in England, farewell the Proteſtant Religion, to which (however growing abroad under Presbytery or any other policy) the dignity and luſtre of that Church, have been the refuge, ſupport, and only countenance. And this the Papiſts know, who are univerſally, in England and abroad, exceedingly delighted with the

*A.D.*1648. hope of rooting it up. But I doubt not the King's conſtancy will diſappoint them; and whilſt that holds, which I hope, and am confident, is impregnable, I do not much care what reſolutions the Scots have, who muſt provide for their coming into England, according to the humours of thoſe whoſe conſent muſt be obtained, and will proceed afterwards according to the intereſt of them who are to govern the expedition.

I LIKE the complexion of affairs very well; and if we make not too much haſte, we ſhall come all home the ſooner. You are ſo modeſt, as to be contented with a reaſonable reſtoration of the King's rights, which nobody ever denied, though they differ in what is reaſonable; and therefore I, who have not art enough to deal in words, muſt ſit down where we began without any other alteration, than what is abſolutely neceſſary for ſecurity; which the King muſt be liberal in offering, and they, if they are not mad, very modeſt in receiving or requiring. No change of Government in Church or State, I beſeech you, 'till armies are diſbanded; which no man that does in earneſt deſire peace, will preſs.

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GOD preſerve you, and bring me well again to you, under your protection.

*2d May* 1648.

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Four Gentlemen concerned in the Inſurrection in* Kent *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*My Lord,*

WE make no queſtion but that your Lordſhip hath heard before this how the face of this County is wholly changed within a few days. But that you may be able to give a more particular account both to her Majeſty and the Prince, we have thought it our duty, who are actors, and deeply engaged in this buſineſs, to repreſent unto your Lordſhip the preſent State of affairs with all poſſible brevity; and though confuſedly, yet with exactneſs of truth. It is well known to your Lordſhip that this County hath in all theſe troubles been well affected to his Majeſty; however the ſpirits of men have been depreſſed by the tyranny of the Deputy Lieutenants, who had the poſſeſſion of the arms and money of the County. Two or three attempts have been made formerly to ſhake off this yoke, and reſtore the King; but ſtill prevented by the force and diligence of theſe men. The commotion at Canterbury in December laſt, concerning the keeping of Chriſtmas Day, was rather an effect of the Mayor's folly, by thruſting the Market upon that day, than any deſigned riſing for the King, and ſoon vaniſhed of itſelf. Yet, forſooth, the Deputy Lieutenants, to ſhew their power and valour, would needs enter the town, when the gates were open, with 2000 armed men, under the command of their renowned General Sir Michael Leviſey; where after he had ſhewed his fury upon the walls and gates, and committed thirty or forty of the town, priſoners to Leeds Caſtle, which himſelf carried thither in triumph; they certified the Houſe of their proceedings in a large narration, wherein they ſtile the matter of fact an inſurrection for the King. The next Counſel was how to try theſe men for their lives. The Deputy Lieutenants inclined to the ſureſt way, a council of war; and gave their reaſon, for

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fear of a miſcarrying precedent, which in plain Engliſh is, leaſt they ſhould not ſhed enough innocent blood. The Houſe thought it fit rather to proceed by Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, which was executed at Canterbury on the 10th and 11th of this preſent. Serjeant Wild and Serjeant Treſwell being of the Quorum. There had been committed amongſt the reſt Sir William Man, Mr. Lovelace and Alderman Savin, men extremely popular, and who indeed ſaved the Mayor's life; and appeaſed the tumult. A bill was preferred againſt ſome of them for a treaſonable riot, grounded upon I know not what repealed ſtatute. The grand inqueſt, that knew the malicious proſecution of this buſineſs, to riſe only from Leviſey and ſix or ſeven of the higheſt flyers, brought in an *Ignoramus*, and ſtoutly perſiſted in it, though Serjeant Wild ſent them twice back to conſider better, or rather worſe of the matter; and the truth is, for your Servant Anthony Hammond was preſent, the evidence was ſhort, as the bill was laid; and ſo honeſt Treſwell ſaid openly. This affront, together with the people's crying up the King in the Caſtle Yard, where they had another Commiſſion, becauſe ſome part of the fact was committed in the County, made my Gentlemen exceeding angry; and apprehending the place not ſafe, they ſent for a troop of Horſe, as well for their own guard, as to awe the Jurors. And the rather becauſe they had got intelligence of a petition intended to be preſented by the grand inqueſt for the County, which they reſolved beforehand to ſuppreſs by force. Yet all this would not do; and after a long conſultation with the Judges in private, they concluded that the beſt way to come off with honour, was to adjourn the Court till the 27th of July next; and to do it ſuddenly, to prevent the delivery of the petition; which they did with ſo much indecent haſte, that the grand inqueſt who had ſubſcribed their petition, had not time to preſent it. But the delivery being not greatly material, the thing took exceedingly; as being the act of the body of the County, and grounded upon moſt honeſt and plauſible principles (a duplicate whereof we have ſent your Lordſhip herein incloſed), gathering hands in all places to a very great number. The Deputy Lieutenants more and more enraged meet at Maidſtone; where they made a moſt precipitate order, to be read in all Churches, declaring the petition to be ſeditious, ſending out more troops to ſuppreſs it. This order was read accordingly in many pariſhes on Sunday the 21ſt of this preſent; which did ſo affright and incenſe the people, who had ſubſcribed before to the number of 20,000 (as I believe) to ſee themſelves taxed with Treaſon, by men that had no mercy, who were to be their Judges, and now in arms to apprehend them, that, the Gentlemen beginning, [*the*] yeomanry and commonalty ran to their arms in ſeveral places, encountered and defeated the Deputy Lieutenants' forces, ſeized upon all their magazines, poſſeſſed themſelves of, and fortified Rocheſter bridge, and other paſſes upon the Medway, beſieged ſome of them in Aylesford Houſe, who have ſince crept away, and chaſed the reſt out of the County, have taken all the Caſtles except Dover, which is blocked up, and will ſoon be our's, gained the King's ſhips in the Downs, being ſeven in number, to declare and aſſociate with them, having firſt ſent away their Admiral and all their ſuſpected officers, and are now in their march towards Blackheath, in a body of 20,000 men; and this with ſo marvellous expedition and ſucceſs, which ſheweth plainly the hand of God in it. All this was done in the compaſs of a week, and in our [. . . .] in two days; for though we ſurprized Canterbury on Monday night, the trained Bands did

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*A.D.* 1648. not meet in arms until Thurſday laſt at Bridge-hill; and then late, the forenoon being exceeding wet. Towards evening Sir Richard Hardreſs, Sir Anthony Ancher and ourſelves, with one troop of Horſe and a Foot company marched towards Sandwich, commanding the body the next day to meet us at Dover-frith. When we came to the town, the gates were ſhut, more to guard a counterfeit Prince of Wales (who had deluded the town by the ſpace of a week before) than in any oppoſition to us. There we ſettled the Militia in confiding hands, and being on horſeback about noon, and reſolving to take this counterfeit Prince along with us, leaſt he might be ſet up in prejudice of the true one, we found ſuch oppoſition in Captain Forſtall, who had him in his houſe, that we had certainly gone together by the ears with the town (the ſeamen and moſt part of the people being enraged againſt us, and would not be undeceived) had not the idol eſcaped away over the Ferry into the Iſle of Thanet, where he was taken, and hath ſince confeſſed his name to be Cornelius Evans. Marching from thence towards the rendezvous, we came in ſight of the Fleet in the Downs. We had conveyed letters to them privately the ſame day by Major Rem and others, inviting them to join with us in our petition, their Admiral being then in his Caſtle of Deal. As ſoon as they ſaw but one troop of Horſe on the ſhore, they roſe inſtantly, ſecured their Commanders, and declared themſelves for our petition. Rainsborough ignorant of what paſſed aboard, and fearing to be beſieged, the Town of Deal being in arms two days before, took his wife and his children with him, and makes all haſte to his fleet. When he came near the Admiral, and commanded to looſe the foretopſail, intending belike to weigh anchor, he was anſwered by the Boatſwain's mate (a witty bold knave, and a prime agent in the mutiny) that the caſe was altered, that they had concurred with the Kentiſh Gentlemen, and that there was no admittance for him; but they would do him the favour to deliver him his goods in the ſhip, and to ſet him aboard of a Weymouth Man that was bound for London. Thus departed our great Admiral, to give an account to the two Houſes, of the greateſt diſaſter that ever befell them. All this while we kept on our march towards Dover, and received the news of the fleet that night. On Saturday having blocked up Dover Caſtle, where there are two companies of Hewſon's regiment, with Sir Henry Hayman, and others fled for refuge, unprovided of ſalt and other neceſſaries; we drew down part of our auxiliaries to ſummon Deal, Walmer, and Sandown Caſtles, who treated and were delivered up that night. Sir Richard Hardreſs and Sir Anthony Ancher marched away with all the forces towards Rocheſter. We four are left here to take care of the Caſtles and the Fleet, with whom on Sunday laſt we made an aſſociation, a copy whereof we have ſent your Lordſhip. And we are confident upon good grounds, that the reſt of the fleet at ſea, being about forty in number, will declare with us; but they muſt not want victuals, nor their pay; which it is impoſſible we can furniſh, having pawned our credit for great ſums already. And therefore your Lordſhip ſhould do well to come to Calais, that we may correſpond with you, and receive further directions and advice. For as we ſet our lives and fortunes at ſtake to reſtore his Majeſty, ſo we ſhall expect all poſſible aſſiſtance to be ready when we call for it; and that his Highneſs would furniſh us with money and commiſſions when we ſhall deſire them; and then if we loſe this game, we ſhall confeſs we have played very ill. Your Lordſhip

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ſhip may be pleaſed to preſent our moſt humble ſervices to the Queen's Ma- *A.D.* 1648.
jeſty, to his Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to whom we have not the honour to be known; and to give ſuch characters of us, as your Lordſhip ſhall think fit, whereby you ſhall oblige

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble*

*and moſt aſſured Servants.*

*Deal, this 30th of May 1648. St. loci.*

*Endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

My Lord, ſince the writing of this we hear my Lord of Warwick is coming down with a vote of the Houſes to take poſſeſſion of the fleet, but we cannot confide in him, and we hope the officers of the fleet will not receive him without our conſent.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to her* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I SHOULD ſooner have acknowledged your Majeſty's favour in vouchſafing to require my poor opinion and advice concerning his Highneſs's remove into Holland, if I had received your Majeſty's gracious letter of the 9th of this month, before Monday laſt; when I had the honour likewiſe to receive another from the Prince. According to the proſpect I can have at my diſtance into the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs, and the viſible diſpoſition of the people now in England, whoſe eyes no doubt are much fixed upon his Highneſs's motion, I do humbly conceive that the reſolution already taken by your Majeſty for his Highneſs's remove into Holland, is very ſeaſonable, and that it will contribute very much towards the King's ſervice.

I HOPE the time is at hand, when God will redeem his Majeſty from all his ſufferings, and reſtore him to his dominions, and that the hearts of the people are prepared by the miſery they have endured, to acknowledge, that they loſt all their happineſs that very minute, when they firſt entertained an undutiful thought towards both your Majeſties, and that they will hereafter make themſelves worthy of your Majeſty's clemency and protection.

GOD preſerve your Majeſty and grant you a ſpeedy accompliſhment of all your own prayers.

*Madam,*

*14 June 1648.*

*Your Majeſty's &c.*

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My dear Lord,*

I HAVE received your Lordſhip's of your 16th of this month this very minute; and have deſired your Governor to cauſe the Boat to return this night, hoping that this letter may come as ſoon to your Lordſhip's hands, as my other to the Queen and Prince, which I ſent three days ſince. I beſeech your Lordſhip to return my moſt humble duty and acknowledg-

*A.D.* 1648. ment to her Majesty and his Highness for the great favour they have vouchsafed me, by this command directed to me by your favour; which I most humbly submit to, and shall obey with all possible expedition. I shall not need to desire you to make an apology for me that I do not myself come as soon as this letter; for you will easily believe, that a man who hath not had a boot on these two years, nor in truth hath a boot to put on, cannot in a moment put himself into an equipage for such a journey. Besides truly my indisposition of health hath been such of late (occasioned possibly for want of such exercise I am now like to have liberty to take), that within these four days I have joined with Sir Philip Carteret to send into France for a Physician to come hither to take care of us both; but I shall defer those remedies now till I come into that air; and shall not longer defer the beginning my journey, than is absolutely necessary, and shall favour myself no more in the progress, than is requisite for a body no better prepared for travel.

I THANK you exceedingly for the sense you have of my beggary; which I have not reason to be ashamed to confess is so notorious, that without your supply I could as well have walked to St. Germain's afoot, as bear my own charges thither. But I too well know the stock of your Governor's Exchequer, which hath been already drained by me, to put him to borrow for me, which upon your letter he was very willing to do. And therefore, I shall choose rather to take so much of a Merchant here, who trades with Caen, as will bear my charges thither; and I have written a note to Mr. Foster, to desire him to pay the hundred Pistoles to Mr. Nicholas, whom I have earnestly prayed to receive it, and be sure to return it to meet me at Caen, that I may be there furnished to pay what I borrow here, and to put myself in such an honest habit, that you may look upon me without laughing at St. Germains. I shall trouble you no further at present, than to desire you to continue your good opinion and favour towards

*Your Lordship's*

*Jersey, the 16th of June. St. vet.*

*most affectionate &c.*

*A Copy, endorsed by himself.*

*The Lord* DIGBY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Chancellor,*

YOU will ere this have received from my Lord Jermyn a kind and earnest invitation hither to wait upon the Prince; his Lordship having likewise given order to Sir George Carteret to supply you with that which it is believed you want for such a journey. When I wrote to you last I foresaw the inclinations to call you hither obligingly, as well as the necessity of it to the King's service; and therefore I conjured you then, to advance so much forwards on your way as Caen; which I hope you have accordingly done. If not, I must again conjure you, by all the power that either my reason or friendship has with you, not to lose any time in your hastening to Rouen, where you will be sure to be met by fresh advices from me; for I believe by that time you can come thither, the Prince will be upon his way to Calais, whither he is hastening to make a settlement in the business of the ships which are declared for him upon a very right foot, as we received yesterday

terday assurance from themselves. There, at Calais, will be the rendezvous of most of the King's Council here in France; where certainly will be the importantest occasion that ever was of using the advices of faithful and able persons concerning the whole frame and order for the future, both of his Majesty's affairs and the application of his Highness's person. For your own particular, I assure you there is as full a disposition to oblige you as I can wish; and you may be sure that you shall be put upon nothing against your judgment. But I conjure you not to let any consideration in the world hinder you from coming; since it will be a failing that can never be answered. I shall not need tell you with what passion the sight of you is desired by

*Your most faithful Friend*
*and humble Servant,*

*Paris, the 23d of June,* 1648.

GEORGE DIGBY.

*An Original, endorsed by Lord Clarendon.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* CULPEPER.

*My good Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

MY Lord Treasurer, notwithstanding his contempt of all sea-sickness, and bearing ill accommodation (I hope you know worse cannot be, than is aboard this frigate) with the same or greater chearfulness, as he receives the faireſt lodgings, in spight of his courage, stoops under a vile cough he hath taken by the cold nights, and sitting long above the hatches, there being indeed no other place in which he can sit; and is not without an alarm, in his feet and knees, of the gout, though he leapt nimbly out of his bed this morning (even beyond our hopes) upon the news of a good wind. I need say little to you of myself, who in good faith cannot look long to be a man of this watry world, three days at land not recovering the strength and spirit, which three hours sickness at sea takes from me, and this sickness being upon the matter the same, in fair and foul weather. But the air and breath in the Downs may recover all these indispositions; therefore be assured, we do not more impatiently pray or long for health or peace, than to be with you; which though it be no compliment from Flushing (where the same malignity, that is, somewhat as grievous and intolerable to all honest and generous minds, governs that rules in Derby House) you have had reason to believe, from the time I left blessed Jersey, and my Lord Treasurer's garden at Rouen. Since when, the life we both have led, hath not been better, than the House of Commons will be content to assign to all those within the first qualification.

THOUGH I have no reason to believe that any body from this place, shall get to you, before myself, yet the confidence of this little vessel, which calls itself the Prince's Packet Boat, and undertakes to sneak thither without the notice of wind or tide, albeit he was contented to be driven back yesterday with us, and the observation of the untoward accidents which have hitherto kept us asunder, together with my natural inclination to be prating to you at any distance, prevails upon me to venture this letter by the by; and though it should arrive after me, it may save

*A.D.* 1648. you the trouble of hearing me ſpeak it over, which if my uſual fits at ſea continue, I ſhall not be ſo well able to do. And the conſtant diſcourſe in all theſe parts of the Scotch Commiſſioners being ſent to invite the Prince into the north to their army (for the other diſcourſe of his going into Scotland I ſuppoſe to be as impoſſible as unreaſonable), makes me conſider the point, and conſequently the whole ſtate of his affairs, as well as I am able. And I am not unwilling upon the old ſtock of friendſhip (and if I ſuffer by that freedom, you will be unexcuſable) to let you ſee my whole thoughts how unskilful ſoever, that you may gueſs how towardly a Counſellor I am like to prove.

First, I muſt tell you, I am in my own private opinion very well perſuaded of the purpoſe of the Scotch army, that is entered the Kingdom; that is, of ſo much of it as is entirely at the devotion of Duke Hamilton, and his party; who I do verily believe, have eſpouſed the King's quarrel, and his intereſt, upon the true and juſt grounds and principles, from which it cannot be diſtinguiſhed, nor without which ever proſper or be preſerved. Nor am I much ſtartled to ſee the Covenant made the foundation of their entering England, to ends (I hope) very different from it; for they were to gather a power and ſtrength by thoſe rules, by which that people only were to be governed. And though the literal obſervation of that combination will ruin King and Kingdom as abſolutely, and more irreparably, than any ſucceſs of the Independents can do, yet there are other parts of it, the punctual performance whereof will as unqueſtionably preſerve all; and therefore I do without ſcruple believe that they intend to purſue as much of it as is in their power, and will do good, and decline the other which lawfully is not in their power, and would do all the miſchief imaginable. And therefore I am very well ſatisfied, that all encouragement and countenance ſhould be given by the Prince to the army, and all orders and reſolutions publiſhed, and commiſſions granted in their favour, and a real and hearty union made with them by the King's party in thoſe parts. But I am likewiſe of opinion, that 'till the improvement of their condition be ſuch, that, ſeparated from any fear at home, or hopes abroad, they think fit ſo fully to declare themſelves, their intentions, and reſolutions, that it may evidently appear to all the world, the King's juſt ends and theirs are the ſame, his Highneſs ſhould by no means engage his perſon with or in that army; at leaſt, before any ſuch thing be concluded, there ought to be ſuch a full and poſitive particular agreement made between the Prince and that Army; (which poſſibly would be better done by Commiſſioners ſent thither from the Prince, who could beſt obſerve the temper and humour of the ſeveral members of it, than with thoſe ſent hither); that either party might clearly underſtand what is to be expected from the other, and as little left as may be to the latitude of men's expectations, or interpretations upon the private diſcourſes and promiſes of any undertakers whatſoever: And that there may be a right underſtanding of all overtures, and ſpecious pretences that ſhall be thought neceſſary to be made; that ſo thoſe things which may be wiſely offered upon the advantage which a viſible refuſal will bring, may not be afterwards urged to be performed, becauſe they were once offered. Nor can the Scots reaſonably deſire the preſence of the Prince, 'till they are ready to avow this true temper; for the reception of his Highneſs (who all the world knows will never ſwerve from his Father's grounds and ends) in that manner

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as no queſtion they intend to receive him if he goes, will as much publiſh their purpoſes, as their avowing thoſe principles; and therefore, if it be not yet time to do the one, it is not a fit time for the other. And the Prince continuing in his Royal fleet (which by his preſence is every day encreaſed, united, and more firmly reſolved) hangs like a meteor over the heads of all the Rebels in England, who not knowing where he intends to land, (all the maritime parts having equal hopes of him, and thereby encouraged to declare for him) are compelled to keep their forces divided and ſcattered to receive him, and thereby impoveriſh and irritate all places againſt him. Whereas, if the Prince were once landed and with the Scots army, the hope of him any where elſe being daſhed, and it may be the jealouſies for him there being (how unreaſonably ſoever) generally entertained, all other parts of the Kingdom would be quickly without ſoul or motion (which we ſee now is generally diffuſed through all Countries); and all our hopes being contracted into the North, all the force and oppoſition would be united and directed againſt that ſingle enemy, which now ſeems diſtracted, and not enough informed which way to apply itſelf. And it may be in this preſent conjuncture of affairs, no poſture the Prince can reaſonably hope to put himſelf in on land, is like to be ſo glorious and effectual by his own ſingle virtue, or ſo formidable to the Rebels, as his containing himſelf ſtill aboard his fleet; which it is feared by his abſence, will, at leaſt, not encreaſe in ſtrength and vigour. *A.D.* 1648.

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For God's ſake, remember that the quarrel hath always been, and ſtill is, that the King be not by force compelled to any thing contrary to his conſcience, honour, and judgment; and that the people may not be compelled to ſubmit to any determinations, contrary to the laws eſtabliſhed, which have not his Royal aſſent. Whilſt you keep this cauſe and quarrel entire, you can never want friends and ſupporters, the intereſt of him who hath plundered himſelf into an eſtate of a thouſand pounds being as much concerned in that foundation, as his, who was born to £ 10, 000. a year. And truly this genius and conſtitution of the Kingdom in which all Engliſhmen are jointly concerned, will be a truſty champion to recover all that is loſt, if we have patience and conſtancy to rely on it. But if whilſt the King gloriouſly ſuffers, to preſerve this vital part of monarchy, his negative power, and all honeſt men are conſcientiouſly and thriftily (for believe it, in the end, it will be found good husbandry as well as good Religion) content to be temporarily undone for the vindication of it, we ſhall under the notion of expedients barter away the eſſential props and ſupports of the old Government, we ſhall hugely diſcredit the cauſe, and inſenſibly run ourſelves into inconveniencies we ſhall not be able to repair. For if after all this, a real and eſſential alteration of Government in the Church or State be to be conſented to, the people will believe that thoſe at Weſtminſter are more competent contrivers of ſuch alteration, than any other combination or ſociety of men, how dextrous and prudent ſoever. But if we ſtand faſt upon the old rock of eſtabliſhed law, we have advantage in the contention, and ſhall ſtill have a proportion of hope, which will be more comfortable than any ſecurity they can have who oppreſs us. In a word, if the King, or the Prince in his name, be yielding, there will be no end of their demands; if they find that whilſt they aſk unreaſonably, they ask in vain, they will recover the primitive modeſty, and be content with what is juſt.

*A.D.* 1648. And to flatter ourſelves that Monarchy is preſerved, whilſt the Monarch is ſtripped and robbed of his Regal power and rights, is not worthy of thoſe men, who have obſerved the methods and degrees, by which this wickedneſs is grown to the height it is now at.

You will judge by all this, that I am ſomewhat ſtartled at the Prince's declaration, how warily and generally ſoever it be worded. And you think right; for I muſt confeſs there are many things in it I cannot comprehend. Yet I doubt not you upon the place ſaw much reaſon that at a diſtance is not evident to me, and upon my word, I am far from cenſuring it; only, I have, ſince I began to talk to you, inſenſibly ſuffered myſelf to ſlide into this frankneſs, that you may ſee with how open and unpolitick a heart I mean to confer with you; being moſt aſſured, that, how much ſoever we may differ in the way, our ends are the ſame, and I cannot lay a more cunning obligation upon you, than by ſhewing you all my weakneſs, that when you find me not a jot wiſer than you left me, you may have no excuſe for being leſs kind than you were, or pretended then to be, and that will ſatisfy the ambition of,

*My good Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt affectionate humble Servant,*

*Fluſhing,* $\frac{20}{30}$ *Aug.*

EDWARD HYDE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *The Earl of* LAUDERDALE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I HAVE chearfully theſe ſixteen days attended your Highneſs's commands; I have ſeen your ſettled reſolutions to go where your engagements and the good of the King's ſervice called you. I have been witneſs to the impediments that have occaſioned the delays: And yeſterday when your Highneſs thought it poſſible, and reſolved to fight, I was moſt ready to have waited on your Highneſs (whatever difficulties the Scots army may be in or whatever occaſions may call me to another place). The ſhip I am in, will on no terms go within the ſands, nor in any condition engage (though the Captain be moſt hearty for your ſervice); yet I was fully reſolved to quit it, and at leaſt with my perſon to wait on you, whilſt reſolved to engage preſently before your proviſions be ſpent. This day I was a witneſs to your Highneſs's reſolution, and to the unanimous advice of your council of war for your going ſtraight into Holland, and to a clear declaration of the impoſſibility of your fleet's ſubſiſtence any way elſe. Now I ſee your Highneſs (contrary to all theſe reſolutions and notwithſtanding theſe impoſſibilities) turned back again. Therefore, I humbly deſire to know your condition and what your Highneſs's own free reſolution is, and what ſervice you will command my perſon (for upon no terms can I engage this ſhip). And in all occaſions your Highneſs ſhall ever find me with all reality and fidelity

*Sir, Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*moſt obedient and moſt faithful Servant,*

*The* 27 *of Auguſt* 1648. *near Margate Road.*

LAUDERDAILL.

I HUMBLY beg of your Highneſs to honour me with your commands in writing. *A.D.* 1648.

*An Original.*

*The Prince of* WALES *to the Earl of* LAUDERDALE.

*My Lord,*

I AM ſo well ſatisfied with the loyalty and good affection of the Kingdom of Scotland expreſſed to his Majeſty in that application which they have now made to me, that I think myſelf concerned equally with themſelves in the good or bad ſucceſs of their affairs. And although the neceſſity of my occaſions hath cauſed your ſtay here, and that I am now engaged in an expedition againſt the Earl of Warwick, and the fleet under his command (which for the preſent I cannot leave), yet I earneſtly deſire, that in the mean time you ſhould employ yourſelf where your endeavours may be moſt advantageous for their ſervice. And therefore if you think fit to go into Holland in proſecution of your Commiſſion to that State from the Kingdom of Scotland, and ſuch other Commiſſion as you ſhall now receive from me, I ſhall immediately follow you thither (as ſoon as this action is finiſhed, either by fighting with the Earl of Warwick or by his retreat), and will there aſſiſt you to the uttermoſt of my power in all things that ſhall concern that Kingdom, and my engagement to them; to which I will always moſt conſtantly adhere, and ever acknowledge your affectionate and diſcreet carriage as,

*My Lord,*

*A Copy.* *Your very affectionate Friend.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* GORING.

*My good Lord,*

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I AM ſure our late enterprize upon Oſtend, is not ſo obſcure a thing, but that you have had the whole hiſtory at large; and then you will believe, that not having ſeen the Prince before he came out of France nor ſince, we can know very little of the Counſels, or what is firſt deſigned to be done, in order to the King's buſineſs. Some diſcourſe we heard at our late being at the Hague and Rotterdam, of an aſſiſtance from the Duke of Lorrain, and a touch to what extraordinary end it ſhould be aſſigned. But that which wrought moſt on me, who am of too narrow an underſtanding to comprehend things of that nature under ſo general diſcourſes, was, that your Lordſhip was to conduct it, and very well ſatisfied with the whole project; and from thence I concluded, that ſuch expedition would be uſed, notwithſtanding the delays and difficulties at Embden, that the great end would be purſued, whatever interruptions happened in the way. And truly, I am very ſorry, that hitherto it hath not ſucceeded according to your expectations. If my Lord Treaſurer and I have the good fortune to wait on the Prince in any time, or whenever it is, we ſhall preſent to him all your Lordſhip's deſires, and advance them with our utmoſt power and intereſt; and if we chance to meet with Dr. Goff (as no doubt we ſhall if this

A.D. 1648. rumour be true) we will enquire the ſtate of that buſineſs with Vanderpat; and I ſhall not fail to give you a particular and large relation of it, or of any thing elſe that may be neceſſary for your knowledge, whereby to guide yourſelf, or from whence you may give us your advice. For beſides the relation your Lordſhip, and all you do, muſt always have to the King's ſervice, I am ſwayed by ſuch a particular inclination to your Lordſhip and to the old Gentleman at Colcheſter (of whom whoever is not very careful, will live to repent it) that I am a ſharer in any good or ill that befalls you. And as no abſence can leſſen this devotion in me (and for ought I hear, they who have been leaſt together agree beſt) ſo the memory of no old grumblings can divert it; all the world knowing that I could be guilty of no error, and ſo great an experience amongſt grave and compoſed people having, no doubt, reformed thoſe who were. And my Lord Treaſurer aſſures me, one year in a Spaniſh army, or under a Spaniſh General contributes more to the greatneſs of a well prepared underſtanding, and noble nature, than an age in any other Court or Camp in Chriſtendom; ſo that you have a huge expectation to anſwer. I wiſh you were in your harneſs; and then Providence, and your own virtue will carry you on. And if you will give me any opportunity to ſerve you, I ſhall take it as a great obligation and truſt, in which you will never be diſappointed and deceived by,

*My good Lord,*

*Middleburgh, 2d September.* *Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *A Relation concerning the Management of the Fleet under the* PRINCE.

*Sir,*

WE are at length (though through many ſtorms and difficulties) ſet once more on dry land. I ſhall not ſtudy much to expreſs how welcome it was to me, ſince I ſo well know your antipathy to the ſea; but will leave that to your gueſs, and give you a relation of thoſe accidents that happened a ſhip-board, ſince my quitting the ſhore. I believe you have heard of the great diviſions amongſt us, and the high mutinies of the ſeamen, which in earneſt were once at that paſs, that we much feared, whether we were not priſoners, or no. When I came firſt on ſhipboard from Calais, I found the Prince in a readineſs to go for Holland, and ſo for Scotland; in order to which he had made choice of one of his frigates to carry him and his ſervants thither, and to leave the Fleet in the Downs, but ſome Anti-Scotiſts of our Council (you may eaſily gueſs them) to prevent his journey thither, ſet all the ſeamen upon him, who came all upon the upper deck, beſeeching his Highneſs that he would not ſtir from them, 'till they had been in Lee Road, where my Lord of Warwick then was; for if they ſhould go without him, they would ſay they had no Prince, or that they had but a counterfeit one, and much to this effect. We did all we could to appeaſe them; but it was impoſſible. Then it was reſolved the Prince ſhould take all the Fleet with him into Holland, hoping that if they went with him, they would be ſatisfied; but that would not do neither; for no ſooner did they find that they were to go into Holland, but they fell into the higheſt mutiny that ever you ſaw, all coming up again to the Prince, giving him petitions, and beſeeching him to go for Lee Road, curſing my Lord

Lord Culpeper openly, and my Lord Lauderdale, threatning to throw them over board, as being the authors of carrying the Prince from them before he had been in Lee Road. All the art that could be was uſed to allay this ſtorm, and to perſuade them to go along with the Prince, who went amongſt them, and ſpake to them himſelf, giving them the reaſons why it was fit for him to be gone, how unfit a deſign that of Lee Road was at this time, for we wanted proviſions in the ſhips, ſome having not enough for two days; and that all we could hope for was, but to make my Lord of Warwick retire into the river; and if a contrary wind ſhould come we might be all ſtarved. But no rhetorick could alter this mad multitude from this deſign; for they fancied, that upon the ſight of our ſhips, many of their's and many ſeamen, would come into us, which would deſtroy Warwick's Fleet, and make us abſolute maſters at ſea: Yet for all this, we took another reſolution for Holland, the Prince (for no man elſe durſt) ſet again upon the ſeamen to deſire their leave, asking them, if they would not go with him wherever he went, and gave them ſo kind words, that at length his ſhip was after a ſort, content to go for Holland; ſo we ſet ſail, and ſteered our courſe accordingly; which the other ſhips ſeeing, two of the biggeſt (in one whereof was Lord Hopton and Lord Culpeper) ſailed from us, and away were going for Lee Road as faſt as they could, which we perceiving were forced to tack about, and ſteer their courſe, finding that there was nothing to be done, till we had been in Lee Road, though it were an action contrary to the opinion of all the ſea commanders with us. So away we went, as we needs muſt when the devil drives, and contrary to our expectation, ſpied Warwick's fleet coming towards us, at which all our cabins were knocked down, every ſhip cleared and put in a poſture of fighting, every land-man had his ſtation and muſket, and ſo we ſailed towards him, deſiring nothing more than to fight with him; nor did I ever ſee ſo much alacrity and forwardneſs in any man, as was in our mariners. But my friend Warwick was ſurpriſed, and when he came forth did not think to meet with us; which cauſed him to make a fair retreat, we purſuing of him all that day. When night came, we caſt anchor, and ſo did he, at about a league diſtance. Next day, as ſoon as the tide would give us leave, we weighed anchor, and ſo did he; but he kept his old courſe of retreating, and we our's of purſuing, though not at ſo great a diſtance as the day before. When we came almoſt under Queenborough, he ſuffered us to come very near him, and met us. The Vice-Admirals on both ſides (who are the firſt that engage in ſea-fights) were within minion ſhot one of the other; ſo that we all expected, when they would have given fire; but at that inſtant there fell ſo great and ſudden a guſt of wind, that we had nothing elſe to ſave us from the ſands that are dangerous in that place, but by caſting anchor, which we did within cannon ſhot one of another, where we lay till next morning. And then finding no good to be done, for we found he had no mind to fight, our victuals being ſpent and our mutineers ſatisfied, we weighed anchor, and ſet ſail once more for Holland. Warwick weighs too, and follows us, but fair and far off at ſome two Leagues diſtance all day; at night he caſts anchor. And away we went, and here we are, I thank God; and if ever they get me into their ſea-voyages again, I am much miſtaken. I muſt not forget to tell you, the Prince behaved himſelf with as much gallantry and courage in this buſineſs as ever you ſaw; for when his Lords and all the ſeamen came to deſire him to go down into the hold, *A.D.* 1648.

*A.D.* 1648. under the decks, he would not hear of it, but told them his honour was more to him than his ſafety; and deſired them not to ſpeak of it any more. Culpeper is much hated by all, and openly ſpoken againſt even to his face, but he defies any man that can challenge him with any thing of diſhoneſty; and ſays there are ſome that ſhall give him either a private or publick ſatisfaction. What we have done theſe ſix weeks at ſea, truly I am aſhamed and ſorry I can give you no better account. Rich ſhips we had under our cuſtody, but have releaſed them upon eaſy compoſitions; I know not why nor wherefore. We have been received here handſomely enough hitherto, the States allowing the Prince a thouſand Guelders a day for ten days together; but after that he muſt ſhift for himſelf. Our Scots here look very blank, and are much aſhamed of their miraculous defeat; truly it is the wonder of all the world, not ſo much to ſee them beaten, (for it is thought they are mortal) as ſo beaten. There are thoſe that are ſufficiently glad of it; but in earneſt for my part, though I never much loved them, yet I am very ſorry, they being our only ſtring to our bow, it ſhould be ſo abſolutely broken. We have now no thoughts of looking northward, and what is next to be done puzzles the wiſeſt amongſt us, ſome talk of , others of living at † with our Fleet, but by moſt it is conceived we ſhall continue here this winter, unleſs this treaty calls us home, which I expect not. W. L. came to us in the Downs a little before our coming away, who hath had much intelligence with the King (they writing to one another twice a day) who ſent him with letters to the Prince to command him to bring the Fleet to the Iſle of Wight, and to give credit to any thing he ſhould tell them, and that they ſhould leave all and purſue that deſign, which was now in hand for his liberty. But it was no more liſtened to, nor regarded, than if a dog had been ſent to them, nor did they do the leaſt thing in order to it. My Lord Cottington and the Chancellor are come to us and admitted as Counſellors, which ſome of our Grandees are not pleaſed withal. God grant they mend the matter!

*Hague, 24th Sept.* 1648.

*In the hand of Sec. Nicholas's Clerk; endorſed, as above, by the Secretary, with this Addition;*
"For Sir E. H. written, I ſuppoſe, by Mr. L."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the* QUEEN.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THOUGH it was Thurſday laſt before my Lord Treaſurer and I had the happineſs to preſent ourſelves to the Prince, yet I preſume we have not at all ſuffered in your Majeſty's gracious opinion that we did it no ſooner, the many diſaſters we have met with being ſo notorious, that we are confident ſome of them have come to your notice; and our condition being always ſuch, as we could not preſent any certainty of it to your Majeſty worthy your knowledge, and therefore forbore to trouble you with any particular addreſs. It was my firſt and greateſt misfortune, and a preſage of all which have followed ſince, that I might not kiſs your Majeſty's hands before I came out of France, and ſo have underſtood what ſervices you were graciouſly pleaſed to expect from my poor faculties, and

† *Blanks in the MS.*



preſented

presented my defects and weaknesses to you; whereby your Majesty might dis- *A.D.* 1648.
cern to what part of your service my simplicity might be applicable. I should then with all humility have informed your Majesty, that I have not changed any one opinion or resolution since I had first the honour to kiss your Majesty's hands, and of which I then made profession; and that without being constant to every one of them, I cannot be confident to retain honesty enough to be trusted by you: That I am in conscience so entirely devoted to the Government of the Church of England, and to all the rights of it, that I cannot only not contribute, but not consent or submit to, any thing that may reasonably hazard the destruction or real alteration of it; and that I conceive those rights so entire, that a part of it may not be destroyed or disposed of out of any hope to preserve the rest: That I do not more believe that Church to be a true Church, in which a Christian may be saved, than I do believe it impossible to preserve the rights and reverence of the Crown, when the Government of the Church shall be destroyed; and I would have endeavoured to have evinced that proposition by such reasons to your Majesty as I am not myself able to answer. I would have begged your pardon for saying, that if the King, or your Majesty should ever affect such a power, as in my understanding would prove mischievous to yourselves, and destructive to your people, I would with the liberty you vouchsafe me, humbly dissuade you, and use any other lawful and dutiful means to prevent your obtaining it. And by the grace of God, if either of your Majesties shall be ever inclined, under any notion of expedients, to part with and deprive yourselves and the Crown of that power, the parting with which I do clearly believe will prove ruinous to yourselves and the Crown, and pernicious and destructive to your people, I will never consent thereunto, but as far as lawfully I may endeavour all means possible to prevent it. When I had made this humble representation of myself to your Majesty, I would have besought you to consider, whether a man of these opinions and resolutions, and who hath not the dexterity to conceal them (for though I am not bound to publish all my thoughts, I must not suffer any body to have reason to believe that in these points I do think otherwise than in truth I do), be to be trusted in this conjuncture of affairs in a transaction that requires faculties so different from those I am Master of; and then your Majesty would have reserved my service, or directed it to some other part more suitable to the narrowness of my education and understanding. For want of this liberty of casting myself at your feet, I find myself, since my arrival here, and perusal of what hath been agreed, as I am told, with your Majesty's approbation (I mean the circumstances of the Prince's putting himself into the power and disposition of the Scots, upon my Lord Lauderdale's demands, which I expected not) in very great perplexities. For though by the great defeat of Duke Hamilton, the Prince is for the present absolved from those conclusions, yet I am not without fears, that upon some possible revolutions in affairs, your Majesty may expect that service from me, which I am not able to perform. I most humbly beseech your Majesty not to suspect that I have the presumption to conclude all to be ill done, or unfit to be done, in which I cannot bear a part. I know many very wise and honest men differ from me in these opinions, and upon that can give themselves leave to do that which is not lawful for me; nor have I the vanity to believe, that any arguments I can give, would convert others to my sense. And yet I may have reason to believe that most of the

*A.D.* 1648. perſons of honour and intereſt, who have, and at this time do ſuffer in the King's good cauſe, will be exceedingly afflicted to ſee one main pillar of the cauſe in danger to be demoliſhed. All that I beg of your Majeſty in this great agony of mind, is, that I may not loſe your favour (which no man looks upon with greater reverence and ſubmiſſion) for not being wiſer than God hath made me, and for not waiting upon the Prince into Scotland, if his Highneſs ſhould reſolve to go thither upon thoſe terms and conditions, which are now urged; where it is not poſſible for me to do him ſervice, upon thoſe concluſions, which are by others thought neceſſary. But that your Majeſty will vouchſafe to diſpoſe of me to ſome other part of your ſervice, for which I may be more competent. However, I ſhall with all imaginable obedience obſerve your Majeſty's commands in your letter, which I received by my Lord Culpeper, and for which I do with all humility acknowledge your Majeſty's goodneſs and favour to me; nor have I any comfort that ſupports me equal to the hope, that I may live to do your Majeſty ſome ſervice; and that you will ſtill continue me in your gracious acceptation and protection as,

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble,*

*moſt obedient and moſt obliged Servant,*

*Hague, this 22d of Sept.*

EDWARD HYDE.

*An Original. A Copy of it by Mr. Edgman is thus endorſed by Lord Clarendon*; "Draught "of a letter to the Queen, which I after "waved, and writ moſt of it to my Lord "Jermyn by Mr. Freeman."

## *Lord* BYRON's *Relation of his Actions in the Summer*, 1648.

* * * * * * * * * * *

WHILST I expected Duke Hamilton's approach, I had the ſad aſſurance of his overthrow, by the diſordered troops that in great confuſion, came running through thoſe countries, purſued by none but their own fears, and a few country people, encouraged by the ſpoil they got at ſo eaſy a rate. For the Engliſh with Sir Marmaduke Langdale had ſo well deſpatched the buſineſs with Cromwell, that he was in no caſe to follow the execution; ſo that till Duke Hamilton at Utoxeter gave himſelf, and almoſt 400 horſe up to the Lord Grey, there were no expreſſions of joy made for their former victory, nor indeed had they reaſon for it, as ſome of their own party have ſince confeſſed, having loſt ſo many of their beſt men in that ſervice. Whereupon I made what haſte I could to the party I had at Kanrwſt; but before I could come thither, the report of the Scots defeat, and of the enemy's advance upon them with a conſiderable force, had driven them back into Angleſey, whither I was then forced to follow them, though with much difficulty and danger. The Archbiſhop of York, whilſt the Scotch cloud hung over him, made his countrymen believe he was for the King; but no ſooner was that blown away, but he returned to his old miſchievous practices again; and wrought ſo far by ſome agents of his, which he had ſent into Angleſey, that a reſolution was taken not to admit me into the iſland, at leaſt, not acknowledge any command I had there.

And

And had it not been for Colonel Robinſon, and Colonel Whitley (who had brought the horſe I formerly mentioned into the iſland) I had been abſolutely excluded. At length with much difficulty I got over at Aber-menay, being forced to ſwim my horſes; and immediately upon my arrival there, young Bulkeley, the Lord Bulkeley's Son (upon whoſe friendſhip I much relied, and upon whom I intended to confer the chief command of that iſland under myſelf), told me it was the ſenſe and reſolution of all the Gentlemen in the iſland, to govern themſelves according to the commiſſion of array, and not to acknowledge any other command. I was much amazed to hear this from one I ſo little expected it from, and inſtead of a welcome to receive a repulſe. But when I underſtood whence the advice came, my wonder was at an end. For the Archbiſhop of York, for divers reaſons, thought it neceſſary to oppoſe my command in thoſe parts: 1ſt, Becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf of the baſe treachery formerly practiſed againſt me, when he brought the Parliament Forces under Mytton's command to beſiege me at Caernarvon, and perſuaded the Lord Bulkeley, and many other Gentlemen in Angleſey to deſert their allegiance and declare for the Parliament; and therefore made them believe it was very dangerous, that a perſon ſo much injured as I had been, ſhould have any authority amongſt them. 2ndly, He doubted, that if there were a good compliance betwixt me and the Iſlanders, the Iſlanders would be too long maintained againſt the Parliament-forces, and that in the mean time they would quarter in Caernarvonſhire, and principally upon his lands, as being neareſt to Angleſey. Withal he conſidered, that if the iſland ſhould be defended 'till the ſpring (as it might well have been, had any one had the command, but he that undertook it), it might probably be made uſe of, to receive ſuch forces as ſhould be ſent out of Ireland for his Majeſty's ſervice; from whence their paſſage would be through Caernarvonſhire, the place of his reſidence, and where he knew he could not be ſafe, if any that wiſhed well to the King had power there. All theſe things were ſuggeſted by his agents to ſuch as they thought apteſt to receive them; but eſpecially the ambition of the Lord Bulkeley's Son (an ignorant and wilful young man) was made uſe of, perſuading him, that it neither was for his, nor the Welch nation's honour, that a ſtranger, as I was, ſhould command over them, and reap the honour of their actions; that him only they had pitched upon for their General (having power, as the Archbiſhop made them believe, by the commiſſion of array to chooſe their own commander), and him only they would obey. And Colonel Robinſon (though a Gentleman of intereſt and eſtate in the iſland, and the only ſoldier amongſt them, and ſole contriver and manager of the buſineſs, to bring it to that perfection it was in for the King's ſervice), yet becauſe he was ſuſpected to be too much my friend, began now to loſe his credit with the young General; whereas, before I came, nothing was done without his advice. So that finding I could not longer continue there, without diſſervice to the King, and diſhonour to myſelf, I reſolved to depart the iſland, and went to Colonel Robinſon's Houſe near Holy-head, expecting there the firſt fair wind that ſhould blow, either for Ireland, or the Iſle of Man. But before I went (hearing that the Gentlemen of the iſland were to have a meeting near Beaumaris), I writ a letter to them, declaring the commiſſion I had from his Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to confirm the command I formerly had in North-Wales, and my intention to have conferred it (for what con- *A.D.* 1648.

*A.D.* 1648. cerned that iſland) upon Mr. Bulkeley; withal conjuring them, that, howſoever they rejected me, yet they would not deſert their allegiance to the King, nor admit of the treaty, which was then propounded unto them by Commiſſioners from the Parliament. To this (though it was much urged by Chancellor Griffith, a diſcreet and well affected Gentleman) they would not ſo much as vouchſafe me an anſwer; ſo that I made what haſte I could to Colonel Robinſon's houſe; and the rather becauſe ſome of my friends were doubtful, there might be ſome practice in hand, to deliver me up to the Parliament. As for the horſe and foot that came with Colonel Whitley, I procured quarter for them, (not knowing elſe how to diſpoſe of them) and gave them orders to join with Bulkeley, in what concerned the defence of the iſland. The wind continued contrary for above a fortnight after my coming to Colonel Robinſon's Houſe, during which time, the Archbiſhop finding his deſign had proſpered ſo well, as to take the power out of my hands, thought it now eaſy to effect that by force, which he could not by his letters, which he had written almoſt to every Gentleman in the iſland, whereof ſome were ſhewed me, wherein he aſſured them, the King had no viſible force in the Kingdom, and that their hopes of relief by ſea, were as vain; the Prince having been lately ſtruck blind with gunpowder, and thereupon retired into Holland, and the navy diſperſed, and that therefore he had mediated with the Parliament to offer them fair conditions; which being rejected, they were not to expect any favour for the future. But the Iſlanders having lately publiſhed a declaration in very high language for the King, thought it great ſhame ſo ſuddenly to retract, and would not admit of any treaty.

WHEREUPON Mytton, with ſuch forces as he could draw out of North-Wales, and ſome that he procured out of Cheſhire and Shropſhire, being in all about 1500 horſe and foot, marched down to Bangor, on the other ſide of the water. It had been very eaſy to defend the Iſland from a far greater force, had any man of care and judgment had the ordering of the buſineſs, the paſſage betwixt the Iſland and the Continent (where narroweſt) being almoſt muſket ſhot over, and Mytton having but very few boats, and thoſe ſmall ones, to tranſport his men. But young Bulkeley pleaſed himſelf only with the title of General, but did nothing that belonged to the duty of his command, being both ignorant himſelf, and unwilling to be adviſed by thoſe who underſtood any thing. So that the enemy taking advantage of the negligent keeping of the Guards, one night paſſed over as many men as nine boats would carry, (which could not be above nine ſcore), and ſurprized the next Guard.

THE boats that tranſported the men, had been diſcovered the day before, coming from Conway, and might eaſily have been intercepted had Bulkeley (as he was adviſed) manned out ſuch boats as he had at Beaumaris; but he both neglected that, and though the alarm was preſently given of the enemy's landing, and all the beacons fired, yet never endeavoured to oppoſe them, 'till they had tranſported all their men both horſe and foot, and were advanced to the top of the hill above Beaumaris, and then with what horſe and foot he could draw together, fought with them and was preſently routed. Sir Arthur Blayney with ſome other Gentlemen was ſlain. Young Bulkeley with Colonel Whitley and many others got into the Caſtle of Beaumaris. But all their horſes and moſt of their arms were left to the enemy, beſides the plunder of the whole Iſland, where doubtleſs a very rich booty was gotten,

gotten, that country having never 'till then taſted of the war. It pleaſed God that at the ſame time the enemy entered the Iſland, the wind ſtood fair to carry me to the Iſle of Man. Colonel Robinſon upon the alarm, drew all the forces of that part of the country together, and marched towards Beaumaris to have joined with Bulkeley; but by the way met ſo many running from Beaumaris with the news of his defeat, that his men would march no farther with him, but made what haſte they could back again, leaving their Colonel alone to ſhift for himſelf, who thought it ſafer to commit himſelf to the mercy of the ſea in a cock-boat, than to truſt to Mytton's favour, and after a day and a night's rowing arrived ſafe in the Iſle of Man. *A.D.* 1648.

*An Original, endorſed by Lord Clarendon,*
"Lord Byron's Relation of his Actions
"Summer 1648. received from him at the
"Hague 27th of March."

## *Mr.* ALGERNOON SYDNEY *to Mr.* WILLIAM AYLESBURY.

*Sir,*

I RECEIVED a letter from you about a month ago; but being then out of town, I had neither the opportunity of informing myſelf of the buſineſs you mentioned, nor returning you an anſwer, until now. For what concerns your coming hither, I make no doubt but it may be with ſecurity, unleſs you have had a hand in ſome buſineſs that I am ignorant of. I am much more uncertain of your effecting the buſineſs you ſpeak of; for I do not know, that the like hath been obtained, otherwiſe than as a matter of favour by thoſe whom the Parliament hath had a deſire to gratify; unleſs my Lord of Buckingham did make his peace; then his debts would be conſidered in his compoſition. And if my opinion were of value, I ſhould adviſe that he would take this time for that work; for now that all men are inclined to a peace with the King and his party, much more gentleneſs is to be expected than at another time. I do not know how averſe his Lordſhip's intentions and engagements with the Prince may be to this propoſition; you are much a better judge than I. If you have occaſion to write any more to me, you may addreſs your letters as the laſt, and I ſhall be ſure to receive them; and if there be any occaſion for me to ſerve you, you may be ſure that I will employ the ſame care in your buſineſs as you have ever found in

*Your affectionate humble Servant,*

*London, Oct. the 4.*

AL. SYDNEY.

*An Original.*

## *The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

MY Lord Taaffe aſſures me, this aſſembly will never condeſcend to any peace without their Churches &c. be granted to their Clergy; or at leaſt moſt of thoſe now in their own quarters; which does occaſion me to lie at the lodge in your Lordſhip's park, where I know I ſhall have op-

*A.D.* 1648. portunity in theſe two days to come, to talk with many of the aſſembly, unto whom I ſhall preſs the inconvenience that will ariſe thence, as well to themſelves as his Majeſty's ſervice, whoſe condition in England, and expectation of Scotland, renders it neceſſary in order to the preſervation of his intereſts there, that he avoid making any ſuch conceſſions. At this time I ſhall preſs alſo the great advantages they may have by a ſettlement, and the danger they will be in of being utterly extirpated if they do now reject it. But I find that to provide againſt that, they intend, if the King of England will not grant them their conditions, to put themſelves under another Protector; and it is certain that they intend to be ſo much more high in their demands, as they conceive the King low in condition. This moved my patience, and then I preſſed Taaffe to let me know what might be hoped of ſome particular men in the aſſembly; whereupon he deeply ſwore he believed there was not two there that would decline that propoſition for Churches. That there were ſome who would have it inſiſted upon to have a Catholick Government; and many that are earneſt to have Owen ô Neil fairly invited, to conform himſelf to the Council; and that ſome offers are now come from him, which it is thought will not be rejected until the Peace be concluded; but this laſt I have not from Taaffe. There is a motion made to have Biſhop Darcie one of the Commiſſioners, and Taaffe deſired me to know as ſuddenly as might be how far it might ſuit with your Lordſhip's approbation. To which as I anſwered I could not tell, ſo I told him, that the point of religion being like to be the moſt difficult to agree upon, his calling would induce him, to be more violent than any other; the obligations unto that, being always preferred by them to any other conſideration, either of loyalty or the good of the Commonwealth: To which he ſaid, the reaſon inducing him to offer it to your Lordſhip is, that firſt he knows him to be a very moderate man; and then, that he has a very great deſire to redeem ſome former diſſervice done to your Lordſhip; which if he did now by declining ſomewhat of the Propoſition for Churches, it would be of great advantage to render the conditions of peace the more acceptable. But I conceive his juſtifying them being made by others will be of more force than if they were his own act; ſo as I have diſſuaded from it, until he know your Lordſhip's pleaſure. About Saturday I intend to wait on your Lordſhip; and if in the mean time my being here may be of any uſe to your ſervice, it will be the greateſt happineſs that can befall,

*My Lord,*

*Your Excellency's*

*moſt faithful and humble Servant,*

*Inſhivolaghan*, 10 *Oct.* 1648.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

## *The Committee of Eſtates in* Scotland *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

WE have heard ſeveral reports, and ſeen ſome letters giving notice of preparations in Holland by your Highneſs's command for raiſing forces to continue the troubles of theſe Kingdoms. Wherefore, we thought it our

our duty to acquaint your Highneſs with the true ſtate of affairs in this Kingdom; that you may not upon any miſtake be brought into ſnares and dangers; but ſo far as is in our power the ſame may be ſeaſonably prevented. *A.D.* 1648.

THE Duke of Hamilton, and others his aſſociates having reſolved to join in arms, and upon fair and ſpecious pretences engage in a war againſt the Kingdom of England, We did diſſent from, and proteſt againſt the engagement in Parliament, perceiving nothing therein which did promiſe to us ſecurity to religion, happineſs to the King, or peace to thoſe diſtracted Kingdoms. And of late we have been neceſſitated for preſervation of religion, and ourſelves from oppreſſion and ruin, to riſe in arms againſt the authors and promoters of that engagement, who were alſo diſturbing the peace of this Kingdom; as will appear to your Highneſs upon your conſideration of the agreement betwixt them and us, and the declaration ſent by this Gentleman, Lieutenant Colonel Carmichael. And now out of the duty we owe to your Highneſs as our native Prince, and out of the reſpect and tender regard we have to your Honour and happineſs, we have taken the boldneſs to adviſe your Highneſs to be careful and circumſpect, that you be not ſeduced or enſnared by evil Counſel to act in purſuance of the late unlawful engagement, or any otherwiſe to proſecute a courſe of war, to the diſturbance of the peace of theſe Kingdoms; but that your Highneſs would account it a work worthy of you, to endeavour to remove all differences betwixt the King your Royal Father, and his ſubjects in a peaceable manner; and that now, after ſo many diſappointments from God of former projects and deſigns, he may at length agree to the juſt deſires of his people preſented to him in the propoſitions of both Kingdoms at Hampton Court, and eſpecially thoſe which concern the Covenant and the Reformation of Religion; which we are confident is the beſt means for eſtabliſhing the Government of theſe Kingdoms in the Perſon of the King, and his Poſterity, for procuring to him the affections of his people, and the ſettling a firm and laſting peace in their Kingdoms; for attaining whereof we ſhall never be wanting to contribute our beſt endeavours, and to give real evidence that we are,

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*faithful and obedient Servants.*

*Edinburgh, 17th Oct.* 1648.

LOUDON, *Cancellarius.*

SIGNED in the Name and by the Warrant of the Committee of Eſtates.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

## *The Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the* KIRK *of* Scotland *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Pleaſe your Highneſs,*

AS your Royal Progenitors have reigned over this Land for many ages paſt, ſo it is our hearts deſire and prayer unto God that the Government may be continued in the ſame line throughout the Generations that are to come. And it is matter of no ſmall joy unto us, that when your Royal Father, to whom we wiſh many good and happy days, ſhall be gathered

*A.D.* 1648. thered to his Fathers, there wants not a Man of his Loins to ſit upon his Throne, and to ſway the Sceptre of theſe Kingdoms; which are now united, not only under one King, but in one League and Covenant. This Land hath been always loyal unto your Royal Father in the midſt of many ſtrange revolutions, whatever has been ſecretly ſurmiſed, or openly blazed to the contrary; and we are aſſured that they entertain no other thoughts towards your Highneſs. Yet it is no ſmall matter of grief unto all in this nation, who are truly tender of your welfare, that your Highneſs ſhould have had any meaſure of occaſion unto the late unlawful, and ſinful engagement againſt the Kingdom of England, ſo deſtructive to religion, the union betwixt the Kingdoms, and your own Honour and Happineſs. It is no ſmall matter to have ſo ſoon provoked the Lord by countenancing theſe ways, which he has declared himſelf ſo much diſpleaſed with. But we ſhall think it has rather proceeded from the ſuggeſtions and miſinformations of diſaffected men, than from any inclination in yourſelf to make war upon theſe Kingdoms. And therefore we pray your Highneſs to be wiſe in heart, and to conſider whoſe principles and intereſts you own, and whoſe Counſels you follow in the days of your youth. There hath been a great debate and ſharp conteſt in theſe lands now for ten years paſt betwixt the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, and the well affected, who firſt renewed the National Covenant (which was formerly taken by your Highneſs's Grandfather, and his Houſehold, and by him enjoined to be univerſally taken throughout the Kingdom), and afterwards entered into the ſolemn League and Covenant betwixt the Kingdoms. And there has been ſo much of the Lord ſeen in carrying on his work, fighting for his people, breaking the power and diſappointing the purpoſes of adverſaries, many times heretofore, and of late, in a moſt eminent way defeating of the army that invaded England under the conduct of Duke Hamilton, as may convince all how unjuſtly they have troubled the peace of theſe Kingdoms, and how ſore the Lord hath been diſpleaſed with their way. And albeit their eyes are not yet open to behold the Majeſty of the Lord, yet we truſt that God ſhall not ſo far deſert your Highneſs, as to give you over to the Counſel of the ungodly. And therefore from the ſenſe we have of our duty, as the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and the tender reſpect which we owe to your Highneſs as Heir of the Crown, we do ſeriouſly exhort your Highneſs to be diligent in reading the Holy Scriptures, and frequent in prayer for grace and underſtanding; whereby you may be acquainted with the power of the Goſpel, and thoſe things that concern the Kingdom of the Son of God, who is Lord of Lords and King of Kings, may order your converſation aright in the fear of the Lord, and may diſcover, and avoid the ſnares of thoſe who ſeek not you, and your things, but themſelves, and their own things. And we wiſh that it may be your Highneſs's care, as to avoid the counſel and company of wicked men, ſo to make choice of pious and faithful men, who may adviſe you to all things according to the will of God, and that you may incline to the approbation of the Lord's work, and the love of his people, and prefer the intereſts of Jeſus Chriſt unto your own.

We know that, as all the actions of thoſe who have entered in Covenant in theſe Kingdoms, are miſrepreſented unto your Highneſs, ſo the League and Covenant itſelf. But we are perſuaded there is not a better means for ſecuring the King's Throne, and making of theſe Nations happy in the fruits of religion, righteouſneſs and peace, than that your Royal Father, and

your

your Highneſs ſhould join in this League and Covenant; which is the prayer, and would be the exceeding great joy of *A.D.* 1648.

*Your Highneſs's*

*Edinburgh, 17 Oct.* 1648. *humble Servants.*

THE Commiſſioners of the general Aſſembly. Subſcribed in their Names.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Lord Clarendon.*

Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS, *Moderator.*

CHARLES R.

*To our deareſt Son the Prince of* WALES. †

WE have cauſed to be tranſmitted to you this Journal of what paſſed in the treaty in the Iſle of Wight betwixt us, and the Commiſſioners of our two Houſes of Parliament. Beſides which, having for our own uſe made ſome memorials upon the whole, we have thought fit to depoſite them with you, ſince they may be of future concernment to you.

HEREIN we reſolve to contain ourſelf within a narrative, and to make no obſervation, nor uſe any reaſon, but what is very natural to, and neceſſary for the true underſtanding of the buſineſs in agitation, believing no dreſs will ſo well become truth, as her own ſhape.

WHAT followeth then is, firſt, to give you a view of thoſe things that were preparatory to this treaty; Secondly, Thoſe that were acted in the treaty; And laſtly, what is to be obſerved from both.

THE ſpring head of this Kingdom's miſeries is too well known; we have no pleaſure to lead any to that fountain. Whatever falſe gloſſes have been put on our actions, evident it is to the moſt ſober ſort of men, that all our endeavours have tended to preſerve our people in their religion and liberties, as well as to maintain the undoubted and juſt rights of our Crown.

WE can have no better evidence of this, than our continued meſſages and conceſſions both before the ſword was drawn, as thoſe from Hampton Court, York, and Nottingham, and after, as in divers collections may be ſeen. And having found all the means fruitleſs, and reſolving to let nothing be unattempted that might probably reſtore the peace of theſe ſelf deſtroying Kingdoms, our paſſionate deſire herein led us to warrant our Commiſſioners at the treaty at Uxbridge begun January 1644, to propoſe our perſonal going up to London to treat with our two Houſes for a compoſure of differences; believing, if it pleaſed God we might once again have met them there, our reaſons would have had ſuch influence on them, and their deſires on us, that their demands would have been ſuch as we might have granted, and our conceſſions ſuch as they could not have refuſed. And this we did at a time (whatever our misfortunes have been ſince), when our condition of ſtrength was as conſiderable as their's that did oppoſe us.

† "Every night, when the King was alone, about eight of the clock, except when he was "writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him, and he looked over the notes "of that day's treaty, and the reaſons upon which it moved; and ſo dictated the heads of a deſ-"patch, which, from time to time, he made concerning this treaty unto his preſent Majeſty, then "Prince: And this, Mr. Oudart, whoſe hand his Majeſty uſed in thoſe deſpatches, tranſcribed."
Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, P. 325. *See alſo* Hiſt. Rebellion, B. 11.

*A.D.* 1648. SINCE which time we have continued to preſs for a perſonal treaty; and when we were laſt at Hampton Court, there were many ſeemed to give us, not only hopes of obtaining it, but concurred in opinion how uſeful it might be, to the end we ſought it.

THE reaſons therefore that made us ſo inceſſantly by divers late meſſages preſs for a perſonal treaty were, becauſe we had found all other ways ineffectual; becauſe we could ſhew, we could not believe our two Houſes, by our long reſtraint intended more than a violent perſuading us to concede all demanded, but not to a cutting off of all future intercourſe betwixt us and them; becauſe we found at that time the moſt of our ſubjects in our Kingdoms both of England and Scotland, much grieved at, and diſreliſhed with our being in the hands of the army; and thereupon were ready to aſſert their own and our liberty; which being likely to engage all in a new war, was moſt likely to be prevented by a perſonal treaty: And laſtly, becauſe we conceived no time would have been more proper to perſuade our two Houſes to an intelligence with us, than when it was evident to them, how paſſionate the deſires of our people were thereunto, whom they ſo often ſay they repreſent.

WE cannot poſitively ſay, whether by the indefatigable endeavours of many prudent and peaceable ſpirited men by petitions from without, or from motions within our two Houſes, their reſolution to treat with us proceeded: Or, whether it were the diſtemper of the times made it by a politick conſideration fit for them to have ſuch a treaty on foot. But Auguſt the 3d the Houſes vote to treat with us perſonally by a Committee of their's in the Iſle of Wight; which being made known to us, we declined preſſing how improperly this could be called a perſonal treaty; but ſince they ſaid it ſhould be tranſacted with honour, freedom, and ſafety, we accepted it there, remembering them, that it was the definition and not the names of things, which makes them rightly known, and therefore deſired them to hold to thoſe grounds; ſhewed them that this way of treating by Commiſſioners might be fit to begin a treaty eſpecially, if they came down fully authorized and inſtructed. However, it was conſiderable how great a loſs of time it would be, to treat ſo far from the body of our two Houſes, when every ſmall debate (of which doubtleſs there will be many) muſt be tranſmitted to Weſtminſter before it could be concluded; and how unapt a means it would be to ſettle men's minds, that we enjoyed a neceſſary freedom for a treaty of this nature, in this place.

WE forgot not to be inſtant, that we might know the true ſtate of all our dominions without diſguiſe, and of all thoſe whoſe intereſts were neceſſarily concerned in the peace of theſe Kingdoms, and that we might have had leave to invite the Scots, to have treated upon ſuch propoſitions as they ſhould make, in order to a durable peace; declaring, as we were King of both Nations, ſo none ſhould be more zealouſly affected for the good of both, without partiality or prejudice to either. But the Houſes excluded the Scots from any things but thoſe that had reference to the affairs of that Kingdom; and we believing we might more properly inſiſt on their intereſt when the Commiſſioners attended us, reſolved to make no anſwer, that might defer the treaty, and ſo reſerved it for a propoſition of our own.

2. MONDAY the 18th we began the treaty with the Commiſſioners of our two Houſes; who preſenting us their commiſſion, we found it agreed with

with the first votes, to treat with us personally upon the propositions pre- *A.D.* 1648.
sented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the Kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such other propositions as should be offered either by us, or both Houses of Parliament, according to their instructions, &c. Whereupon, we finding Scotland excluded, whose interest by the proposition of Hampton Court was so interwoven, that they were scarce separable, we acquainted the Commissioners that though their commission warranted them not to treat about the Scots interest, yet we, as King of both Nations, were to endeavour, that the present differences might not be seeds of future disturbances: And thereupon offered them a paper as a proposition of our's, to send to the two Houses of Parliament concerning the Scots, withal remembering them, that we never did consent (nor willingly would) that the Scotch Nation should have interest in the Government of this Kingdom; and therefore, we might the freelier press, that as well in relation of the durable peace of this Kingdom, as the present peace of Scotland, [that] the Scots might send some authorized by them, with their desires in order to a peace. But this was alleged by the Commissioners to be out of their power to transmit, as referring to that Kingdom; and withal in duty to us (as they professed) they gave us notice of what great danger this paper would be to this treaty, if sent at that time. Whereupon, we declined sending it by a messenger of our own, as was once our resolution, because we were most unwilling to give occasion of any disputes so early; and believing when we had gotten a good understanding betwixt us, and our two Houses for what concerned England, we might the easier compose that of Scotland.

This business thus laid aside, the Commissioners presented us their first proposition; whereupon we desired a sight of all the propositions together. Their answer was, they were not warranted thereunto. But we insisting on it, they referred us to the printed book of the propositions of Hampton Court. This admitting the reply, how Scotland was mentioned in most of those propositions, as then penned, upon some debate they told us, that a copy of what they had prepared for their own use, as separated from what concerns Scotland, they would give us, but not by way of treaty. And with this difficulty we had a sight of the propositions entirely. But though their commission referred to instructions, and so in all treaties the instructions were to be esteemed a part of their commission, yet when we demanded them, they were plainly refused.

Then they expressed to us, their instructions directed them to treat upon the propositions for 40 days, beginning with the proposition they had presented us, for recalling declarations, &c. next, that of the Church; then, the Militia; and fourthly, Ireland; afterwards, all the rest as they lay in order; declaring by their instructions they were not to begin a new proposition before they had our final answers to what was first in treaty.

The severity of this course, not only in the method and order of the propositions, which to any sober man was a very visible design, but the being bound up to conclude one proposition before another was entered on, necessitated us to demand;

Whether they had any power to consent to any omissions or alterations, if in any matter of debate, we should give such reasons as should satisfy them of the fitness of any such omission or alteration. To which we received a very magisterial reply; That they were ready by debate to shew

*A.D.* 1648. how reaſonable their deſires were; and that there would be no reaſon they ſhould alter or recede from them. But if we did ſatisfy them, then they ſhould do therein, as they were warranted by their inſtructions. The beſt we could collect out of this, was, that their office towards us, was to preſs us to conceſſions, never to acknowledge themſelves ſatisfied, though they were ſo; and we, to truſt to their ingenuity how they would report it to the Houſes. To whom we knew how cautious their deſpatches muſt needs be, leſt that might ſeem compliance with us, which was ſubmiſſion to reaſon, or leſt they ſhould not appear vigorous aſſertors of the reaſonableneſs of the Houſes deſires.

THUS, in this place, with Commiſſioners thus limited, upon propoſitions of ſo unuſual a nature (being indeed almoſt a frame of new Government, both in civil and eccleſiaſtick buſineſs) and digeſted into the aforeſaid order; we were either to treat, or elſe we foreſaw, that upon the leaſt exceptions of ours to any of theſe particulars, the whole treaty would ſuddenly have been broken off.

THIS put us to a great trouble of mind, as being irreſolute what choice to make; the danger that threatened our own perſon was of the leaſt conſideration with us. We reſolved, as to do nothing ſhould blemiſh a cauſe clearly ſupported by the laws of God and the Land, when the grounds of our proceedings might truly be underſtood, ſo would we not, for fear of vulgar noiſe, or miſinterpretation, be led to forget in what ſtorm and danger, both ourſelf and Kingdoms were, by declining thoſe prudential means, might (in wiſe men's judgments) ſupport and vindicate both, in the future.

WE ſoon perceived the art of theſe maſter-workmen, who laid the firſt propoſition as a ſtone of offence, which contained in it, all that was popular; *viz.* ſecurity to our two Houſes and all that had adhered to them, (which was the ſubſtance of the propoſition itſelf), and all that was ſeemingly to juſtify the war undertaken, (which was the preamble thereof) uſing this artifice, that by demanding what they knew we were ready to grant, ſecurity; they might likewiſe oblige us to paſs along with it, what we had all reaſon to oppugn, juſtification.

THIS neceſſitated us to think very ſadly on this particular, which we were once reſolute to have denied, and ſo to have hazarded the breaking off the treaty, in the entrance into it. But firſt, as a thing we might well do, we reſolved to concede, what was the body of the propoſition, *viz.* To recall all declarations, oaths, &c. and to omit the preamble. In the words therefore of the propoſition, we granted that part, but it being ſoon perceived by them what we had left out; we immediately received a paper from them, expreſſing we had not anſwered an eſſential part of the propoſition and therein they recite the words. Whereas both Houſes of Parliament have been neceſſitated to undertake a war in their juſt and lawful defence, and that the Kingdom of England hath entered into a ſolemn League and Covenant to proſecute the ſame, &c. Upon debate afterwards, as well as by that paper, they preſſed, how neceſſary a foundation our conſent hereunto would be for a firm peace, and how great an expectation both Houſes and the Kingdom had thereof.

THE firſt argument that was uſed for it was, that the two Houſes and Kingdom could not decline this particular, tending ſo much to their ſecurity, ſince by the letter of the law, thoſe that had adhered to the two Houſes, might be guilty of raiſing war againſt his Majeſty, and ſo within the ſtatute of 25 E. 3.

25 E. 3. whilſt by the conſtruction and equity of it, they were juſtified; and other things to this ſenſe, diſtinguiſhed betwixt our perſon and authority. Next was a thunder-clap twice repeated from one that moved in the higheſt orb of this buſineſs. How he did tremble to think, how ſad the conſequence would be, if it were denied. Others pretended, that part of this propoſition we had granted, was but to reverſe what was done againſt them, and that might imply a guilt; which was hoped his Majeſty would not have lie againſt his two Houſes. And it was much preſſed, his Majeſty had granted the like preamble to the Scots; and the arguments cloſed with this; That the two Houſes having made this deſire, could not decline it without much reflecting on themſelves. *A.D. 1648.*

HERE we were put to a great ſtreſs, how to anſwer theſe, or other like arguments; becauſe we had reſolved not to bring the merits of the cauſe to queſtion. And indeed we muſt acknowledge that our late and long reſtraint in the Caſtle, was not ſuch an evidence of the captivity of our perſon, as this was of our mind; that both in this and moſt other particulars, we were forced to decline thoſe reaſons, that beſt ſupported our cauſe, and to frame others ſeaſonable and fit, to be offered to men, who were to give and not receive conditions. And therefore we declined the firſt argument that was grounded upon the letter and equity of the law, that diſtinguiſhed betwixt our perſon and authority, without ſaying more, than, that how thoſe diſtinctions would hold, we were not fully ſatisfied. But we declared our aim was, to ſecure all our ſubjects in their lives and fortunes, and to remove all fears and animoſities. The former of which we conceived was done by what we granted, and the latter would be beſt done, by taking away all diſtinctions among our ſubjects; we being willing it ſhould be penal for either ſide to reproach the other. We told them, we looked upon the rule of government now to be agreed on, as the beſt ground of the future peace; whilſt the giving countenance by any paſſage in a new law, to pretend where the right formerly lay, was but to revive thoſe differences we ſought to bury; it being impoſſible, that any declaration in any Act of Parliament ſhould make men judge that right, they believed not to be ſo. It might oblige to an outward obedience, it could not to an inward belief. And thus we waved, what we could better have replied; that the letter of the law, and the practice of the law until theſe times, ever was interpreted the equity of the law; for if the grammatical ſenſe, and the practice may be both laid aſide, upon pretence of an equitable conſtruction, no man that can be ſucceſsful by force to overthrow the law, but will be able enough afterwards to put ſuch an interpretation on it, as may make it ſpeak his juſtification.

FOR that argument, that urged a recalling declarations was but like a reverſal, and implied a guilt; we ſoon anſwered, that, becauſe the words were not only to make void, but null, that is, as if never any ſuch thing had been. The Scots example was ingeniouſly acknowledged by the urger of it, that the acts were framed, when we were not in perſon there, nor had ſo much as a Commiſſioner to repreſent us. Beſides, we added one other circumſtance, that our Attorney that drew the acts, was of the party againſt us; that that preamble, and all other appellations, as thoſe of loyal ſubjects and good Chriſtians, we remembered were upon their return to their obedience and cloſe of the treaty; and when that was the caſe, we ſhould as willingly give our Engliſh ſubjects content, as ever we had done our Scotch. Laſtly, for the pretence, that becauſe they had demanded it, they

*A.D.* 1648. could not decline it; we replied, the neceſſity was of their own creating. For both at Oxford treaty, which was a treaty by Commiſſioners with ourſelf, and at Uxbridge betwixt our's and their Commiſſioners, they never had required the ſame. And then, when we had power in our hands, it moſt concerned them to have juſtified their cauſe; but that it was firſt deſired of us at New Caſtle, when our condition was not much unlike our preſent ſtate.

After theſe and other arguments of this kind, in all which it was aſſured us, this could not reflect upon, or condemn us, and that our adherents, or party, were to be otherwiſe ſecured; all unanimouſly profeſſing they could not believe themſelves ſecure, if thoſe words were omitted; we finding it *Cauſa ſine qua non*, took ſome time to give our anſwer, and upon our moſt ſerious thoughts, we took a view of our own ſtate and that of our Kingdoms; and conſidered, firſt, that if we had broken off with them in the entrance into this treaty, it would have been laid to our charge, that having with much earneſtneſs deſired a treaty, when we had obtained ſuch a one, as we accepted (though not as we aſked) we made no uſe of it: And that we were more eſpouſed to our own opinions than to that care we ought to have of ourſelf and people, both at that time in very ill condition. And therefore we were reſolved to do all we could. And we hope, though we lie upon the cenſure, before the grounds we proceed on, be known; yet when they are examined, it will appear to men of ſober judgments, we have not in all we have done, choſe ſin to avoid miſery.

The firſt thought therefore, that led us to conſent to this preamble, was the reflection on our own condition, being in durance, and ſo could not without imminent and neceſſary danger aſſert a truth, whereunto (we conceive) men are not always bound. Next, that our giving way to a recital of their's in a new law (which was not a declaratory law of what was the law formerly in being, concerning the buſineſs in queſtion, whether their defence were juſt and lawful, but in nature only of a preamble to a law, for recalling declarations, &c.) did not make their defence lawful, if it were not ſo before. Nor did it take away from any of our adherents (before an upright judge) any defence the benefit of former laws gave them. And if a paſſage in a new law might acquit the one ſort of men, ſurely the direct words in ſo many old laws not repealed, but in force, could not but, before the ſame judge, be of the ſame virtue, in behalf of another ſort of men. And we ſuppoſe all diſintereſted perſons both abroad and at home could not but judge the war lawful on our parts, ſince we had (even when we were ſtrongeſt) ever ſubmitted our adherents to any trial by the known and practiſed laws. And in our loweſt condition it may be remembered, how often that hath been our anſwer, for (as they term them) delinquents: And even ſince thoſe that adhere to us, have been caſt into their hands, how ſhy they have been, and why, to make the law the rule of their trial, is notoriouſly known.

If the caſe were not really thus, what needed all this artifice and force to draw from us a juſtification? What needed all thoſe preſſures, that, by Act of Parliament, we would ſubject thoſe of our party, to a trial by both Houſes? What needed all this ado, that we might paſs not an act, but a paſſage in an act (the act itſelf being of another nature), we cannot ſay to juſtify, but rather to countenance them. Beſides, our granting of what was

now

now desired could not amount to an averring this preface as true, but made it only a part of the agreement now to be made for the future. *A.D.* 1648.

THIS being the extent of the preamble desired, and we considering in how distracted a state our Kingdoms were, and what advantage it would be to those, that by their wild new principles sought the subversion of all; and from all hands it being represented to us, that unless we satisfied our two Houses, they would be never able to have any influence or power on the army, and so the whole Kingdom fall into the hands of a levelling Council, and both King and two Houses laid aside, or at least the two Houses so purged and modelled, that they should but be left ministerial to the army's devices: We resolved (though we foresaw the aspersions it made us liable to), after the example of many great Princes in their necessities, to condescend thereunto; considering, that such concessions in transactions of this nature are, to common intendment, and in the construction of experienced men, understood rather as a useful medium of composure, than any justification of a cause: And that, as with all men, so especially among Princes, the rule of charity which looks to the good and peace of many is to be preferred before the publick maintaining the right of any one single case. And if the bowels of compassion to our people in general, subject us to any private censures, for this cause, we may truly say, it is but a part of the price we have paid for the peace of them and our dominions.

BUT because we would provide no ill use might be made of this concession, we first delivered in another paper, which contained our declaration, that nothing which should be put in writing concerning a proposition, or part of a proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or in any manner made use of, if the treaty should break off, upon any other proposition, or part of any proposition, unless it shall be otherwise especially agreed; and this we gave in the 25th of September, and the 30.

AND thus you have the debate and reasons that led us to grant the first proposition in these words following. "In answer to the first proposition "given to his Majesty upon Monday the 18th of this instant September, his "Majesty doth consent thereunto, as is desired." And the 30th [*we*] received the like declaration from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, in the very words of our declaration; so as, without violating the same, no ill use could be made of our granting this proposition during the treaty; and if the treaty break off, then all was to be understood *quasi non dictum*, as if nothing had been done. And thus,

THE next proposition was that of the Church; wherein we apprehended, upon the desire of the utter abolishing Bishops, the total alienating their lands, and the Covenant, which was likewise presented us, to take ourself and impose on others, occasions might be taken to break with us on this proposition. And therefore we conceived there lay a necessity on us, to make such a proposition of our own, as might in one view shew our two Houses and people, how much we would sacrifice of our own right and dignity for their peace; which we thought would likewise be a means to prevent the designs of any, who would have endeavoured upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to have broken off the whole treaty: And likewise by our concessions upon the whole, to have made the two Houses more flexible upon some particulars, we made concessions of. Our proposition desired but three things, our liberty, revenue, and an act of

*A.D.* 1648. oblivion; which laſt though it might be conceived of greateſt uſe at preſent for our adherents, yet we knew how inwardly grateful it would be to thoſe that ſeemed to value it leaſt. We will not trouble you with the occaſion of the diſpute, why the Commiſſioners would not ſend it up, it being ſaid to contain an anſwer to all their propoſitions as well as to be a propoſition of our own. Nay, we were told it ſeemed to cajole the people; and we replied, it better became a Prince to cajole his people, than any body elſe, eſpecially ſince it was by a conceſſion of moſt things deſired in their name; and if any body would deal with us ſo, we ſhould thank them. But the Commiſſioners would not; and we did tranſmit it to the Houſes, and it was returned us, voted unſatisfactory, but no particular diſſatisfactions aſſigned. But before this returned, we were in treaty with the Commiſſioners about the propoſition of the Church which contained in it, as to the Church eſtabliſhed, theſe things to be removed.

1. The Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, &c. and the lands of Biſhops, to be ſold to the uſe of the commonwealth.

2. The Common Prayer and publick Liturgy in the Church to be taken away; in lieu whereof we had one general article which we conceive contained all the particulars following. The general article was, that reformation of religion according to the Covenant, in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree after conſultation with Divines, be ſettled by Act of Parliament. This we conceive exceeds the implicit faith of the Church of Rome, which obliges her Proſelytes to what ſhe doth, but not to what ſhe ſhall hold. The particulars were, eſtabliſhing the form of Church Government, which was Presbyterial; the Directory; the Articles of Chriſtian Religion, preſented to us; the ſuppreſſing innovations in Churches; the better advancement of preaching; and the obſervation of the Lord's Day; the bill againſt pluralities, and non-reſidency; and the ſeveral acts againſt Papiſts, with the taking and impoſing of the Covenant.

The ordinance for ſitting of the aſſembly of Divines, and the reforming and regulating the Univerſities and Schools, were not we conceive under the general head.

Concerning the firſt point, the abolition of Biſhops, we had a conference with the Commiſſioners, and with the Divines. The Divines arguments are too long to be abbreviated; thoſe that will ſatisfy themſelves thereof, muſt read them at large; and then we ſhall willingly leave it to determination, whether they were not more apt to increaſe doubts of conſcience than to relieve from them. For we conceive it is evident they acknowledge, that the Apoſtles, being ſingle perſons did exerciſe the ſame power of ordination, direction, and cenſures, which Biſhops formerly have ſince done. And that Timothy and Titus being ſingle perſons did by their appointment exerciſe the ſame power. But they alledged this was by virtue of their extraordinary calling, as Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, or elſe as ordinary Presbyters, and not as Biſhops. They likewiſe acknowledged the Angels of the Churches did, or might exerciſe the ſame power, but affirmed thoſe Angels were to be underſtood collectively, and not of ſingle perſons; and to this ſenſe they interpreted the places of Scripture we pointed at for the proof of the right of Epiſcopacy; xiv Acts 23. vi Acts 6. 1 Cor. xvi. 11. 1 Cor. xiv. 1 Cor. v. 3. 3d Eph. to 10. 1 Tim. v. 22. Tit. i. 5. Rev. ii and iii Chap. 1 Tim. v. 19. Tit. iii. 10. Whereas the

the Fathers generally, and many learned men of the reformed Churches, *A.D.* 1648. differ from them in this interpretation.

So as whether Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, left this or any other form of Government to be perpetually obſerved in the Chriſtian Churches, being examined only as a queſtion of fact; the queſtion that thereupon will ariſe, will be, whether uſage and practice in matters of fact is not the moſt proper convincing evidence. And the Government of the Chriſtian Churches for 1500 [*Years*,] and particularly of this Church of England both before and ſince the reformation, by conſtant and uniform practice and uſage (even by the oppoſers of Epiſcopacy) cannot but be acknowledged to have been by Biſhops; which practice and uſage, beſides the proof of the fact, doth much ſtrengthen the interpretation of the former places of Scripture, alledged by us in a contrary ſenſe, to what the Divines put upon them.

Now, whether it will appear reaſonable we ſhould admit their interpretation, or be led by the example of the Apoſtles, and Timothy and Titus, who as ſingle perſons exerciſed the powers, and which by the conſtant uſage and interpretation of the Chriſtian Church ever ſince have been kept in ſingle perſons, we ſubmit to judgment.

Arguments we had of another nature from the Commiſſioners, as from men of another calling, which we think fit rather to mention the ſcope of [them], than the arguments and anſwers at large.

First it was preſſed much, that whatever was not of Divine or Apoſtolical Inſtitution, we need not ſcruple to alter; for if it had it's original from men, by men it might be changed. That the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, &c. as eſtabliſhed in this Church by the laws of the land, were not the Biſhops in Scripture: And therefore the laws concerning them might be taken away.

And it was acknowledged, that even this conſideration had induced many men that allowed Biſhops, yet to take the Covenant, which obliged to the taking the preſent Hierarchy away. To make ſhort, this argument was by divers with ſeveral ſenſes preſſed upon us. And we hoping, that a complying in all we could ſafely do would have led them to have ſpared us in what we could not, did acknowledge what by Princes was conferred, might by them upon neceſſity be taken away. We were much preſſed with the argument that we had declared Epiſcopacy unlawful in Scotland. But we ſhewed *unlawful* was an equivocal word; and that in the Scotch act it implied no more, than that Government was never ſettled by law in that Kingdom; for it was alledged the reformation there was made without continuing Biſhops, and that Biſhops afterwards were never legally introduced in that Kingdom; which occaſions the expreſſion in the act, that Biſhops were unlawful *in Scotland*; but if Epiſcopacy had been unlawful in itſelf, it had been unlawful every where.

We were not inſenſible of the objection made unto us, that our opinion of a neceſſity of continuing Biſhops in the Church condemned the reformed Churches that had not retained them. We may reply, we are loath to give offence to any good Chriſtians, but think they whom it concerns will ſooner admit our anſwer, than others, whom it ſhould leſs concern, when we ſay that we are not bound to offend our own conſcience to maintain an opinion that may reflect on others, that we believe the reformed Churches would be

*A.D.* 1648. so charitable to think this was neceſſary to juſtify ourſelf, but could but be inferred to cenſure them.

And, that their practice was warranted by their own belief and reaſon, and not to be overthrown becauſe we were not of their opinion; for we knew, 'till theſe laſt ſeven years, both our Church and their's have acknowledged a harmony, though we differed in point of Government. And if with brotherly affection we all this time ſince the reformation kept the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace, why we ſhould now differ, we could not imagine. Beſides, it was notoriouſly known, how many of the reformed Churches, as in Denmark, Sweden, &c. retained Epiſcopacy; and the Lutherans preſerve the office though they have changed the name to Superintendant. Beſides, where Epiſcopacy was not, the chief of their Divines as Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, had approved our Epiſcopal Government in their writings; many other things might be ſaid, as obſtacles to them, in reſpect of the civil Government, for retaining or reviving it. In a word we commend them for retaining the reformed doctrine; and we know ſome of them have bewailed themſelves they had not likewiſe the Government of this Church.

To come to what we conceded in this particular, we offered to conſent to an Act for taking away Archbiſhops, Deans, and Chapters, &c. though we expreſſed, we conceived they were ſuperinduced in the Church as of excellent uſe by Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution. Nay, for the Biſhop himſelf, as eſtabliſhed in this Church, we preſerved him only with power of ordination, having therein the advice and conſent of his Presbyters, and all other parts of juriſdiction were ſubmitted to the civil power, and for us and our two Houſes to determine of; and the whole Epiſcopal office for three years we ſuſpended.

Besides, we conſented to the form of Church Government preſented by the two Houſes for three years; deſired a conſultation with Divines, twenty of our nomination being added; that thereupon we and our two Houſes might ſettle the future Government after three years; profeſſing, if we were in the mean time convinced that the function of Biſhops was not agreeable to the word of God, or Chriſt commanded any other, we would embrace that, and take away Epiſcopacy; ſo as there lay no neceſſity on our Houſes to preſs us to a preſent abolition of Biſhops. In us it was a caſe of conſcience not to do it.

So, as we conceived, by this offer we anſwered all thoſe arguments that pretended the State of the Church was founded in Prelacy by the Kings and Nobles, &c. as in the preamble of the Statute of Carliſle. For having now to the civil power ſubmitted all that the civil power could give them, it would appear no politick conſideration ſtirred us up to maintain Biſhops. We had preſerved the Biſhop with his power in ordination, that we might preſerve an undoubted ſucceſſion in the Miniſtry (which this Church never had wanted), and by whom the word and Sacraments might be conveyed to our people.

And if it be objected, why do we then ſuſpend them for three years? They that aſk the queſtion, know who put the neceſſity upon us; but for a cloſer anſwer, we reply, we did it for three years only becauſe we were confident, by the preſent Biſhops and lawful Miniſters, there cannot be a want of right Miniſters (if they be not interdicted) for preſent ſervice in the Church, nor of ſucceſſion afterwards. And if in three years it appeared to

us,

us, ordination might be good without Biſhops, we could then have come nigher to our two Houſes deſire. *A.D.* 1648.

From this that hath been ſaid, we hope among men (as we doubt not it doth before God) it will appear, that where our conſcience doubted, we would not force it; and where our reaſon was ſatisfied, that men muſt be ignorant and unjuſt, (as in the preamble of the firſt propoſition) if they made ill uſe of it, though the matter were more ſubject to miſinterpretation and ſeemed of a worſe dye; as the having juſtified the two Houſes arms. Yet ſuch was our paſſion for peace, that we valued not the prejudice thereof for a time, knowing it would be clear, when we ſhould think fit to publiſh the grounds of that conceſſion; and, finding that without it, we had been aſperſed as having no affection, nor inclination fully to ſecure our Houſes, and to join in procuring a peace.

We expreſſed farther how we were obliged by our Coronation Oath, which was no other than Queen Elizabeth, and our Father had taken. That this oath obliged us, as being made to a particular body of men. And when it was much preſſed upon us, if this oath bound us, we reſtrained our legiſlative power, we ſhewed that in our judgment, this being an evil in it's own nature (to aboliſh Epiſcopacy), this was not a reſtraint of the legiſlative power, but a non-exerciſe of it where we could not do it *ſalvâ conſcientiâ*.

The Biſhops' lands, we deſired their Divines opinions in it, but it was not willingly granted, and we preſſed it no farther. The example of H. 8. (who here was thought a good precedent) and E. 6. a minor King, were uſed. But, *a facto ad jus non valet argumentum*. What ſeemed to have moſt weight, was, before the Statute of 13 Eliz. the Biſhop and his Chapter might aliene, and ſo the Incumbent, with the conſent of his Patron and Ordinary, &c. And when the Clergy did it, it was no ſacrilege, why ſhould it be ſo when the civil power did it? But upon examination this argument was ſoon ſalved. For it is true the Biſhops by the common law might aliene the inheritance of their Churches, but were not truſted to do it themſelves, without the conſent of Dean and Chapter, whom the law eſteemed would not conſent thereunto *ſine cauſa utili et neceſſaria*: For in caſe it were made to the prejudice of the Church (the Dean and Chapter conſenting contrary to the truſt repoſed in them) though then the alienation held between the parties, nevertheleſs in this caſe it was a breach of truſt in all of them, and they were dilapidators of the Church, and deprivable by Eccleſiaſtical laws; of which the Common Law took notice. So as what was a breach of truſt in thoſe that did aliene without benefit to the Church, was no argument to a King to induce him to conſent to do the like.

It was ſubtilely preſſed, as in a caſe of theft every man was bound to reſtore what was taken away, ſo much more upon ſacrilege. We ſoon perceived what this argument drove at, *viz.* to engage not only thoſe that now bought theſe lands, but who ever poſſeſt any of the former. To which we replied, and ſeriouſly, that we uſed arguments to divert the recommitting the like, but not to queſtion the former; nor were we of the opinion, that when the ſupreme power had aliened thoſe lands, ſuch perſons as held them by deſcent or future purchaſe, were obliged to reſtitution, but where their own conſciences ſcrupled.

Many prudential reaſons we had, which we will omit: One, where we ſhewed by an ordinance tendered to us, to confirm, that we made void all ordination of Miniſters ſince September 1646, and took away all future

*A.D.*1648. power of ordination. But we were told ſome ordinances ſince remedied that; and yet we were to do it. Thus looſe was Church Government. We ſhewed likewiſe, Epiſcopacy was ſo interwoven in the laws of this land, that we apprehended the pulling out this thread, was like to make the whole garment ravel.

Concerning the Covenant, we gave theſe reaſons againſt it; that the whole frame of it, involves the Scots; and this treaty, contrary to our deſire, excludes them; that the ends of it by offering to diſſolve the Hierarchy were ſatisfied. That hereby we ſhould ſwear to maintain our own juſt rights &c. at a time when we were preſſed to part with ſo much by thoſe that had taken that oath. That we knew not how to oblige ſundry men to endeavour the extirpation of that order and government, which in their judgments and conſciences they thought fitteſt to be continued. Since many that could ſubmit to a law after it was made, would make conſcience of entering a covenant to aboliſh a ſettled law. We deſire them to conſider how dangerous it was, either to force men to do ſo, or to give example that men may enter covenants againſt ſettled laws; ſince any that have power to repeal laws, need not encourage the taking a covenant, to that purpoſe. And ſuch as have not the power, if they may enter ſuch a covenant, may overthrow not only one law, but all the laws. That we had great reaſon to avoid the taking or impoſing oaths in theſe times, when ſuch latitude of ſeveral ſenſes was given, &c.

To the things deſired to be introduced in the Church we gave theſe anſwers. The form of Church Government and Directory ſhould be ſettled for three years; the Common Prayer only preſerved for our own Chapel; the Articles of Chriſtian Religion to be examined by the Divines; to the ſuppreſſing innovations in Churches and Chapels; the better advancement of preaching, and the obſervation of the Lord's Day. Againſt Pluralities and Non-reſidency (which particulars how they are now obſerved is known) we granted as deſired. Only ſome expreſſions in the ordinances, as drawn, we excepted againſt. And all that concerned Papiſts, was granted. And thus to this ſcantling we drew it. And though our conſcience was ſupported by laws in being, yet how the few particulars we could not in conſcience conſent unto, and required but time to debate, were returned us by the Houſes unſatisfactory, you well underſtand.

The Aſſembly of Divines we aſſented to confirm, adding twenty upon our nomination; and likewiſe to the act of reforming the Univerſities and Schools. From the former whereof men of learning and piety were ejected for obſerving the ſtatutes, (we may ſay of one Univerſity the whole Corporation), as heretofore ſingle perſons were for breaking them. Now, whereas we found Presbytery got into poſſeſſion, and ourſelf to be out of power to ſupport Epiſcopacy by law: To move for a debate (leaving the poſſeſſion as it ſtands for a time) we ſaw to be the beſt way left us to ſupport Epiſcopacy.

And thus we have done with the long buſineſs of the Church; the next, the Militia.

The Militia was preſented to us, as the darling Propoſition. We obſerved it contained, a power of twenty years to the Lords and Commons, to arm, train, and diſcipline all the forces of the Kingdom of England, and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, the Iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, already raiſed, both for ſea and land ſervice, with like power to raiſe, levy, arm, &c. any other forces, &c. as in

their

their judgments from time to time, &c. they ſhould think fit, excluding the King, &c. *A.D.* 1648.

HERE the Kingdom of Ireland which ever depended on the Crown, and the Iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey, which were a part of the Dutchy of Normandy, were put into the hands of the two Houſes.

WE apprehended this might have an ill influence on thoſe people, who might alledge we caſt off them, and they might pretend a neceſſity to give themſelves over to ſome other foreign Prince's protection. But a reaſonable or a politick conſideration would have been interpreted a deſign; and ſo we declined it for that ſeaſon.

1. THE firſt branch gave ſome power to keep up the preſent army, and raiſe what other armies they pleaſed in the future.

2. SECONDLY, a power to raiſe monies for the uſe of the ſaid forces in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch means and ways, as they thought fit.

THE firſt ſubjected all men's perſons (for they [who] make all men ſerve without diſtinction), this their eſtates.

3. THIRDLY, the ſaid forces both for land and ſea ſervice, to be managed and diſpoſed as they ſhould think fit, and no otherwiſe.

THIS gave them a general power to diſpoſe and employ them upon what deſign they pleaſed. But leaſt this general power ſhould be too ſoon perceived, they ſeemed to court it, as if all that was contained therein, was excluded in the two following articles, which when we came to limit thereunto, then we forced them to diſcover what they ſuppoſed lay hid, for they would not admit thoſe as limitations.

1. THE firſt particular, was power to ſupport all forces raiſed, or to be raiſed for the diſturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdom, &c.

2. THE ſecond to ſuppreſs any foreign forces, who ſhould invade, or endeavour to invade, the Kingdoms, &c.

WHAT followed, was to conjoin Engliſh forces and Scotch forces together when they judged neceſſary. To reſtrain the King and his heirs (after the twenty years), or any by commiſſion from them, to exerciſe any of the ſaid powers without the conſent of both Houſes.

AND as [*if*] this had not been enough, that in all caſes when the Lords and Commons ſhould declare the ſafety of the Kingdom to be concerned &c. unleſs the King gave his Royal Aſſent to ſuch a bill as ſhould be tendered him for raiſing money, the bill ſhould have the force of an Act.

PROVISION was made for the Sheriff and the legal power of officers. And if thirty perſons were aſſembled together, and ſhould not diſband, if required, after the Lords and Commons had declared their refuſal to diſband, to be Treaſon, they ſhould be incapable of pardon, and their eſtates diſpoſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons.

LASTLY, proviſion was made for the Militia of the City of London, and Tower thereof, &c.

THIS propoſition we looked upon as containing in it as great a power over the lives and fortunes of our ſubjects, as we believe is exerciſed (for we aſſure ourſelf no ſuch is ſettled by law any where) in any part of Chriſtendom. And therefore we fell upon divers Counſels. Firſt, how to deny it. Then, how to limit it. Laſtly, whether it were fit wholly to grant.

THE firſt conſideration led us to frame ſuch a form of Militia as was ſuitable to that formerly exerciſed by all the Kings of England, and to raiſe it

*A.D.* 1648. it to the fartheſt extent of practice that could be pretended, not only to be warranted, but to be countenanced by the laws of the land. And we ſo framed it, that the inhabitants of each county, ſhould be the ſtanding Militia of the Kingdom. That upon occaſion of employing ſuch forces, either within or without the county, ſuch a courſe was held, as the ſeveral counties maintained their own men, whereby we prevented raiſing money at pleaſure. And this we did as willing to preſerve the beſt liberty the ſubject of England had; which was, that thoſe to whom the power of the ſword was intruſted, had not the power of the purſe likewiſe.

As for the ſea-ſervice, we propoſed the ſame ſhould be maintained out of the cuſtoms and impoſitions on all merchandiſe (which was formerly ever given to the Kings); that ſo the burthen of the ſubject in general might be the eaſier. This model though prepared upon the coming of the Commiſſioners we found ſo unfit for their, or the Houſes temper, that it was like to break off all, if offered. And yet we had provided by this propoſition, the army ſhould not have been diſbanded, 'till the two Houſes thought fit. You will find a copy of this in the Journal.

THIS laid aſide, our next conſideration was how to limit this propoſition as propoſed in our firſt large meſſage or propoſition to our two Houſes. We inſerted thoſe proviſions following.

THAT none be compelled to ſerve in the wars againſt their wills; but in caſe of coming in of ſtrange enemies into this realm.

AND that the powers in the propoſition as concerning the land forces (other than for keeping up, and maintenance of forts and garriſons, and for the keeping up, maintaining and pay of this preſent army, ſo long as it ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament), be exerciſed to no other purpoſe than for the ſuppreſſing of forces raiſed or to be raiſed without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, or for ſuppreſſing of any foreign forces, which ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, &c.

AND that the monies be raiſed by general and equal taxations, ſaving that tunnage and poundage, and ſuch impoſts as have been applied to the navy, may be raiſed, as hath been uſual.

AND that all patents, commiſſions and other acts concerning the premiſſes, be made and acted in his Majeſty's name by warrant ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch others as they ſhall authorize for that purpoſe.

BUT the Houſes voted the meſſage unſatisfactory: ſo as when we came to treat this propoſition with the Commiſſioners, we converted all our proviſions into a preamble, ſhewing upon what reaſons it was, we entruſted this great power into the hands of our two Houſes, and thereupon gave them this ſhort anſwer.

"IN anſwer to the paper concerning the Militia, delivered in this day, his "Majeſty conceives that your propoſition touching the Militia, demands a "far larger power over the perſons and eſtates of his ſubjects, than hath ever "hitherto been warranted by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, yet conſi- "dering the preſent diſtractions require more, and truſting in his two Houſes "of Parliament that they will make no further uſe of the powers therein "mentioned, after the preſent diſtempers ſettled, than ſhall be agreeable to "the legal exerciſe thereof in times paſt, and for the purpoſes particularly "mentioned in your propoſition, and to give ſatisfaction to his two Houſes,

"that

"that he intends a full ſecurity, and to expreſs his real deſire to ſettle the "peace of the Kingdom, his Majeſty doth conſent to this propoſition "touching the Militia, as is deſired." *A.D.* 1648.

THIS pleaſed not becauſe of the preamble; it being pretended it muſt be part of the Act, and ſo might be an occaſion of diſpute, &c. To make ſhort, we retired, and upon return, told them by word of mouth, ſince we perceived they would have no reaſon from us, we had brought them an anſwer could not be excepted unto, it was in theſe words: "In anſwer to "your propoſition concerning the Militia, delivered in this day, his Majeſty "doth thereunto conſent, as is deſired."

AND now we leave our people to conſider, whether we laboured not to divert this Act, and of how great uſe to their liberty was the negative voice of their King in Parliament, who very often uſed the ſame, not only to his own but his people's ſafeguard. We could in this particular, if reaſon either in behalf of ourſelf or ſubjects could have been hearkened unto, [*have*] urged, that if the Militia were not ſafe, or to be intruſted in our hands, it ought not therefore to be enlarged in theirs. But we ſaw both King and people were looked on as conquered.

UPON the whole matter we will tell you now, why we conſented to it. And the true reaſon was, not becauſe we were neceſſitated to it, for we could not be neceſſitated to conſent, but becauſe by our conſenting to it, we ſhould take away the greateſt occaſion of maintaining a conſtant army upon our people. Since when our Houſes had power ſolely in them to raiſe an army upon occaſion, we could not believe, without occaſion they would keep one in pay. And becauſe we were very ſenſible, wiſe men would ſoon perceive the danger of an army as well as find the diſcontent of the people thereby, and becauſe it was very likely, the preſent jealouſies being removed, this exorbitant Militia that like a land flood, had ſo overflowed the banks that formerly contained it, would by change of weather (the ſober conſideration of this Parliament or ſome other) ſoon return into it's own bounds; and laſtly, becauſe we found it much more probable, like the fable of the ſun and the wind ſtriving for the traveller's cloak, to get his garment laid by, by the fair ſun-ſhine of compliance, than the bluſtering ſtorm of oppoſition.

CONCERNING Ireland; the Church and Militia thereof was in the two former propoſitions ordered as that of England. What remained was the voiding the ceſſation &c. which we did. The proſecution of that war, to be entruſted in our two Houſes, &c. and the nomination of great officers; and the revoking all grants and honours. All which were conſented unto. The naming the great officers being limited to twenty years.

THE propoſition concerning publick debts we conceived had looked backwards only; and therefore we conſented to the ſame for debts incurred and paſt. But in another paper it being declared it looked to the future as well as the time paſt, though we much wondered at it, yet we limited it to the ſpace of two years, and the acts to be preſented within that time.

TOUCHING diſabling Peers, &c. we were ſenſible how this was but a part of that deſign which was to make us diſtaſted of all ſorts of men, as well thoſe that had ſerved us, as thoſe that had not. But believing time would make thoſe that were miſled againſt us, to ſee their errors, and that thoſe that knew us, would not let other mens artifices draw them off of

*A.D.* 1648. their affection and duty towards us, we consented to this proposition, since we were assured, in this particular we were able to repair them. We met with another great difficulty in this proposition not only as it limited us that were the fountain of honour, but as it submitted the Peerage and sitting of the Lords in Parliament to the House of Commons, and so might in time change the whole frame and constitution of that House.

DELINQUENTS, was the next proposition. This was a large one, but it is contracted into these particulars. 1. Several persons exeepted from pardon and composition. 2. Others from office and profession. 3. Several rules for composition.

THESE persons we had ever submitted to a trial by the known and practised laws; for we knew they would find shelter there, when we could not give it them. But since to submit them to some conditions was the best way we could use to preserve them from extremities, we consented, that all persons should moderately compound, that had not compounded. That such persons in the first branch, as the two Houses should insist on, should not be admitted to Council; that they should be restrained from coming to Court, nor should have any employment in the Commonwealth, (this we supposed a means to remove animosities and jealousies, &c. in the present settling of things); all other persons, that were mentioned in the other parts of the proposition, should be disabled for three years to serve as Members or Assistants of either House, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. The disabling men from the exercise of their professions and functions, was a strictness used in few parts of the world. We were sensible towards the law, how many honest, learned men it concerned among the Gentry; for more persons heretofore the best Justiciars in their County; and of all these the Commonwealth must want their service, whilst others should be employed whose abilities were only measured from their affection to the party, or side they engaged in: And for the Divines, almost all men of piety, eminency, and learning in both the Universities, and above half the Churches through the whole Kingdom. This we felt; for the Ministers got into their charges were a great obstruction to this peace. This part of the proposition we could not consent unto.

AFTER this proposition, being the 17th of October, we sent up our own propositions for our liberty, revenue, and an act of oblivion, &c.

THE proposition for the nominating the Lord Chancellor, Keeper, Lord Treasurer, &c. we agreed [*to*] for ten years. And when it was demanded why we gave less time here, than in Ireland, we remembered them, that they were like to meet with more difficulties in Ireland than England: that the one was our place of residence, and not the other; and that, though the two Houses had but the nomination for ten years, yet the persons by them appointed in any time during the said ten years, were *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; which being understood for life, it was long ere those places were like to come within the disposal of the Crown.

THE proposition, concerning the City of London, and confirming their Charters, we readily granted. The by-laws and ordinances by them made, or to be made, to be confirmed, we once thought to have excepted against. But considering, that though it was asked before it came to be made a law, it would be reconsidered, we believed it fit to be consented unto.

THAT

THAT propoſition for the Great Seal deſired, that all grants, commiſſions, &c. paſſed under the Great Seal of England in the cuſtody of the Lords and other Commiſſioners appointed by both Houſes of Parliament ſhould be of like full force, as the ſame or like grants, commiſſions, &c. heretofore in any time were, or have been, under any Great Seal of England. And that, that Great Seal be continued and uſed for the Great Seal of England. *A.D.* 1648.

THIS part of the propoſition we underſtood made not the grants under the Great Seal in the cuſtody of the Commiſſioners valid, if they were not ſo before. And therefore, we would not raiſe any queſtions on this; neither was it convenient we declared how we underſtood it. For it is probable, there were many perſons in both Houſes, and out of them, that were concerned therein; and had we brought into diſpute the places and advantages they hold by that Seal, they would have been too able to have defended their intereſt to our prejudice.

THE other part of this propoſition for the annulling all grants, commiſſions, &c, made under our Great Seal ſince the 22d of May 1642. we conſented likewiſe unto; becauſe for grants, &c. of grace we might endeavour a future recompence to the party. And for commiſſions which were to warrant any perſon for acting any thing by our authority, and in our ſervice, we could provide for them in the general act of oblivion and indemnity.

FOR the Court of Wards, we know how undoubted and ancient a right it was to our Crown, and how uſeful a Court it was (at leaſt might have been agreed to have been made) for the ſubject, we ſuppoſe time will evidence. A minor found a better and cheaper protection from that Court than he will among his own kindred and friends. Nevertheleſs, we conſented thereunto at one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, (which was the ſum firſt voted us for compenſation) fifty thouſand pounds being now only offered; whereas formerly, to our Royal Father five hundred thouſand pounds fine was offered, and one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds by the year.

THUS by the 21ſt of October, we anſwered all the propoſitions of our two Houſes. And it was the firſt of November before we received any return from our two Houſes; which ſufficiently ſhewed our diſadvantage by the diſtance of place, as well as other circumſtances in this treaty. At this time we deſired to know, whether they had received any inſtructions about our own propoſitions (which we delivered them to be tranſmitted the 17th of October), or about enlarging the time of the treaty, which we obſerved by their paper was to end the 4th of November. And we found they had not; nay, we demanded the ſame the laſt hour of the treaty, and they were furniſhed with no other anſwer. So as to other circumſtances this may be added, we ſpent the whole time of the treaty, and had not one word in anſwer of any thing concerned ourſelf.

NOVEMBER the firſt we received their paper concerning the Marquis Ormond's proceedings in Ireland; which expreſſed the Marquis had declared himſelf qualified with a power to treat and conclude a peace with the Rebels there; that this was contrary to an Act of this preſent Parliament, and deſtructive to a ſpeedy reducement of the Iriſh; and they produced ſeveral letters of intelligence about this buſineſs. The ſame inſtant we anſwered them, "It was well known in what place and condition we

*A.D.* 1648. "had been for many months before the beginning of this treaty. That "since the first votes passed for the same, we had not transacted any affairs "concerning that Kingdom, but with themselves, as our two Houses Com- "missioners. That the Militia, and sole ordering and prosecuting the Irish "war, was to be put into the hands of our two Houses, if this treaty ended "in peace. That we intended, whatever we had promised, really to per- "form. And therefore, we thought it not reasonable to be pressed to make "any publick declaration against the Marquis Ormond, as they desired." And being by another paper pressed again therein, we concluded with this, that if this treaty should happily end the desires of our two Houses were satisfied by our concessions already made to the proposition concerning that Kingdom; and therefore we adhered to our first answer.

We perceived plainly the design of this proposition, which they declared, was no part of the treaty; and so, whatever they had procured from us, should have been good against the Marquis Ormond, though the treaty had broke off; the salvo, that nothing should be binding &c, relating not thereunto. Next they endeavoured to persuade our people, that whilst we were treating peace with them, we were preparing for war by others; which was not done by us, but by yourself, who by virtue of your general commission when you saw our two Houses had made votes of non-addresses to us, according to your natural duty and the power we had intrusted with you, gave this authority to the Marquis (as you used other endeavours) to free us from captivity. And lastly, whereas they pressed us hereunto because it was but observing a law in being (besides that we have much to shew how short that law is, from having the extent they would put upon it), we should have thought that a good argument, had we been preserved in that condition as when we made that law; for then the warrant and execution of all laws flowed from us; but now we were permitted only to declare upon one law, and imprisoned as to all the rest. And we could have added, if the restriction of one law, were to be pressed on us, why did not the obligation of so many concern them?

Upon the close of all, we gave them some farther satisfaction concerning the Church, as that we intended to make no new Bishops during the three years we suspended them; that in ordination they should have the consent of a limited number of Presbyters. That this form of Common Prayer which was now used in the Church (though we reverenced it much) yet we would not insist for the using that in our Chapel; so as we might use another set form of Divine Service. And for your Mother's profession of her Religion, since they desired only a stricter course to be held (which we were willing unto) against saying Mass in Court, we agreed to the act, without the provision we before asked. And so we closed up this treaty, desiring them, that since we had departed with so much of our own right, to give our Houses satisfaction, that they would be a means we might at present be pressed no further, since the few things we had not satisfied them in, were reduced in point of conscience. And therein we had desired but time for a calm debate (free from noise of drums and trumpets), and had not expressed our present determinations to be like the decrees of the Medes and Persians; for we looked not on ourself as infallible. We desired them to use the same eloquence and abilities they had shewed towards us, to express the sad condition of this Kingdom, and the future danger thereof, if all were not closed up by this treaty, to our two Houses; that so they might prevail in some measure

measure with them, as they had in so great a measure with us. We avoided mentioning our own condition (being more exercised to suffer than to complain, the one befitting our mind, though the other did our condition); but told them somewhat else we had to say which we would rather they would understand, than for us to declare. And so we concluded heartily thanking them for their personal civilities, desiring them, that if in the defence of any thing we had used some earnestness, it might be understood as occasioned by the matter in debate; for we had no man among them to remember but by kindness. *A.D.* 1648.

Shall we now recapitulate the Heads of all this treaty, that you may in one view see our concessions and our demurs, rather than denials? We will begin with all that were granted and satisfactory to our two Houses; as,

The Proposition for

Recalling Declarations.
Taking away all the Hierarchy, but the Bishop.
Confirming the Assembly of Divines.
The several Acts about Papists.
For the due observance of the Lord's Day.
Suppressing Innovations.
Advancing of Preaching.
Against Plurality and Non-residency.
Regulating the two Universities.
Paying publick Debts.
Militia of England, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey, Berwick.
Disabling new Peers.
Voiding the cessation of Ireland; War to be prosecuted there; with all matters else belonging to that Kingdom.
Nomination of great officers in England and Ireland.
Militia of London, and their Charter, &c.
The Great Seal made by both Houses, confirmed; and all grants made under it to be valid, as proposed.
Court of Wards and Liveries.

What was not granted was,

Not taking away the Bishop, whom nevertheless we
Suspended for three Years.
Lessened in Revenues.
Limited in Jurisdiction &c, and desired but a free debate about him too.

The not absolute aliening Bishops' lands, which we charged with Leases for 99 Years, &c.

The not consenting wholly to the Proposition about Delinquents, whom we submitted all to Composition,
Some to Banishment,
Some to distance from Court, &c.
Others from serving in Parliament for three years.

*A.D.* 1648.

THE Covenant, which, being an oath, for our former reaſons we declined, and yet ſatisfied them in the ends of it.

LASTLY: The Lord of Ormond's engagement, which was no part of the treaty, and which we granted if this treaty concluded in a peace, as is before mentioned.

THUS, as the particulars were few we granted not, yet we granted ſo many parts of thoſe propoſitions, that we leave it to judgment, who ſhewed true affection to the peace of our Kingdoms, and if ever a peace were broken off, becauſe a King made conſcience of taking away a Biſhop and ſelling Church Lands; the laſt we fear being of greateſt conſideration, and indeed was that which made us not able to diſtinguiſh betwixt their zeal to Reformation, and appetite to the Church's Revenue.

WE have now done with what paſſed in this treaty, during the firſt time appointed for it. And though we can ill call it a treaty, for it had nothing thereof but the name, yet we made ſuch uſe of it, that our conceſſions, we hope, evidence we have done all a Chriſtian Man, or King could do, to ſatisfy ſome men that ſtood between the happineſs of, and good intelligence betwixt us and our people; of whoſe love in the general we were aſſured; for they were grown to underſtand that theſe propoſitions did not only limit the King, but by new laws and interpretation of laws, ſo retrench the liberty of the ſubject, that what was pretended for their freedom, was in great part their captivity. But the treaty being now continued, and the iſſue doubtful (for we underſtand the lengthening of it, as to our diſadvantage,) we will lay aſide much of that we intended for a concluſion to this diſcourſe, and wait what God's Providence will produce by the further progreſs in it. In the mean time, we recommend this to you as for your own and our friends' ſatisfaction, but not for any publick uſe. And ſo committing you your Brother and all your charge to God's protection reſt

*Your loving Father,*

*Newport*, 6 *November*, 1648.

CHARLES R.

*In Mr. Oudart's hand.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the Prince of* WALES.

CHARLES R.

OUR former letter informed you all that paſſed in the treaty in the firſt 40 days; this ſhall in the fourteen added. We conceive you will take notice we gave a final reſolution to all the propoſitions of our two Houſes by the 21ſt October (for all paſſed ſince, hath been of no great weight); after which the treaty was continued, until the 21ſt of November; ſo as what you may perchance hear objected of the inconveniencies by our not ſpeeding our anſwers, relates not truly to us, if equally judged.

THE firſt thing propoſed was, that the ten years granted by us for naming great officers, was not ſatisfactory. We conſidered we had granted the ſame for twenty in Ireland, which was voted ſatisfactory; and ſo we allowed an

equal

equal time to both, though in our former anſwer we gave reaſons might have prevailed with them to have contented themſelves with ten years only. *A.D.* 1648.

THEN we were preſented with a ſhort catechiſm, to give our approbation to it. We obſerved ſome doctrines in it which were obſcure, and not by the Scriptures, cited to that purpoſe, well proved. We expreſſed how unwilling we were, to eſteem this a ſlight buſineſs, it being for the education of youth, who take in their firſt principles by ſuch books. But it being repreſented, that [*as*] we enjoined not the uſe of it, we prohibited not other Catechiſms, we conſented not to the verity of it; we declared, we intended to refer this to the conſultation of Divines, but in the mean time gave it our approbation as was deſired.

THE next propoſition was, that the two Houſes having voted one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* for a compenſation of our revenue by Wards, we would accept it, the ſame [thing] being to be raiſed, as the two Houſes ſhould think fit; with proviſion that the ſame, nor any part thereof, be aliened from the Crown. This we accepted taking notice that their papers voted down that Court from February 1645. and therefore our rent ſhould be paid from thence. Our firſt anſwer plainly relating to their propoſition, but this how juſt ſoever, ſeemed to them very unreaſonable; it being told us, by the ſame rule we might pretend to all the arrears of our whole Revenue. We replied, that followed not, for that was levied and ſpent, this had been collected by neither of us. This argument prevailed with us moſt to decline inſiſting on it, that, if it ſhould be thus returned, the Houſes were too likely to take up a reſolution of giving us but fifty thouſand pounds *per annum*; and we, finding that our merchandizing upon any proportion was like the Sibyl's books, the commodity ſtill diminiſhed and the rate increaſed, we gave over diſputing, reſerving our claim when we met with our two Houſes. We endeavoured likewiſe in our anſwer to this particular to have inſerted, that the hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, ſhould be raiſed out of the land owners, they having the benefit of this conceſſion. And we gave them notice how much it concerned us, not to have in lieu of this (one of the moſt certain, clear, and uſeful Revenues we had) ſome compenſation that might be burthenſome or odious. But this was intimated to be of great danger. It would ſhew diffidence in us of our two Houſes. And ſo we found it beſt to conſent to it, according to the votes of the Houſes.

AFTER this we were preſſed again to declare againſt the Marquis Ormond's proceedings; our anſwer was much to the purpoſe of our former, only we fortified it with ſome reaſons, part whereof are in our papers ſent up to the two Houſes: The other part were in a paper we gave in, but afterwards retired. We ſhewed we had no knowledge of the Marquis Ormond's undertaking, it being done in a time when the two Houſes voted the non-addreſs to us. This ſeemed to grate upon them, and ſo was left out; for we preſerved ourſelf in a temper that was ready to avoid all ſharpneſs, though extorted from us by truth and our own defence. We likewiſe ſhewed that unleſs this treaty ended in Peace, (and then what they aſked was granted) our condition was like to be ſuch, that our declarations would not be obeyed. We could have obſerved what power the Scots had formerly received from the two Houſes, to treat with theſe Iriſh in Ulſter. And we might have inquired, whether thoſe that command there now, have no ſuch commiſſion; for our intelligence fails much if

A.D. 1648. Colonel Jones have not treated with ô Neil. But we framed our anſwer, that we differed with our Houſes only in point of time; for we granted their deſire at the end of this treaty in peace, when our ſecurity would go along with it; and they demanded it preſently, without reference to the ſame.

The laſt buſineſs was that of the Church, in which they had ſatisfaction ſave only in the abſolute taking away the Biſhops, and entire aliening their lands. Here they profeſſed both in the preface and concluſion of their papers, that the two Houſes intended not to force, but to rectify our conſcience; which expreſſions we told them we were well pleaſed with, the ſcope of the paper otherwiſe preſſing ſo hard on us, it might ſeem to contradict the ſame; and we deſired them to remember our conſcience ſuited with the ſenſe of all Parliaments before this. In the firſt of their papers, they diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Scripture Biſhop and the Biſhop by the law. We anſwered if they would preſerve one (whom they acknowledged) we would take away the other. But their propoſition was for utterly aboliſhing the function. This forced them to frame an argument, if the Biſhop were within the purport of the propoſition, yet being but of Apoſtolical practice, to avoid a great evil, or obtain a great good, that which was at one time a fault to do, might another time be a duty, nay a fault, if not done. We acknowledged the juſtification that often riſes from a moral neceſſity. But we conceived it did not warrant us to deprive the Church of God, of an order inſtituted for continual uſe, and for eſtabliſhing a ſucceſſion of lawful Miniſters in the Church. And we could fully (as we did, ſlightly,) have diſtinguiſhed betwixt an abſolute neceſſity, and a neceſſity avoidable, if men pleaſe. It ſeemed ſtrange to us (if any thing could in theſe times) that men ſhould frame a neceſſity, and then plead it. In another caſe, if it concerned themſelves, it would be an ill argument.

For the aliening of Biſhops' lands, the great arguments were precedents of ſome Kings; that the law declared upon diſſolution of ſuch Bodies, the lands fell to the Crown; laſtly, that under the ceremonial law, conſecrated things were employed. We anſwered, precedents were ill guides to conſcience; that the concurrent opinion of all Divines would better inform us, what was ſacrilege, than the law of the land. That under the ceremonial law, though it was ſometimes practiſed, upon high neceſſities, yet never by a law: ſometimes, [*but*] the riches of the Temple was never the lands of the Prieſt; and ever, full compenſation was intended, and ordinarily followed; which much differenced this caſe from that.

Those arguments concerning the Biſhops' pomp, encroachment upon the civil power, how they had been a hindrance to piety, and a burthen to the ſubjects' purſes, might have been eaſily anſwered; but we looked upon them as phraſes rather to raiſe envy againſt the Biſhops, than to deſcribe them, and therefore we let them paſs with a general anſwer. But he that obſerves Arch-Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, &c. taken away, all juriſdiction ſubmitted to us and the two Houſes, the old rents only reſerved for the Biſhops' maintenance; the number of Biſhops offered to be increaſed if they thought fit, might look upon a Biſhop without envying him. We waved likewiſe the argument that the Presbyterian Government would be exerciſed with little profit, or comfort, if it ſhould be ſo ſhort lived as three years, eſpecially now when men were ſo apt to reſiſt Government; we could have remembered them, their ordinance was but for three years, 'till a little before this

this treaty, that it was tendered but as an alterable Government, and there- *A.D.* 1648.
fore three years was enough for a probationary law: That we had prayed, that by a conſultation of Divines it might be debated what Government was left for the Church in future; and nothing would be more honour to it, than to find it willing to abide the teſt. Laſtly, for the inclinations of men, to reſiſt Government, what could be a greater encouragement to men, not to yield obedience to a law, than to ſee the ſame law introduced by neceſſity and power. But the argument that troubled us moſt to conſider, though it was eaſieſt to anſwer, was that the conſequence of this denial, muſt be the continuance of the diſturbance of our Kingdoms. But ſince it appeared to us, that the conceſſion of it, might have ſuch a ſad influence, even upon Religion itſelf (for it is viſible Hereſies now ſwarm) we choſe rather to hope our two Houſes would relax from the ſtrictneſs of their propoſition, than to violate our conſcience. And ſo we adhered to a former anſwer that concluded, that we could with more comfort caſt ourſelf upon our Saviour's goodneſs to ſupport us in, and defend us from all afflictions (how great ſoever) that may befal us, than for any politick conſideration (which might ſeem to be a means to reſtore us) deprive ourſelf of the inward tranquillity of mind.

THERE reſts only now what paſſed concerning our own propoſitions; which that you may ſee how modeſt they were, and how they came returned to us, we will expreſs them at large as we anſwered them.

"HIS Majeſty having received the votes of both Houſes of the 15th of "November inſtant in anſwer to his own propoſitions formerly ſent to both "Houſes, is well pleaſed,

1. "THAT from and after ſuch time as the agreement of this "treaty be ratified by Act or Acts of Parliament, that all his Houſes, Ma- "nors, and Lands, with the growing rents and profits thereof, and all "other legal Revenues of the Crown, ſhall be reſtored unto him, liable to "the maintenance of ancient forts, and all publick and other legal charges, "which they were formerly charged withal, or liable unto, with an excep- "tion of ſuch Caſtles and Forts as are now garriſoned; and of ſuch places "for publick Magazines and Stores, as are now made uſe of, for ſo long "time as both Houſes ſhall think fit to make uſe of them, for the neceſſary "defence of the Kingdom.

2. "HIS Majeſty doth likewiſe accept of ſuch compenſation of thoſe "legal growing revenues and profits of the Crown, which he hath or ſhall "conſent to part withal, for the ſatisfaction of both Houſes, in this treaty, "in ſuch manner and proportion as ſhall be agreed upon between him and "his two Houſes.

3. "HIS Majeſty is likewiſe well pleaſed, that he be ſettled in a condi- "tion of honour, freedom and ſafety, agreeable to the laws of the land.

4. "HE doth conſent to an act of oblivion and indemnity to be paſſed, "to extend to all perſons for all matters, with ſuch limitations and provi- "ſions, as ſhall be agreed between him, and his two Houſes of Parlia- "ment.

5. "AND his Majeſty will farther conſent that it be declared by Act of "Parliament, that nothing in his Majeſty's propoſition ſhall be made uſe of "to abrogate, weaken, or any ways impair any agreement in this treaty, or "by law, grant, or conceſſion, agreed upon by his Majeſty and the two "Houſes of Parliament, in purſuance thereof."

*A.D.* 1648. We ſhall now ſpare our labour in making obſervation upon what was tranſacted; ſince it is ſo manifeſt the prevailing party, if they neglect ſuch conceſſions as we have made, intended neither accommodation with us, nor quiet to our Kingdoms; whoſe condition they much bewailed and pitied, but would not relieve it, without they might ſubdue our conſcience in making us yield both to their unreaſonable and unchriſtian demands in aboliſhing Epiſcopacy. For we removed all neceſſity of any preſent conceſſion by ſettling in the Church what they deſired, for a time; that in that time we might calmly diſpute and reconcile what was in difference betwixt us. They ſuppoſed we inſiſted on a particular, which ſo few underſtood the ground of, to wit, the maintaining the order of Biſhops, that there were few, would be ſatisfied with it. We have too much modeſty to attribute any thing to ourſelf in it; yet this we thought one argument of our ſincerity; that we were reſolute in one of thoſe virtues, that not many of the common people obſerve, or have a ſenſe of; and if we would have played the Politician, and not the Chriſtian, we ſhould have ſtudied popular topicks, not arguments of this nature.

Our no further condeſcenſion in the propoſition concerning our friends (whom they ſtile delinquents) we do believe ſeemed more reaſonable to many. We aſſure you it had a large ſhare in our conſideration; and (as we have ſaid) we hope both they and all others will conſider, not what we ſubmitted them unto, but what we endeavoured to have relieved them from. In a word, the leſs we could pay to them, the more (if God bleſs you) do you acknowledge. We would willingly forget in how high a degree ſome ſubjects have been diſloyal; but never had Prince a teſtimony in others of more loyalty than we had. And however, for their and our puniſhment God bleſſed not ſome of their endeavours, ſurely more miſguided perſons were at laſt reduced to their loyalty, than is almoſt in ſtory to be exampled. But ſubjects by this may learn, how dangerous the neglect of ſeaſonable duty is, and that men cannot fix when they pleaſe, what they unneceſſarily ſhake. The benefit of this may be your's; and God ſend it, and that you manage it prudently.

By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long we have laboured in the ſearch of peace. Do not you be diſheartened to tread in the ſame ſteps; uſe all worthy ways to reſtore yourſelf to your right, but prefer the way of peace. Shew the greatneſs of your mind, if God bleſs you (and let us comfort you with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us paſs under the cenſures of men, yet we look upon it ſo, as if it procure not, by God's mercy to us, a deliverance, it will to you a bleſſing) rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than puniſhing. If you ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtianly the implacable diſpoſition [*is*] in our ill-willers, you would avoid that ſpirit. Cenſure us not for having parted with ſo much of our own right, the price is great; but the commodity was ſecurity to us, peace to our people. And we were confident, another Parliament would remember how uſeful a King's power is to a people's liberty. Of how much thereof we diveſted ourſelf, that we and they might meet once again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatneſs or prerogative than that which is really and intrinſically for the good of ſubjects, not ſatisfaction of favourites. And if you thus uſe it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would extraordinarily

traordinarily be gracious unto. You may perceive all men intruſt their trea- *A.D.*1648.
ſure where it returns them intereſt; and if Princes like the ſea receive and repay all the freſh ſtreams the rivers entruſt with them, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them up an ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make you as great a Prince as your Father is now a low one. And your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed, as mine hath been ſhaken. For [*our*] ſubjects have learned (we dare ſay) that victories over their Princes are but triumphs over themſelves, and ſo will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The Engliſh Nation are a ſober people, however at preſent infatuated.

We know not but this may be the laſt time we may ſpeak to you, or the world publickly. We are ſenſible into what hands we are fallen; and yet (we bleſs God) we have thoſe inward refreſhments, the malice of our enemies cannot perturb; we have learned to buſy ourſelf in retiring into ourſelf, and therefore, can the better digeſt what befalls, not doubting but God's Providence will reſtrain our enemies power and turn their fierceneſs to his praiſe.

To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly and far from revenge; if he reſtore you to your rights upon hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Theſe men which have forced laws, which they were bound to obſerve, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth the obtaining, by foul or unjuſt means.

You are the Son of our love; and as we direct you to weigh what we have recommended to you, ſo we aſſure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural Parent) than we do that the ancient glory and renown of this nation, be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour; and that all our ſubjects (to whom we are a politick Parent) may have ſuch ſober thoughts, as to ſeek their peace in the orthodox profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, as it was eſtabliſhed ſince the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the antient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God.

*C. R.*

*Newport, 25 November 1648.*

*A Copy, probably by Mr. Oudart.*

## *His* Majesty *to the Prince of* Wales.

BY our laſt you may obſerve that the treaty was to end the 21 of November, and the Commiſſioners having that night received no further inſtructions for the continuance of it any longer (though there were ſome advertiſements of a vote paſſed the Houſe of Commons for that purpoſe), the next morning early went to the Cowes Harbour, to ſhip themſelves there; but that night the tide not ſerving to tranſport them out of the Iſland, a Meſſenger arrived with directions to prolong the treaty until Saturday the 25th of this Inſtant. So the 23d they returned and acquainted us therewith; and we accepted the ſame. The two days following we ſpent about the votes the Houſes had made concerning thoſe they call delinquents, and a

*A.D.* 1648. new propoſition of the ſame nature for ſuch as had engaged againſt them ſince January 1647. And that of the Marquis Ormond.

THE ſubſtance of the votes concerning delinquents is, that our former anſwer was unſatisfactory in all that concerned delinquents, ſave in the clauſe that conſented that the perſons who had a hand in the plotting the Rebellion of Ireland, ſhould expect no pardon; that Sir John Strangwayes ſhould be taken out of the propoſition; that thoſe in the firſt branch, being Proteſtants (except thoſe to be excepted) ſhould be admitted to compoſition; and the like for Papiſts. To theſe we agreed. For the former propoſition excluding them from compoſition, we (who could do no more for them) conceived this an advantage.

BUT the rates that followed, both for them and others, we aſſented not unto. For firſt they propoſed the Proteſtants in the firſt branch ſhould pay a full moiety; the Papiſts two thirds. Then, that thoſe who by the firſt propoſition were to pay two full thirds, ſhould now pay one; thoſe ſet at a moiety, ſhould be reduced to a third; all Lawyers, Clergymen, and Scholars a third; thoſe ſet at a ſixth; and that the firſt of February 1648. ſhould be the laſt day limited for all perſons to make their compoſition.

HEREUNTO we gave this general anſwer, that we ſubmitted all to moderate compoſitions as the parties and the two Houſes ſhould agree, deſiring the rates might be reduced to a more moderate proportion. The expreſſing our unſatisfaction with the rates, being the moſt we could then contribute to our party.

THEIR next vote was, that they inſiſted upon all other parts of the propoſition wherein they had made no alteration. And that general contained in it theſe particulars following:

THAT none that had adhered to us, ſhould bear any office in the Commonwealth without conſent of both Houſes: And this we granted; for we judged our adherents were ſo many and ſo able, as they could not long want their ſervice; and that if we agreed a peace, we ſhould in ſhort time be a means to cut off all diſtinctions, being but ſo many ſeeds of diviſion. And that they that would acknowledge us once their King, would not be, or find it fit to divide themſelves from our party. But if we had denied this, then, as it was repreſented to us, ſo we judged it ourſelf, how ſtrong an argument it would have been in the mouth of thoſe that endeavoured to make all things irreconcileable; that we thought to preſerve our adherents in ſuch a credit, as by their intereſt and offices in the State, they might again embroil all again in new troubles. That which moſt ſtuck with us was, that we ſeemed to take away from thoſe, that had ſerved us, ſuch offices as they held by Patents or Places. We aſſure you theſe words (if they do carry ſuch a latitude) rather ſlipt us, than were given way to; for we were to add Privy Counſellors, and Judges, Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace, and ſo offices of that nature. And yet we conceive that we paſſed no words which forfeited any office; for we formerly obſerved to you upon our confirming things under the Great Seal made by the two Houſes, that we made nothing legal that was not ſo in its own nature; and therefore ſuch Patents as were formerly granted by us, in law would be good, and the Patentees might exerciſe † by deputy, or we renew their Patents to ſome honeſt men

† *M.S.* excuſe.

that

that had not been engaged (for there were many of them) upon their nomination. Beſides, where we could obtain the Houſes conſent, there the party was ſecure. And we were very confident that, ſo many Statutes being unrepealed that obliged moſt of them to attend us, and that of H. 7. that declareth againſt all Acts of Parliament to be made againſt ſuch as had adhered to the King, would be ſtrong arguments for them after a peace, that would be none before. Therefore we could not upon ſerious thoughts but rather truſt to an agreement betwixt us, and our two Houſes with the before mentioned helps, than by a diſagreement to put all into the power of a wild ſort of men, who would have accounted all gain Godlineſs. And ſo they could have but figured out our ſervants to have been ſinners, would moſt willingly have been exerciſing thoſe Angels' offices, whoſe work is puniſhment. And thus that we might diſpute for them in the future, we inſiſted on their right the leſs at preſent; though before we really give way to their prejudice, they ſhall find how careful we will be of their intereſt. *A D.* 1648.

There were their clauſes in the propoſition, that they ſhould not come within verge of our Court, &c. but thoſe we waved.

The next hardſhip, was about the Clergy; for here their words were, that all their preferments, places, and promotions ſhould be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; and not to uſe their miniſtry and function without advice and conſent of both Houſes, this was very irkſome to us. For when we conſidered how many learned and pious men it concerned (that had ſuffered ſuch a perſecution already for obſerving not only conſcience, but a conſcience warranted by the laws of the land), we looked upon it as a caſe ſcarce to be paralleled, that we ſhould now at laſt ſeem to contribute to their ſufferings. But conſidering, firſt, in reſpect of the publick peace, nothing was like to raiſe a worſe ſpirit than theſe men, that were to be diſpoſſeſſed of their livings ſcattered through the whole Kingdom, and that we had made ſome ſcrutiny, that the offering to out them (a work impoſſible for us to obtain) would have been but a riveting the incapacity that lay on our own Clergy (for that had been an eaſy taſk to have been performed by them that found themſelves in danger, and were in ſuch credit with the Rulers), we choſe rather to ſeek a preſent livelyhood for our Clergy, and the taking off their incapacity, than inſiſting on their right. And thereupon, we propoſed that ſuch Clergymen as had been ſcandalous, ſhould be left to the law; others, conforming to what we and our two Houſes ſhould agree on, ſhould where their livings were void be reſtored, where they were filled, receive a third part, until they were otherwiſe preferred: That thus the one might not want a ſubſiſtence, nor the other be outed until ſome fitting preferment were found for either.

The next point was that all thoſe named in the firſt branch be removed from our Counſels; reſtrained from the verge of our's, your Mother's, and your own Court, and to bear no office in State or Commonwealth, nor ſerve in Parliament. All this we agreed unto; ſeven perſons were named; *viz.* The Lord Newcaſtle, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Digby, Sir Richard Grenvill, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Dodington, and Lord Byron to be excepted from pardon, and to forfeit their eſtates. To this we anſwered, if any of them ſhould be proceeded againſt according to the antient and eſtabliſhed laws, we would not interpoſe; but that we could not in juſtice nor honour, join in any act for the taking away the life or eſtate of any that had adhered to us.

*A.D.*1648. The next propoſition was that thoſe in the laſt engagement either by ſea or land, ſince January 1647. ſhould pay a year's value more than others. We anſwered (as to the former) that we left the rates to the Houſes, but deſired they might be moderate.

Thus you may ſee how great the ſtorm was, when commodities of this value ſeem to be thrown overboard. At this time was the thundering declaration of the army ſet out againſt us; which, if we may look upon as of danger to us, we are ſure may be reputed a judgment upon others. But we now found fit to ſupport the credit of the Houſes by putting all into their power, that they might have the more authority to reſtrain their army, which breathed nothing but a change in all fundamentals that concerned King, Houſes, Law, or People.

Here came in the propoſition about the Marquis Ormond, which was preſſed upon us much; as that our declining all other means of reſtitution but by the Houſes, would create a great confidence betwixt us and them. Wherefore, to ſhew we would leave nothing undone, that might produce a peace, we gave this (in ſubſtance) for a final anſwer: "That, albeit "we hope by our former anſwers their deſires might have been obtained "in this particular, yet farther to ſhew the clearneſs of our intentions, "and to give our two Houſes ſatisfaction, we had written and therewith "delivered to them (the Commiſſioners) our letter to the Marquis of Or-"mond, to deſiſt; intending (if he refuſed) then to make ſuch declaration "againſt his power and proceedings as was deſired."

The letter itſelf was to the like effect with a preface, ſhewing what had been preſented to us concerning Ireland, both in the old and new propoſition, with our confidence that a probable foundation was already laid for a ſpeedy peace to enſue; and then adjoining the extracts and copies of letters concerning his proceedings which we had received from the Commiſſioners.

And now the time limited for the treaty was ended; but that night came another vote which continued the treaty for a day longer with a command for the Commiſſioners to return on Tueſday morning being the 28th. This time we accepted but expreſſed to them we agreed not to their coming away (for they ſhould not ſay we concluded the treaty). And two propoſitions we had to deſpatch in this day; one about Scotland, the other about the Church, which was returned us as unſatisfactory, notwithſtanding our late profeſſion in that buſineſs.

The Scotch propoſition demanded our conſent to the confirming, by Act of Parliament, ſuch agreements as ſhall be made by both Houſes with that Kingdom, for the ſecurity of ſuch thereof, who have aſſiſted or adhered to thoſe of the Parliament of England, and for the ſettling and preſerving an happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other. Whereunto we made anſwer, that, albeit we conceived them not authoriſed by their Commiſſion, but to treat upon matters concerning England and Ireland only, yet for the ſatisfaction of our two Houſes, we would conſent to confirm by Act of Parliament ſuch agreement as ſhould be made by them concerning thoſe &c. And be moſt willing to join in any agreement to be confirmed by Act of Parliament for the ſettling and preſerving a happy and durable peace betwixt the two Nations, and for the mutual defence of each other under us as King

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of both. We thought it very fit not to decline to treat upon this propoſi- *A.D.* 1648.
tion, though the Commiſſioners had no ſufficient commiſſion; and, at the opening of this treaty, had refuſed a propoſition of our's concerning that nation. But the Houſes thought nothing misbecame them, nor was unfit for us, if they ſent it. You may obſerve all our anſwers ſecured all engaged with them formerly; but for new engagements and confederacies which they ſhould make, we thought very reaſonable therein firſt to be adviſed with, and to know what it was before we paſſed our conſent.

THE return of the buſineſs of the Church was very unwelcome to us. We were now much preſſed to conſider the exigence of time. The Commiſſioners aſſured us nothing could unite Counſels againſt the hardy attempts of the army, but ſatisfying the Houſes herein. Our own Council and Divines, conſidering the danger of our perſon (which they urged us to be careful of, as much concerning the good of the Church), the moral and unavoidable neceſſity that lay on us, to do whatever was not ſin, and that upon the moſt prudential thoughts they had, the order which we endeavoured to be preſerved was more likely to be deſtroyed by our not complying, than by our ſuſpending it 'till we and our two Houſes agreed on a future Government, which was conceived much differing from abolition we gave them this our final anſwer:

THAT after ſuch condeſcenſions and weighed reſolutions in the buſineſs of the Church, we expected not to be further preſſed [*therein*]; it being our judgment and conſcience *(which we were not afraid nor aſhamed to profeſs, though ſenſible of our condition) that we could not (as then informed) aboliſh Epiſcopacy out of the Church, and if that were not fixed in us as a duty we owed to God and his Church, we had little reaſon to diſſent upon this particular which is perhaps fully underſtood by few and neglected by ſo many:* † yet becauſe [*we*] apprehended how fatal new diſtractions might be to this Kingdom, and that we believed our two Houſes would yield to truth, if manifeſted to them, as we had aſſured to comply if convinced by them; we again deſired a conſultation with Divines as before propoſed, and would ſuſpend the Epiſcopal power as well in point of Ordination of Miniſters, as in that of juriſdiction, 'till we and our two Houſes agreed what Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the future. As for Biſhops' lands, that though we could not conſent to the abſolute alienation of them from the Church, yet [*we*] would agree for the propriety and inheritance of them by Act of Parliament, to be ſettled in the Crown in truſt for the uſe of the Church and Churchmen; to be employed by us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, with the advice of both Houſes, for the uſe aforeſaid, and leaſes to be made for lives (or years) not exceeding 99 years, for the ſatisfaction of the Purchaſers and Contractors according to our former anſwers; reſerving the old or other moderate rents for maintenance of ſuch to whom they formerly belonged, and future benefit of the Church, in all things elſe referring to our former anſwers.

WHEN they had received this, they preſſed us much to quit the whole Preface, and at laſt aſſuring us, it was that it might find the better reception and paſſage in the Houſes, we omitted thoſe words you ſee here underlined; which both in reſpect of our former meſſage and the remonſtrance of the army, we otherwiſe thought very neceſſary.

† *Theſe Words, in Italick Characters, are underlined in the MS.*

*A.D.* 1648. THUS you now have all that paſſed in this treaty; for the next morning the Commiſſioners went away. The corn is now in the ground; we expect the harveſt; if the fruit be peace, we hope the God of peace will in time reduce all to truth and order again; which that he may do, is the prayer of

*Your very loving Father,*

*Newport, the 29th of November,* 1648. *C. R.*

*A Copy, probably by Mr. Oudart.*

## *The Prince of* WALES *to the Duke of* YORK.

*Dear Brother,*

I HAVE received your letter by Sir John Berkley, and by him have underſtood the reaſons of your unwillingneſs to go upon the fleet for the preſent; upon which, and the loſs of the Corniſh Frigate, who is gone to the enemy, I have changed my former opinion, and reſolve not to venture your perſon at ſea. But it will not be fit to publiſh that reſolution; but on the contrary, that you ſeem reſolved to go, and in order thereunto make all haſte to the Brill, and ſtay there, where there can be no apprehenſion of danger or inconvenience. There, upon advice with Prince Rupert, ſuch orders may be taken for the preſervation of the fleet, as may be poſſible to be executed; towards the which I am ſure your preſence at the Brill will be abſolutely neceſſary. I hope you will loſe no time in going thither; and let it be believed that you intend to go farther; ſo I reſt

*Your very loving Brother.*

17 *Nov.*

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon.*

## *Mr.* SCOUTMASTER WATSON *to Mr.* WESTROW.

*Dear Sir,*

I WAS exceeding glad to receive the Doctor's lines that intimated your recovery from that diſtemper that had ſeized upon you. I doubt not but it had this effect upon you, to let you ſee what a frail thing our bodies are, and what need we have to be ſure of our building not made with hands, reſerved in Heaven for us. I am at preſent, praiſed be God indifferent well; the place where I am in reſpect of all outward accommodations very well agreeing with me, and very much exceeding England; only defective in this, that I cannot find a Mr. Weſtrow nor Doctor Staines here to make a boſom friend; and yet in that it is not altogether ſo barren as I did, and you may well imagine it. I am fallen into the acquaintance of three or four Catholicks of very great ingenuity, and, in their way, of very much Religion. Undoubtedly, it is an error to look at all Papiſts through the ſame perſpective; for they are more to be differenced than Engliſh Papiſts can be. I find their opinion of and dependence upon the Pope little or nothing what we imagine it to be; and better principles to make members of a Commonwealth than the moſt Engliſh. Their oppoſition to the King is not to be reconciled; their hopes are now upon the army, to whom they wiſh

wiſh all proſperity, as to the ſettling a Repreſentative; being extreamly diſ- *A.D.* 1648.
taſted with Regal hereditary power throughout the world. It ſeems, my Lord Say hath undertaken to procure a paſs from the Houſe for Sir Kenelm Digby to come over to England; he is not, according to your rule a delinquent, but, it ſeems, came over into France by the Houſe of Commons licence, acquitted from any crime. Let me deſire you, when it comes to be moved in your Houſe, give it the beſt promotion you can. One would think a buſineſs ſo reaſonable ſhould find no oppoſition, (but to ſuch a conſtitution as you are of no man can tell what is reaſonable). He never was in arms, and I believe can eaſily anſwer any thing that can be objected (ſave his Religion) why he ſhould be from under ſequeſtration. Let me entreat you to ſpeak to as many of your acquaintance as you can, that, when it comes to be moved, it may not be repulſed. I could heartily wiſh you and Mrs. Weſtrow and the Doctor had a good occaſion to bring you over into France; if ſo I ſhould not think of returning into England whilſt you ſtayed. I have no more at preſent but my own and wife's beſt reſpects to you and Mrs. Weſtrow. I remain

*Your very aſſured Friend.*

*Paris*, 28 *Nov.* 1648.

*Endorſed by Sec. Nicholas*, "A true Copy
"of Scoutmaſter Watſon's letter to a brother
"independent, to favour Papiſts, with his
"reaſons for it."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My good Lord,*

THOUGH I hope I ſhall not be put to make an apology or defence for every error in judgment or opinion (which it may be would ſpend my whole life in apologies), and I am ſo confident of your Lordſhip's juſtice, that I ſhall not otherwiſe ſuffer with you under that imputation, but as an unſkilful and weak man; from which juſt cenſure nothing I am like to ſay will abſolve me; yet the liberty which hath been taken to aſperſe me for differing in opinion from Doctor Goff (for I do not know that I have differed with any body elſe in any material point) in the buſineſs of the Duke of Lorrain's Levies, and the probability that the freedom may be extended to my diſadvantage in the Queen's gracious favour, gives me the courage to trouble your Lordſhip with the whole narrative of what I have heard, and, as near as I can, what I have ſaid in the matter. And if upon the whole, you find the ſame ſimplicity of nature which I always profeſſed, I ſhall not labour much in the defence of my diſcretion, nor think much the worſe of myſelf, if it hath failed me now.

BY what I heard from my Lord Goring and Doctor Goff, the engagement of the Duke of Lorrain ſtood thus. There were 900 foreigners (men of all nations) levied by the Duke of Lorrain and the Prince of Orange, and put into the Iſle of Burcombe, to be thence tranſported for the ſervice of the King of England. The firſt deſign was, that theſe men, with ſome additional numbers, under the conduct of Lord Goring, ſhould endeavour the ſurpriſal of the Iſle of Wight, and thereby the releaſe of the King, when ſeveral parties appeared in the Kingdom upon his Majeſty's ſide, and the Kingdom of Scotland engaged in an invaſion with a very great army,

*A.D.* 1648. Sir Marmaduke Langdale being likewiſe with a conſiderable power in the North. So that if the enterprize upon the Iſle of Wight ſhould for the preſent appear over difficult, there were like to be places enough for their landing in other parts, many countries being to that end comprehended in my Lord Goring's commiſſion. The time when I was firſt preſent at this debate was, after the total defeat of the Scots army in England, and with them of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the retreat of the remainder of that nation into their own Country, and after the condition of Colcheſter was deſperate; and all who appeared for the King in England were ſhut up in Pomfret and Scarborough. Then was the queſtion, what ſhould be done with thoſe men at Burcombe; in all the material debates whereof my Lord Goring was ſtill preſent. As there appeared no preſent hopeful opportunity of employing them, ſo the inconveniencies of diſbanding, or otherwiſe ſuffering them to be diſpoſed of, were not unconſidered. And in this ſuſpence it was propoſed by the Doctor (without any other authority that I know of, but of his own judgment) that thoſe men might be uſefully applied towards the reduction of Guernſey; and upon his propoſition it was ſolemnly debated before the Prince. I never concealed my opinion in the argument, but ſpake with more freedom to the Doctor himſelf, than any where elſe, ſuppoſing him more guided by reaſon, than paſſion. I did, and do ſtill, think it was not propoſed upon any ſuch grounds, as might give a reaſonable hope of ſucceſs. No ſhips of war to convey them, through a ſea where the enemy was Maſter, and to a place where there were two frigates attending, and the ſtrength and power itſelf, inferior to that which it was to encounter; and if it ſucceeded not, I was and am of the opinion, that the attempt would prove very prejudicial to the King and Prince. I am not aſhamed, that the conſideration of their being ſtrangers (enough only to raiſe ſcandal, and to give offence, and too few to do buſineſs) was of moment to me; and it may be there are other objections, which an ordinary underſtanding naturally enough ſuggeſts, and which may be with more eaſe undervalued, than anſwered. I cannot ſay that all theſe reaſons had an equal influence upon us all; but if ſomewhat had not ſtuck with every one of us, my ſingle opinion could have given no interruption to any concluſion. And truly, I do not know that any one of us was of opinion that the Doctor's propoſition ſhould at that time have been executed as he propoſed it. In the end, after the Doctor ſaw the deſign upon ſeveral debates laid aſide, and another expedient propoſed and agreed upon for the reduction of Guernſey, he propoſed that he might in the Prince's name attend the Duke of Lorrain, and from thence wait on her Majeſty to inform her of the ſtate of the buſineſs; with ſome hope that ſome expedient might be found, either to prevent the diſbanding, or that it might be done with the Duke's conſent; it being at that time to be wiſhed, that the men might be kept where they were 'till the end of the treaty; which (it was ſuppoſed) would either produce an agreement, or ſuch a rent, as would open a door to let thoſe men into an employment; or, if they muſt inſtantly be employed, that they might be ſent into Scotland or Ireland. I muſt not forget, that when the Doctor had drawn his own inſtructions to the Duke of Lorrain, upon the reading of them, I told him there were ſome expreſſions which might again introduce an overture of ſending thoſe men to Guernſey; to which he anſwered, it could not be, for the buſineſs was out of door.

THIS was in effect the ſtate of the buſineſs, when the Doctor went laſt into France. *A.D.* 1648. Two days after his return hither, he brought a letter to my Lords from the Queen to his Highneſs, in which her Majeſty ſignified her opinion, that ſhe thought it beſt to employ the Duke of Lorrain's men for the reduction of Guernſey; and for the way of doing it, referred to Doctor Goff, who had received inſtructions. My Lords immediately applied themſelves to the conſideration again, and the ſame day heard all the Doctor would propoſe; which was that the men ſhould be immediately tranſported to Jerſey, and ſtay there, till thoſe of Jerſey could be ready to join with them, and a fit ſeaſon offered for the tranſportation. The ſhips provided for the tranſportation of thoſe men, were Merchantmen, bound for Bourdeaux, who would land the men at Jerſey, and not be engaged to carry them to Guernſey; no ſhip of war to attend them, no money or proviſions to keep them when they came thither. When the danger of the paſſage was objected, the Doctor's anſwer was, they muſt look to that, and that it was not probable, going in Dutch veſſels, that they would be taken notice of; and yet very few days before, he had averred that the Duke of Lorrain was advertiſed by his agent Foſkue at London, that the Parliament was ſo jealous of thoſe men at Burcombe, that they had given preciſe order to the Earl of Warwick to ſend ſome of his frigates to diſtreſs the Iſland; ſo that it was not probable the men would be able to ſteal away in ſo known a diſguiſe, as Dutch veſſels. When all the Doctor would offer was propoſed, my Lords had a full conference with my Lord Goring, under whoſe conduct the ſervice was to be performed. There the appatent danger of the paſſage was again conſidered, and the extream prejudice that might befall the King, Queen, and Prince, if thoſe men ſhould be deſtroyed, or taken priſoners at ſea; the probability that they would not be ſuffered to land at Jerſey; and the danger that might attend ſuch an inſurrection; the impoveriſhing the Iſland, if they ſhould be ſuffered to land, at a time when the Prince himſelf made choice of that place for his reſidence, and when the affections of the people ought to be cheriſhed. That, though Sir George Carteret ſignified to the Prince, that he could ſupply 1500 men out of that Iſland for the reduction of Guernſey, yet, that there is ſo great an averſion in thoſe Iſlands towards ſtrangers, that all the hope of a party in Guernſey would not be only loſt, but that they of Jerſey would not join with them: however, that there are not ſhips at Jerſey to tranſport their own men, that being the greateſt want that Sir George Carteret deſires to be ſupplied; and ſo theſe men being left at Jerſey, there would be no means to carry them away. Laſt of all, the going to Jerſey (ſo full of hazards, inconveniencies, and dangers) was not mentioned in the Queen's letter, or in any direction from your Lordſhip, whoſe the Government is. Upon the whole matter, my Lord Goring himſelf was clearly of opinion, that the deſign propoſed by the Doctor was not at this time practicable; and that the Duke of Lorrain ſhould be moved to keep the men, 'till, upon the concluſion of the treaty, it might be diſcerned how they might be beſt diſpoſed of to the King's ſervice; to which he was confident his Highneſs would be eaſily invited. Upon theſe reaſons and conſiderations, the thought of that enterprize was laid aſide; and I am exceedingly deceived if any one of us was not directly againſt the ſending thoſe men to Jerſey, though poſſibly we were not all ſwayed by the ſame reaſons. And therefore I cannot imagine, why it ſhould come to my turn to ſuffer in it, otherwiſe than as the Doctor

*A.D.* 1648. vouchſafes to make me conſiderable by his diſpleaſure. I may be pardoned, if after two years living in the Iſland, by your Lordſhip's favour, I pretend to know ſomewhat of the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe people; and I very well know their apprehenſion of, and animoſities againſt ſtrangers to be ſo great, that I am very confident, the coming thither of this body would have made a dangerous impreſſion on the whole Iſland, and that they would neither have ſuffered them to land, nor aſſiſted them in the leaſt degree towards the conquering the other. And how ſeaſonable any ſuch diſorder would have proved in this conjuncture, your Lordſhip can beſt judge; and I hope the Queen will pardon me for ſaying any thing upon the debate of any buſineſs here, which I ſhould out of duty ſpeak to her Majeſty, if I had the honour to be admitted to her preſence.

If your Lordſhip finds that any miſreport hath been made to her Majeſty to my diſadvantage in this particular, and this true narrative I have made to you, is in any degree ſatisfactory to your Lordſhip, I beſeech you apply ſo much of it to her Majeſty as may remove any prejudice in her, towards me. For truly, my Lord, the leaſt weight of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure is a burthen ſo inſupportable to me, that even the conſcience of not deſerving it, gives me little eaſe, and you cannot undertake any thing to her with leſs diſcredit to yourſelf, than that I will ſerve her Majeſty with all integrity and fidelity, reſerving only ſo much liberty of judgment as an honeſt man cannot part with. And I ſhall take it as the greateſt teſtimony of your favour towards me, if you will vouchſafe to apply your reaſon and authority to thoſe errors in underſtanding, which you diſcover to be in,

*My good Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's*

*Hague, 28 Nov. St. novo.* *moſt affectionate humble Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to the Lord* Digby.

*My good Lord,*

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To that part of your letter of the 23d of this month, concerning my Lord Treaſurer and my going into Ireland, do you think it eaſy to give a preſent anſwer? Would you have us reſolve to go thither, when it is not impoſſible, but all who are there may be ſacrificed to this treaty? Do thoſe wonderful conceſſions make no impreſſion in you? and will not ſober men ſee what concluſion will attend the treaty, before they engage themſelves in new activities? It were indeed a very ridiculous imagination that you had contrived this overture out of any unkind deſign upon me. I need not ſay to any body that knows me, that I am far enough from any ſuch jealouſies; and I know this motion proceeds out of your friendſhip to me. Yet I am not ſo weak a man, as not to diſcern, and conclude, that the Queen (who you ſay ſo fully approves the motion, and would be very glad if I went thither) believes my attendance on the Prince may be well diſpenſed with, and that obſervation I do not deny to have made to a perſon or two; and I ſhall never take it as a mark of her Majeſty's diſfavour, if

ſhe

ſhe concludes me fitter for one ſervice than another, as long as ſhe thinks me worthy to be applied to any part which ſhe conſiders. *A.D.* 1648.

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TRULY I do not in the leaſt degree repent my coming from Jerſey, though my part hath not been pleaſant to me ſince; for as I did my duty in coming when I was ſent for, ſo I am ſure I have not failed in it ſince I came; being moſt deſirous to give an account of all I have ſaid or done in whatſoever concerns the publick.

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IF ever you knew me, you do ſo ſtill; for I have not changed an opinion or reſolution ſince we parted; which it may be, may make me leſs fit for Counſels, yet it keeps me better company to myſelf; and I confeſs I have not virtue enough to reſtrain me within any bounds, if I once let myſelf looſe into this wilderneſs of prudential motives, and expedients. Whilſt we keep ourſelves upon the old foundation of the eſtabliſhed Government, and the good known laws, how weak ſoever we are in power, we ſhall be ſtrong in reputation; whereas, when we are deviſing alterations, other's judgments will be ſubmitted to before our's, and we ſhall only have the infamy of being unfortunate projectors. I will cenſure nor rebel againſt no concluſion the King ſhall make; but by the grace of God I will not contribute towards, nor have any hand in any, which in my judgment promiſes nothing but vexation and miſery to himſelf, and all honeſt men. And therefore you may eaſily conclude how fit a Counſellor I am like to be, when the beſt that is propoſed, is that which I would not conſent unto, to preſerve the Kingdom from aſhes. I can tell you worſe of myſelf than this; which is, that there may be ſome reaſonable expedients which poſſibly would in truth reſtore and preſerve all, in which I could bear no part. So that you ſee, I am fitter for a Monaſtery, than a Court; and do exceedingly deſire to be thought ſo. And I wiſh with all my heart that you had a little of that monaſtical humour, and would for the preſent not unnaturally conſent with that torrent of prejudice, which you ſee is ſo violent, that it bears down all your endeavours. Why cannot you ſit ſtill one year, and revolve the accidents and paſſages of thoſe that are paſt, with reference to yourſelf? and is it poſſible that you are the only man, that do not diſcern a univerſal combination in all to have you quiet? If you would do this, you would find comfort in it, and be called out again, when you are fitter to be doing. You have not one friend in the world that does not believe this Counſel. I pray think of it, and of the other world, and the way thither, and you will find eaſe by it.

FOR what concerns the Prince, I wiſh the Queen could be perſuaded, in his paſſage through France, to appoint at ſome convenient place (as Rouen) all his Father's Counſellors to attend him, and there to conſider, with a proſpect upon the three Kingdoms, what is fit to be done. I do not undervalue the wiſdom of private and ſecret conſultations, when I tell you, this other is only that which carries reputation with it, and the iſſue would be as proſperous as the preſent condition will admit. If you like the freedom and folly of this deſpatch, let me hear at large from you, by the next.

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*A.D.* 1648. My Lord Treaſurer is very kind to you, but will not write till you provoke him. God of Heaven preſerve and proſper you, and me no longer than I am,

*My dear Lord,*

*Your true faithful Servant,*

*Hague, 30th Nov. St. nov.*

E. H.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Minutes, in Sir* Edward Hyde's *hand, relative to ſome Converſation which paſſed between himſelf, and Mr.* Mowbray, *and Mr.* Mungo Murray.

5 *Dec.* 1648.

Mr. Mowbray came to viſit me in the morning, and after ſome ſalutations, told me that he came lately out of Scotland, where he had been during theſe late troubles; and that he had brought advices to the Prince from the Earl of Lanerick, who continued his devotion to his Highneſs, and had never ſubmitted to the agreement made at Sterling, but kept in the North, where he would be ready to ſerve the Prince any way he propoſed; and to that purpoſe had expreſſed a willingneſs to join with my Lord Montroſe, and all the King's party, and that he would be ſo far from conteſting about command, that he would be a Serjeant under Montroſe. That if the Prince would declare that he would come thither, he would be ready with an army of 10, or 12,000 to receive him; and in the mean time make ſure the heads of the contrary faction. He wiſhed that this inclination of his to join with Montroſe, might be concealed from the Earl of Lauderdale, 'till he were felt how he ſtood inclined.

He ſaid, in his paſſage he had waited on the King at the Iſle of Wight, and acquainted his Majeſty with what the Earl of Lanerick deſired, and that the King asked, whether the Duke of York might not ſerve turn. That the King bad him tell the Prince that he was well ſatisfied with the relation of the ſtate of affairs which he had ſent him by Maſon (what that was I know not), and that his Majeſty wiſhed the Prince to follow his inſtructions he had ſent in that letter, in which he acknowledged the arrival of Maſon, by the ſame token that it was a long letter, in a ſmall hand, of almoſt a ſheet of paper. (I never ſaw that letter, nor heard what was contained in it.)

He ſaid my Lord Lanerick was of opinion that my Lord Lauderdale's ſeverity here in the point of the Chaplains, and in many other particulars, had done much harm; and that if the Prince would come, all whom he would bring with him ſhould be welcome, &c.

The ſame day, my Lord Culpeper acquainted my Lord Treaſurer, Lord Hopton, and myſelf with the King's letter to the Prince, which came the night before, and told us the contents (but ſhewed us not the letter) that his Majeſty had no hopes of the treaty, and hoped to make —— He moved us, to write to the King, to diſſuade him from —— and to adviſe him, ſince he had granted ſo much, not to deny the reſt, &c.

*A.D.* 1648.

Monday the 7th.

Mr. Mungo Murray visited me in the morning, and told me, he had brought very civil messages from my Lord Argyle and Lord Chancellor, and the governing party in Scotland, to the Prince; and, that if his Highness would come to them, they would raise an army of 20,000, and restore him to his rights in England, or die. That William Murray advised the Prince to answer the letters from the Committee and Assembly with all gentleness, and because the Parliament would shortly send Propositions to his Highness, that his Highness would in his letters desire that the Committee would propose nothing to him contrary to his Honour, or the Assembly to his Conscience. He said, if they would press him to take the Covenant, he should take it, and comply with them in this extremity, and thereby he might get into the head of an army which he might dispose of as he saw cause; for that 5 of 6 through Scotland were for the King; and that though for the present the chief officers as General Lesley, and David Lesley were not right, yet in a short time, he would be able to dispose of them. He wished that the Prince would send Mr. Denham into Scotland with my Lord Lauderdale; and thereby he might know the truth of things, which he would receive by William Murray. I asked him how William Murray could live safely there; he answered he was a wise man, and governed Argyle and all that party, and that he was most faithful to the King; that he heard Mr. Mowbray took liberty to speak freely, but he had advised him to desist; for if he let his tongue loose towards William Murray, he should let his tongue loose towards others. He took notice that there were other propositions he heard made to the Prince, but he hoped the Prince would be well informed, before he hearkened to them; that my Lord Lanerick is a very honest man, but, &c. I asked him whither my Lord Lauderdale meant to go? and whether he could be safe in Scotland? he said, he would go to Edinburgh, and would be safe there; for though he had many enemies, he had likewise many great friends, and was a wise man, and would do the King great service, therefore desired he might be used civilly at parting; and that his Lordship complained that he was not kindly used by me, &c.

*The Prince of* Wales *to the Lord Chancellor of* Scotland.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved Cousin; we have received by Mr. Carmichael a letter signed by you in the name of the Committee of Estates, bearing date the 17 day of October, which came not to our hands till the 5th of this instant December; in which you advise us, to account it a work worthy of us, to endeavour to remove all differences betwixt the King our Royal Father and his Subjects in a peaceable manner; which advice we take very kindly from you, and return you our very hearty thanks for the same, assuring you that all our actions, and all our endeavours always have and always shall tend to that great and good end; for the better compassing whereof, and opposing all those who are professed enemies to peace, we should be exceedingly glad to see a perfect union between all those within that his Majesty's native Kingdom, who are well affected to peace, and to the vindication of those rights which are unjustly detained

A.D. 1648. from our Royal Father, and to the releaſe of his perſon from that impious impriſonment he now endures; which we conceive to be the only means (with God's bleſſing) to ſettle a firm and laſting peace in thoſe Kingdoms. And whoſoever ſhall heartily concur and join with us in that pious work, will lay the greateſt obligation upon us, we are capable of; and we ſhall with all imaginable joy be ready and deſirous in our own perſon to undergo all hazards and dangers which the purſuing thereof can make us liable to; and of this we deſire you in our name to aſſure the whole Committee of Eſtates, and the Parliament of that Kingdom, who we doubt not will aſſiſt us in ſo juſt an undertaking. Given &c.

23 *Dec.* 1648.

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon.*

## *The Prince of* WALES *to the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the* KIRK *of* Scotland.

TRUSTY and well-beloved we greet you well. Yours of the 17th of October we received on the 5th of this month, and do return you our hearty thanks for the affection you expreſs therein to us. We need not expreſs the deep ſenſe we have of thoſe ſad diviſions and diſtractions under which the peace and happineſs of thoſe Kingdoms hath for theſe late years ſuffered; they muſt believe us to be void of all religion and prudence, who think us not fully affected with it. And as we have always uſed our utmoſt endeavours to promote a bleſſed peace, ſo we ſhall leave nothing undone on our part which may reaſonably contribute towards it. And we very earneſtly deſire you, out of your zeal to religion, and the conſcience of your duty to our Royal Father, ſince it is apparent that all principles of religion and government are trod under foot by thoſe who declare to the world that they will have no peace, that you will uſe your endeavours to unite the hearts and affections of that Kingdom, that they may join as one man to redeem and reſtore their Sovereign Lord the King, out of the wicked hands of thoſe who detain him in priſon, by which you will do an act worthy the Miniſters of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and oblige us always to look upon you as the inſtruments of that happy deliverance, which in reaſon can only put a period to the preſent calamities, and give us hope of future comfort, in one another. The God of Peace direct and diſpoſe your hearts to this bleſſed work, which, with God's bleſſing, will reſtore three Kingdoms to their loſt happineſs.

23 *Dec.* 1648.

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon.*

## *The Earl of* ABERCORN *to the Earl of* LAUDERDALE.

*My Lord,*

I HOPE your Lordſhip will pardon my ſo long neglect of writing to you, occaſioned by reaſon that ever ſince the great alteration which happened ſhortly after your Lordſhip's parting from hence, 'till within theſe ten days I have been in the weſt country; where I have meddled with nothing but my hawks, and hawking with them. And your Lordſhip knows how

how little employment I had in the engagement for England, to make me active in it. Yet notwithſtanding, my neighbours of the Committee of the Barenthron have been pleaſed, out of their arbitrary power, (without ever being cited or heard, or 'till this hour told in what I have offended) to make me a malignant, and to lay a proportionable part of the new levy of horſe and foot upon me as a malignant, and to cauſe me to bear a part of all other burthens laid upon them; for which there is no remedy but the Frenchman's; patience. I doubt not but, before this comes to you, that your Lordſhip will have heard from better hands, how that on Thurſday the 14th of this inſtant (being through this whole Kingdom an univerſal day of faſting and humiliation, in preparing for renewing the League and Covenant, with ſome little additions) my Lord Chancellor made his ſolemn repentance in Maſter Robert Douglas's Kirk; where in a ſpeech he did relate many of the errors he had committed in his laſt employment in England, and eſpecially his great breach of Covenant and horrible fault in the Iſle of Wight; which he did acknowledge with ſuch abundance of tears, that, as it is reported, they did draw a great many of the like from the auditors; ſuch as the Miniſter himſelf, the Marquis of Argyle and Lord Wariſton, and many tender-hearted Ladies, with a great many others of both ſexes, who were preſent. The Earl of Lanerick and ſome other Noblemen have been here in town theſe eight or ten days, being cited by the Committee to find caution for keeping of the peace. He was interrogated, if he had ſent his Servitor, Maſter Law, to Germany (where it is ſaid he now is) to ſettle correſpondence betwixt him and Montroſe, and to invite him home to this Country; and, if he had ſent Maſter Mowbray to Holland to the Prince, and to the Queen in France; and laſt, if he had ſent Colonel John Hamilton of Endirinck to the Marquis of Ormond and Lord Inchiquin. All which he denied. Then he was aſked three queſtions: Firſt, If he would acknowledge the preſent Committee to be lawful, being conſtitute of Diſ-aſſenters? Secondly, If he did acknowledge the Treaty of Sterling, and would acquieſce and ſtand to it? Thirdly, If he would acknowledge the lawfulneſs of the enſuing Parliament, being indicted by the preſent Committee, and acknowledge it to be lawfully conſtitute? To the firſt he has anſwered, that he did acknowledge it by compearing before them. Upon their citation to the ſecond, he ſays, that he has already acknowledged it, in having disbanded the forces then under his command, according to the conditions of it. And to the third he ſaid, that being a Member of Parliament, and it being to convene ſo ſoon, he humbly deſired not to be put to give his ſingle opinion of the conſtitution or lawfulneſs thereof, 'till firſt it did meet and conſtitute itſelf. Theſe anſwers are not thought ſatisfactory; but more poſitive anſwers are required. He muſt likewiſe find caution, under the pain of great ſums, to keep the peace; which he is willing to do. But in the preface of the bond, which he and others are deſired to ſign, is a narrative of the breach of Covenant, and raiſing of war againſt all the Kingdom of England; both which they ſtand at; alleging, that either of the two might bring their lives in queſtion, if they ſhould ſet their hands to them. But it is thought Lanerick muſt either do all, as is required, or Madie ſays he will get the Caſtle to keep; and malice is not aſhamed to whiſper, that it will not be without his own conſent. But I will leave this idle reverie, and tell you that amongſt many others who wiſh your Lordſhip here, none does deſire it with more paſſion than I do, if it might be with your Lordſhip's own

*A.D.* 1648.

*A.D.* 1648. content and credit; and that you might ſit in this approaching Parliament, as you did in the laſt, to do your King and Country ſervice. But I fear, before you be admitted, all has been done by the Chancellor, or is required of Lanerick, will be expected of your Lordſhip; wherein none can give you counſel but your own breaſt. But I will now leave troubling your Lordſhip with theſe things; which I doubt not but you have from thoſe who have them by [more] ſurer means than hearſay; which you know is all the way I get what I have written. So I will not trouble you any longer with reading any more of what he ſaid, and ſhe ſays; but will only give your Lordſhip many humble thanks for your kindneſs to my dear Lucy at her being in Holland, which ſhall ever be acknowledged for an infinite obligation by him who ſhall live and die

*Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate*

*Brother and humble Servant,*

*Edinburgh, the 27th of Dec.* 1648.

ABERCORNE.

*An Original.*

## *The* POPE'S NUNCIO *in* Ireland *to the titular Biſhop of* FERNES, *and Sir* NICHOLAS PLUNKET.

*Illuſtriſſimi Domini,*

OBLATA mihi occaſione Patris Viſitatoris Jeſuitarum, cenſui quam brevitèr poſſum ad prolixas Dominationum veſtrarum Illuſtriſſimarum literas reſpondere; agens imprimis gratias eiſdem, quòd Romæ tam laudabilitèr de me locuti fuerint; prout etiam aliquid mihi a domeſticis ſignificatum fuit. In quâ re, cum dolere ſatìs debeam, quòd officioſam humanitatem in homine minùs digno collocaverint; nihilominus eo vel nomine me penitùs indignum exiſtimare non audeo, quòd pluribus ante menſibus, nempe in diſceſſu D. Decani ab hoc Regno, ſimilibus officiis veſtram benignitatem prævenerim. Literis enim, quas tunc ſcripſi, talia propoſui Sanctitati ſuæ de Hiberniâ, ac de Reverendiſſimo Fernenſi, quæ nunquam hoc Regnum obtinuit, & fortaſſe nullus in poſterum obtinebit. Paratuſque eram, in meo reditu ad Curiam, ea ita ardentèr urgere, ut Chriſtiano appareret Orbi non intermiſſurum me officia, donec effectus conſequeretur. Hæc habeo quæ reponam Dominationibus veſtris Illuſtriſſimis; ex quibus non ingratam fore exiſtimo animi ſaltem addictiſſimi voluntatem. Sed hæc hactenùs.

MULTUM laborant Dominationes veſtræ in perſuadendo partes D. Eugenii ô Neill jam attritas, & Dominos de *Aſſemblea* nullâ ratione poſſe ipſi conciliari, aut in illius ſenſum propendere; verùm ſuperfluè hoc agunt. Ego enim brevitèr reſpondeo, nihil me feciſſe in hoc nupero negotio dependentèr ab ipſo, aut ab ejus exercitu; cum res Fidei ac Religionis non debeant ullo præſidio humano, niſi ſecundariè, inniti. Sed omnia quæ a me geſta ſunt, finem hunc ſolummodò habuerunt, ne in evidentiſſimâ opportunitate recuperandi Momoniam ab Hæreſi nobis ipſis deeſſemus; & ut nationem hanc in libertatem aſſererem, quam videbam, prout nunc video, ſub dominium Hæreticorum ruentem. In quorum fidem, ingenuè fateor me penitùs ignorâſſe quid factum a D. Eugenio fuerit a pluribus menſibus, &

& mortuuſne ſit modò, an vivus; licet multi exiſtiment me directorem belli, ac totius Machinæ fabricatorem. *A. D.* 164⅞.

Circa mutuam verò omnium geſtorum oblivionem inter partes, nemo fuit qui eam magis cuperet, ac vehementiùs promoverit, quam ego. In eum enim finem Concilium Nationale intimavi de Menſe Auguſti; ubi id ſecuriùs quoad conſcientias, atque honorificentiùs quoad populum, perficeretur. Sed quis exiſtimâſſet uſquam, ut in Confederatione Catholicâ, & inter ipſos præcipuè Eccleſiaſticos, talis impietas inſurgeret, ut primùm conſiliis, deinde armatâ vi, impedirent confluentes Epiſcopos, & Regulares? quod fortaſſe nunquam viſum aut auditum fuit, niſi inter ipſos effrontes Hæreticos. Immo adeo clarâ manifeſtatione impietatis, ut in literis, quas apud me habeo, nullas alias ſacrilegæ hujus violentiæ reddiderint rationes, quam puras ipſas quas Proteſtantes Germaniæ, ac Lutherus, contra Concilium Tridentinum, & Summum Pontificem, obſtupentibus omnibus hiſtoricis, ac totâ Chriſtianitate, obtrudebant. Et tamen ſatis apertè publicaveram omnibus, velle me ſubmittere omnes determinationes meas Eccleſiæ Hibernicæ congregatæ, atque inde ſumere remedia, ac modos, & ex publicâ conſenſione eruere felicitatem hujus Regni. Quo quid, quæſo, utilius, aptius, atque ſecurius, ad amneſtiam illam generalem quam Dominationes veſtræ Illuſtriſſimæ tantopere deſiderant? Sed Deus diſtulit, vel non permiſit, hoc bonum; ut illius carentia recidat in caput eorum qui ſuſpectam habuerunt Authoritatem Apoſtolicam, & non veriti ſunt recuſare ab ipsâ etiam Eccleſiâ Univerſali hujus Regni ipſam Veritatem.

Tandem, quoad pacem, quæ iſtic tractatur, cum videam Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum in ſimilibus contractibus cum Hæretico ineundis non ſolere partes ſuas intermiſcere, ago gratias Deo, quòd neceſſitas coegerit me a Kilcheniâ abeſſe; cum, ſiquid boni aut mali exinde promanaverit, debeant Illuſtriſſimæ Dominationes veſtræ ſibi tantùm, & non aliis, acceptum ferre. Mihi ſuperſtes erit ſemper ille dolor, quòd poſt triennales meos labores, ut Confederatio poneret ſe in ſtatu dandi potius quam accipiendi leges, & nanciſcendi ſecuritatem [a] propriis ſuis viribus, me adhuc in Regno exiſtente, coacta ſit utrumque emendicare ab aliis, cum eâ incertitudine futurorum quam ſcio prudentiæ Dominationum veſtrarum Illuſtriſſimarum notam ſatis eſſe. Tempus aliud ſcribendi non ſupereſt; atque ideo Dominationum veſtrarum Illuſtriſſimarum manus deoſculor, ac precor felicitatem; earum Dominationum veſtrarum Illuſtriſſimarum

*Addictiſſimus Servus*

*7 Januarii* 1649.

Jo. B. Archiep. Firman.

*An Original.*

*The titular Popiſh Biſhops of* Ireland, *convened in the General Aſſembly, to* ——— †.

*Sirs,*

AS a war undertaken principally for Religion gives us all the world over the reputation of a Catholick People, even ſo ſhall the peace now concluded between the King's Lieutenant and the Roman Catholicks ſpeak us a moſt loyal Nation, as complying with his Majeſty in his greateſt neceſ-

† *Moſt probably to the Generals and other Officers of the Army.*

 ſities.

*A.D.* 164⅞. ſities. Though in our thoughts and actions during theſe ſeven years wars, we bare ſtill this loyalty, and have often publickly ſworn it; yet lay we under the ſuſpicion of many men. But by the preſent agreement all blemiſh of that kind is taken away. We are of opinion that [*our*] ſenſe of this peace would give you a Conſ[*cience*] to receive and ſubmit to it willingly and cheerfully; to which end we do here[*by*] give you aſſurance we have by this peace in the preſent conceſſions, and in the expectation of further gracious favours from his Majeſty's goodneſs, received a good ſatisfaction for the being and ſafety of Religion, and the ſubſtance thereof; [*which,*] as to the conceſſions for Religion, is better than the ſound. By the temporal articles, lives, liberties, and the eſtates of men are well provided for; ſo as now you have a clear quarrel, without thought or the leaſt colour of ſuſpicion; for you fight purely againſt Sectaries and Rebels, for God and Cæſar; and under their banners you may well hope for victories. We do heartily pray you may with joy and much happineſs wear this green laurel of a happy peace; and even ſo we remain

*Your Fathers and Servants*
*in Chriſt Jeſus.*

THOMAS CASHELL.
JO. ARCHIEP. TUAMEN.
DAVID OSSORIEN.
THOMAS MIDEN.
FR. PATRICIUS WATERFORD & LISMOR.
NICO. FERNENSIS.
[. . .] DROMORE.
FRAN. ALADENSIS.
ED. LIMERICEN.
HUGO DUACENSIS.
AND. FINIBOREN.

*Kilkenny, 17th Jan.* 1648.

*An Original.*

## *The Earl of* BRENTFORD *to the Marquis of* MONTROSE.

*My Lord,*

I HAVE acquainted his Highneſs with what I have received from your Lordſhip by this bearer; and with your Lordſhip's deſire and the deſire of thoſe Gentlemen lately come out of Scotland to you, that I ſhould come over to your Lordſhip to confer with you; which I would very willingly do, but it is his Highneſs's opinion, that 'till he can receive information of the proceedings in Scotland, and the reſolutions of the Parliament there, [that] it will not be fit for your Lordſhip to think of going thither; and that it would make too much noiſe and be too much taken notice of, if I ſhould come into thoſe parts, or if your Lordſhip and I ſhould meet together; therefore that it muſt be deferred till a more ſeaſonable time. In the mean time, his Highneſs aſſures you of his very good eſteem of your affection, and his value of your ſervice; and deſires you to let thoſe Highland Gentlemen know, that he hath a great ſenſe of their affection; which he hopes they will retain, 'till a fitter opportunity be offered to expreſs it in action;

action; which for the preſent will neither be for their own or the King's advantage. *A.D.* 1648.

*I am,*

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*Jan.* 18.

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Marquis of* MONTROSE.

*My Lord,*

THE Prince hath vouchſafed to truſt me with ſome overtures he hath lately received from your Lordſhip, and hath given me a private command to wait on your Lordſhip in any place, and at any time you pleaſe to appoint. If I were enough known to your Lordſhip you would believe me to be very glad of this employment, and to have the opportunity of kiſſing the hands of a perſon that hath acted ſo glorious a part in the world. I ſhall very greedily wait your ſummons, and attend you accordingly; only give me leave to inform your Lordſhip, being no ſtranger to the preſent tranſactions and deſigns, that there is now ſo great jealouſy of a treaty betwixt his Highneſs and your Lordſhip, and your Countrymen are ſo ſcattered over all the neighbouring towns, that it will not be poſſible for you to be in theſe parts without diſcovery; and in this conjuncture the higheſt ſecrecy is abſolutely neceſſary. And if I, who have the honour not to be gracious with your enemies, ſhould be ſeen at Antwerp or Bruxels, inquiſitive men, by long ſuſpecting will conclude ſomewhat, at this time ſhould not be believed; therefore, I humbly refer it to your Lordſhip, whether you will not believe Breda, Bergen-op-zome, or Gythren-berg, a fit place to be attended. Your Lordſhip has the full diſpoſal of,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt humble*

*and moſt obedient Servant,*

*Hague, 20th Jan. St. nov.* E. H.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* RICHARD FANSHAW.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I NEED not tell you much of ourſelves or of this place. I never lived with leſs ſatisfaction to myſelf any part of my life. There was a purpoſe, that the Prince ſhould have gone to Jerſey; but that again is ſuſpended, upon an invitation from the Prince of Orange to ſtay here till he be ready for ſome deſign. That deſign I hope will be Ireland, to which all my friends are heartily inclined; and I believe the next clear advice from my Lord Ormond to that purpoſe, will be followed. In the mean time I preſume the fleet will be with you before this comes to your hands; the preſervation whereof muſt be entirely aſcribed to Prince Rupert, who ſeriouſly hath expreſſed greater dexterity and temper in it, than you can imagine. I

*A.D.* 164⅓. know there is and will be much prejudice to the ſervice, by his being engaged in the command; you will believe we could not be without that proſpect, both by our own obſervation and the information we every day received from England. But the truth is, there was an unavoidable neceſſity in it. Batten and Jordan played the rogues with us; and when after their full promiſes they had kept us in expectation that the fleet would be ready to go out by a day, they came on a ſudden, and without more ceremony, told us they would not go to ſea, nor any more to Helvoetſluys, having at the ſame time uſed all their ſkill to corrupt both officers and mariners. In this diſtreſs Prince Rupert took the charge, and with unwearied pains and toil put all things in reaſonable order; it being then reſolved that the Duke of York ſhould go with the fleet to Ireland. But to our amazement his old Preſbyterian Counſellors wrought ſo on his Highneſs that in expreſs terms he refuſed it. So you ſee the neceſſity of what is done, and really I believe the Prince will behave himſelf ſo well in it, that nobody will have cauſe to be ſorry for it. I know, I need not charge you to perform all offices towards preſerving a right underſtanding between his Highneſs and my Lord Lieutenant. If you give me any encouragement, I ſhall be willing to come into that Kingdom; though I was nothing pleaſed with the deſign from Paris, which I am ſure was only to remove me from the Prince. If they would have let me alone at Jerſey, I had put them to none of that trouble; and they had reaſon enough to believe before, that I would ſerve no turns. Remember my ſervice to my Lord Ormond, and confirm his good favour to me.

* * * * * * * * * * *

*21 Jan.*

*A rough Draught, by himſelf.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Prince* RUPERT.

*Sir,*

I RECEIVED your's of the 24th by Captain Ulbert at Mr. Attorney's houſe; when he and I, underſtanding by the Captain the great diſtreſs your Highneſs is in for want of men, perſuaded him to go himſelf to Amſterdam, with a letter to Mr. Webſter, to try what he can do. I hope it will be with good effect, though ſome here are very confident that you will not procure men, and ſay you have not yet enough to trim your ſails, and that, notwithſtanding all our brags, the great ſhips will not go out. My Lords attended the Prince this morning, which was wholly ſpent in thoſe particulars which concern your Highneſs and the fleet, and we have not left any one thing undeſpatched, which occurred to us. Your order for wearing the ſtandard, my Lord Gerard ſent as ſoon as we roſe; but I would fain have perſuaded him to have kept your footman 'till night, that he might have carried this too. And I promiſed the Prince to give your Highneſs advertiſement of the debate concerning this wearing the ſtandard; in which I learned many things, which I never heard before. It is agreed by all that the ſtandard is properly and of right to be worn only by the Lord High Admiral of England; and when I enquired of the order granted for the Lord Willoughby or Sir William Batten's wearing it, it is ſaid, that it was thought then neceſſary, ſince the Earl of Warwick wore a ſtandard, that whoſoever

whoſoever commanded the fleet that was to fight againſt him, ſhould likewiſe wear one, leſt the ſeamen ſhould be diſcouraged, and look upon the Earl as the greater perſon; ſo that it is the opinion of all, that, when you are like to engage with the Rebels' fleet, your men may expect you ſhould wear that enſign. It is therefore wholly referred to your Highneſs to wear it upon any occaſions you think fit; and I thought it very agreeable to my devotion to your Highneſs, to preſent this intimation to you, that from a conſtant, frequent wearing it, ſome perſons may, according to their cuſtoms, infuſe into the Duke of York an opinion that he is ſupplanted, and others report that the Prince both made an Admiral of England, which as all men know is not in his power, ſo none ſhould believe at ſuch a time, when they talk ſo loudly of depoſing his Father. *A.D.* 164⅝.

I SHEWED his Highneſs the Poſtſcript of your letter, and aſked him privately (for of this I ſpake only to himſelf), whether he would give me leave to prepare half a dozen lines for his own hand to the Marquis of Ormond, which he wiſhed me to do; and before I came out of the houſe I did, and delivered it to him, upon his abſolute promiſe, to ſend me his letter this night by nine of the clock, and I might ſend it to your Highneſs. If he hath not ſaid enough to him, it is my fault; but truly it is all I would have wiſhed him to ſay, if he had been in the room with him. He hath told him of the extraordinary arts which have been uſed to bring this fleet to nothing, and that he owes all that is kept to your induſtry and dexterity; that he expects now, that they who are diſinclined to his ſervice, would employ all their wit to make an ill underſtanding between your Highneſs and his Lordſhip, which would be the moſt miſchievous thing could befal the publick; that he knows your Highneſs is very well prepared againſt all ſuch attempts, and ſo conceives him &c. And truly, Sir, I do not apprehend any danger this way, and I know your Highneſs will comply in all things with him, as a perſon, beſides his great merit, of the cleareſt and moſt entire reputation of any ſubject the King hath.

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I ASK your Highneſs's pardon for this long vexation I give you, which proceeds from the great deſire I have to ſerve you, as

*Your Highneſs's*

*Hague, 27 Jan.*

*moſt faithful &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *The Marquis of* MONTROSE *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My Lord,*

ACCORDING to his Highneſs's commands, and the deſire of your's, I have been minding the moſt convenient place to wait upon you. Since you find difficulties in their lengths, and all being conſidered, I ſuppoſe that Sevenbergen will be by much of beſt conveniency for you, and greateſt privacy to the buſineſs (although it carries me the furtheſt length.) For Bergen, Gertruydenberg, Breda, and all thoſe places are ſo full of [*my*] Countrymen, as we cannot be any where undiſcovered. Wherefore you will be pleaſed expect me at Sevenbergen ere you ſhall be the length; 'till when I will trouble [*you*] with no further, but only expreſs the ſatisfaction I have

*A.D.* 164 · that his Highneſs has pitched ſo well as on yourſelf; of whoſe deſervings and approved loyalty I have often had ſo much character, as I cannot but be encouraged to hope for the better effects, and profeſs how really I am,

*My Lord,*

*Your moſt affectionate*

*Friend and Servant,*

*Bruſſels*, 28 *Jan.* 1649.

MONTROSE.

*An Original.*

*The Marquis of* MONTROSE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I RECEIVED your Highneſs's, wherewithal you were pleaſed to honour me. As for my humble and loyal affection to your Highneſs's ſervice, I hope there can be no fate nor fatal miſinformations can ever put it to a peradventure in your Highneſs's thoughts: Otherwiſe, I ſhould think what I have done and ſuffered, and am yet able to act for your Highneſs's ſervice, had rencontred a very hard fate. For what your Highneſs is pleaſed to mention touching that young man's expreſſions to you, I gave him no warrant to trouble your Highneſs with ſuch like (but [that] he was prompted by the impatiency of others); yet there can be nothing ſaid, but I am moſt ready to own it, wherein the leaſt point of your Highneſs's ſervice can be concerned: And have, according to your Highneſs's commands, appointed with your Chancellor of Exchequer where to meet. 'Till when, I ſhall only beg your Highneſs to believe, that, as I never had paſſion upon earth ſo ſtrong, as that to do the King your Father ſervice, ſo ſhall it be my ſtudy (if your Highneſs command me) to ſhew it redoubled for the recovery of you: And that I ſhall never have end, friend, nor enemy, but as your pleaſure, and the advancement of your ſervice ſhall require: Wherein if your Highneſs ſhall but vouchſafe a little faith unto your loyal ſervants (and ſtand at guard with others), your affairs can ſoon be whole. So humbly expecting your Highneſs's further commands, with all the ſecrecy your Highneſs impoſes, I am,

*Sir,*

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*faithful, conſtant, zealous Servant,*

*Bruſſels*, 28 *Jan.* 1649.

MONTROSE.

*An Original.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN DOWAGER.

*Madam,*

YOUR Majeſty will rather wonder, that, after this horrid and deadly blow, I have ſo ſoon recovered my ſpirits to preſent my duty this way to you, than that I have not done it ſooner; nothing but my reverence and devotion to your Majeſty being able to awaken me out of the deep amaze-

ment

ment and confuſion I am in. Your Majeſty's afflictions and mine are now at the higheſt; and I cannot doubt but God Almighty will even from this minute vouchſafe to raiſe us; as he hath already univerſally infuſed into the hearts of all people a deteſtation of the wickedneſs through which we ſuffer. And therefore, I beg your Majeſty upon my knees, not to yield to that deſtroying ſorrow, which would rob me of the only comfort and bleſſing I am, and the greateſt I ever can be, poſſeſſed of; but that you will aſſiſt and guide me by your advice and counſel; and as never Son had greater obligations and bonds of duty and gratitude to a Mother, ſo no Mother ever received a more full and entire ſubmiſſion and obedience from a Son, than your Majeſty ſhall always, from,

*A.D.* 164⅓.

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt diſconſolate,*

*dutiful and obedient Son.*

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon, endorſed by him,*
"Draught for the King to the Queen his Mother, after
"the Murder of his Father: not ſent."

## *The Lord* DIGBY *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

I SHALL not preſume to ſay any thing to you by way of conſolation in the deplorable ſubject of your deceaſed Royal Father, my gracious Maſter; being perſuaded, that when it pleaſes God to viſit Kings and Princes with afflictions of ſo high and extraordinary a nature, he doth at the ſame time adminiſter unto them ſentiments and conſiderations for the noble and virtuous ſupporting them, beyond what vulgar thoughts can comprehend, much leſs ſuggeſt. I ſhall only here by this letter (ſince I am diſabled to do it perſonally) caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, with the faithful tender of my moſt humble duty, and ſervice, in the ſame zeal, fidelity, and affection wherewith I have continued to ſerve your Royal Father, improved, if it be poſſible, not only by a greater deteſtation of your enemies, but alſo by the love and veneration which I have to your Majeſty's perſon. For having transferred all the devotion I had to him unto your Majeſty, as his [*Succeſſor*], and equally my Sovereign, I find great matter of improvement to it from your Majeſty's perſonal and princely virtues.

SIR, I have no deſign nor pretenſion but to ſerve you in what ſphere you ſhall think me capableſt of doing it; and if in none, then ſtill with my prayers. In the mean time, 'till your Majeſty's commands ſhall direct me otherwiſe, I do apply myſelf, in this ſtate, to thoſe ways that I hope may lay ſome ſolid foundation for your ſervice hereafter; it being impoſſible to ſink into my thoughts, that the incomparable paſſion I have for your ſervice and intereſt can always continue effectleſs; but that God will one day bleſs me with ſome means of expreſſing to your Majeſty more conſiderably than by proteſtations, the inviolable devotion wherewith I am

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

*St. Germain's, March* $\frac{2}{12}$. 164$\frac{8}{7}$.

*and moſt faithful Subject and Servant.*

*A Copy, by himſelf, ſent, as appears, for Sir Ed. Hyde's peruſal, when he ſent the Original to the King.*

A.D. 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Lord* DIGBY. †

*Digby,*

IF I could have ſpoken with you before I left France, as ſome of your friends will tell you, I was very willing to have done, I ſhould have ſaid much more to you, than I can do this way. My Mother, who takes all your concernments very much to heart, will let you know what impartial debates and conſiderations we have had of you and your intereſts; and I do myſelf aſſure you, that I have too great a ſenſe of the great ſervices done by you and your Family to my Father, and have too much knowledge of your great parts, abilities and affection to me, to have my memory of the one corrupted, or my value of the other leſſened, by the inſinuations of any men whatſoever. Truſt me there are very few men, from whom I do promiſe myſelf as good ſervice, as I do from you, becauſe very few are ſo able to do it; and I would have you truſt me ſo far, as to let me diſpoſe your ſervice that way which is beſt for us both. If you do ſadly weigh the ſtate of my affairs, you will believe yourſelf in the condition you are now in, to be far abler to do me ſervice than in any other I could for the preſent put you, or wiſh you: And I ſhall expect as much information and advice from you, for the conduct of my buſineſs, as from any man, and very much govern myſelf by it. And therefore you cannot believe you ſhall fare the worſe with me by your abſence. Let not any of thoſe thoughts poſſeſs you. Believe me, when it ſhall be fit for us both, I will call for you to me; and as ſoon as God ſhall reſtore me to a condition I can delight in, I do promiſe you a place as near my perſon, and as near my truſt, as yourſelf can deſire; and of this I have given my word to my Mother, as I do to you under the hand of

*Your.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *The Marquis of* MONTROSE *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My Lord,*

THE laſt occaſion parted hence ſo quickly, as I could have no time to kiſs your hands in this kind. And being now ſo ſhortly to wait on you there, I will not trouble you with much. Only, let me intreat you, advert to my Countrymen's cunnings; who, upon the fears of my meddling, do give out Hamilton's death, and that Argyle ſhould be fled from Scotland, and how all the country is the King's. All which is only to abuſe the King, and withhold, or at leaſt retard, him from taking the courſes for his own ſafety. For they know, if once we engage, the buſineſs is half done; and, that in few weeks they muſt be honeſt men, or have no knaves left to take their parts. Always ‡ I ſhall remit all of this 'till [*our*] meeting; and be confident you will be pleaſed. See to it; and eſteem me, as I ſhall appear how much I am,

*My Lord, your moſt real,*

*faithful Friend and Servant,*

MONTROSE.

*This Saturday Night.*

*An Original.*

† *This letter is without a date; and it ſeems doubtful, whether it were ſent in anſwer to the foregoing, or not.*

‡ *So MS.*

*A. D.* 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*My good Lord,*

I GIVE your Lordſhip many thanks for the favour you vouchſafed me by my Lord Byron; and do not wonder that you recover not your ſpirits faſter, after ſo unſpeakable and fatal a loſs. Indeed, we are all ſo depreſſed under this heavy weight of affliction, that we have ſcarce yet recovered motion or breath. I preſume your Lordſhip has found by ſome letters from this place, that we had all ſtrong inclinations for Ireland before the arrival of my Lord Byron; and now we have received the Queen's approbation, we ſhall, I hope, be conſtant in the reſolution. I muſt confeſs, there are in my poor judgment ſo many unanſwerable arguments for the King's ſpeedy repair to Ireland, and ſo few of any moment againſt it, that I think we all ought to purſue it with the ſame impatience and appetite as we would our going to Whitehall, and as the neareſt way thither; and, that any conſiderations whatſoever, which might retard the execution of this deſign, ought to be laid aſide or ſuſpended. And yet I doubt (though ſince my Lord Byron's coming hither there appears leſs publick oppoſition in that point), there are no leſs cloſe combinations againſt it, than heretofore. For I find no deſolation upon the publick, no lowneſs of the Court will leſſen our particular ambitions, or private deſigns; ſo that we have no leſs difficulties to contend with at home, than abroad. I concur with your Lordſhip, that great care ſhould be taken to ſatisfy the Scots with the King's going into Ireland; but we have cauſe to believe, that whoſoever requires great pains to be ſatisfied in a point ſo clear as this, is tranſported with ſome paſſion that makes him uncapable of ſatisfaction. I know very well that I am not thought a competent conſiderer of that argument; and I do confeſs I am not wiſe enough to traffick with that people, who uſed no leſs importunity to have the Prince come into Scotland, after all their forces were defeated, than that he would have come to them into England, when they had an army of 24,000 men; and being now driven out of Scotland, as they pretend for the King's ſervice, and ruined and undone for it, are very ſolicitous to have the King own and countenance that authority which oppreſſes them. I muſt acknowledge, I have not logick enough to prefer that proclamation which proclaimed the King, and declared againſt the exerciſe of his regal power, 'till he would conſent to what in truth would ſtrip him of it (for beſides the taking the damnable Covenant, he muſt conſent to all the moſt extravagant propoſitions which were ever offered to his Father, which is the union of the two Kingdoms) before that act, which inhibited all men to proclaim him with[*out*] their conſent. And after ſo reproachful a proclamation, in which and the letters which accompany it, they expreſs no deteſtation of the murder or murderers of the King, nor mention it otherwiſe, than if it had been by an ordinary accident, methinks it ſhould be time to ſpeak plainly to them; the whole Kingdom there being weary of their oppreſſors, who in truth are enabled only to exerciſe their tyranny by the countenance of the King's name and authority. We hear they have Commiſſioners landed in theſe parts; from whom I expect no one propoſition agreeable to his Majeſty's ſervice and honour; but I ſhall be very glad to be deceived.

*A.D.* 1649. YOUR Lordſhip ſees by this freedom I uſe to you, how evil a Counſellor I am; and in earneſt, if I did not ſee the very ſame arts and ſtratagems uſed, by which we have been already ſo often deceived, I ſhould be too apt again to truſt. I am very far from having any prejudice to the nation; it is evident, the poiſon and rancour there, lies within a little compaſs, and is contracted within the breaſts of few men, who, no queſtion, were as conſenting to the parricide as Cromwell or Ireton. If a full and clear encouragement were given to all the loyal party there, inſtead of application to the other, I am perſuaded Scotland would in a ſhort time be in a good poſture of obedience; and many of thoſe who are thought moſt rigid would comply with the King, when they were convinced that he would not comply with their humours; the expectation whereof only makes them peremptory. I hope theſe Commiſſioners will put all out of doubt; and certainly, Ireland will be the beſt place to treat with them in, if they give any argument for it.

YOUR Lordſhip's particular expreſſions of favour and inclination towards me, gave me the encouragement to make theſe ſallies; that you may know how weak a man you cheriſh, and have ſome cauſe to reproach yourſelf, if you ſhould [*not*] be inclined to believe wiſer men than I am; but I hope ſhortly to kiſs your hands, and then you will eaſily convert me by your reaſon and authority. I beſeech you preſent my humble duty to the Queen, and preſerve me in her Majeſty's gracious acceptance, as

*My dear Lord,*

31 *March.* *Your Lordſhip's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*The Committee of Eſtates of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

THE Eſtates of Parliament of your Majeſty's ancient Kingdom of Scotland, conſidering what ſad effects the pernicious counſels of wicked inſtruments have produced by raiſing and fomenting diviſion between your Majeſty's Royal Father, and his faithful ſubjects, have commanded us, at our firſt addreſs to your Majeſty, humbly to crave that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove from having acceſs to your royal perſon and court, all thoſe who have been and continue excommunicate by the Church of that Kingdom; and namely, James Graham, ſometime Earl of Montroſe. And now we, according to the truſt committed to us, do humbly and earneſtly crave the ſame at your Majeſty's hands; being very hopeful, that a more plentiful bleſſing from God ſhall accompany your Majeſty's counſels and affairs, and that the deſires and endeavours of the Parliament ſhall prove the more effectual to work a good underſtanding and mutual confidence betwixt your Majeſty and your people, when ſo eminent an author and actor of miſchief ſhall have no countenance from your Majeſty, nor influence upon your royal counſels; who, abandoning the Covenant, and deſpiſing the oath of God, did invade his native country, and with moſt inhuman and barbarous cruelty burnt and waſted divers parts thereof; and who ſpilt ſo much of the blood of your Majeſty's good ſubjects, taking advantage of the time when the prime commanders and forces of the Kingdom were employed elſewhere: For which crimes he was excommunicated by the Church, and forefaulted

by

by the Parliament of that Kingdom; and ſtill to this day continues in the higheſt contempt againſt God, under that fearful ſentence of excommunication, without the ſmalleſt ſign of repentance. *A.D.* 1649.

SIGNED by warrant and at the command of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland.

JA. DALRYMPLE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*The Commiſſioners from the Committee of Eſtates of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE are commanded by the Eſtates of Parliament of your Majeſty's Kingdom of Scotland, humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, that, as they were not wanting in giving faithful and timous Counſel to your Majeſty's Royal Father for preventing the dangers which were then feared, and have ſince, to their deep ſorrow and inexpreſſible grief, fallen out; and as they have with all care and faithfulneſs contributed their utmoſt endeavours for preſerving their late Sovereign as their letters, inſtructions, declarations and their Commiſſioners' papers evidence; ſo they do reſolve to continue the ſame loyal affection and faithfulneſs to your Majeſty, and accordingly have acknowledged and proclaimed your Majeſty King of Great Britain, France and Ireland with all readineſs, unanimity, alacrity and ſolemnity, and have proteſted in favour of your Majeſty's right of ſucceſſion in the Regal Government of your Kingdoms of England and Ireland againſt all acts done or to be done to the contrary; as alſo have commanded us in their name humbly to offer to your Majeſty that they conceive it neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the happy Government of that your Majeſty's ancient Kingdom, and for reſtoring your Majeſty to the ſettled and peaceable poſſeſſion of your juſt right of Government of your other Dominions:

*Then follow three Articles; which are the ſame, almoſt verbatim with the 2d, 3d, and 4th, as given by Rapin, V. 2. P. 579. who takes them from Phillips, Baker's Continuator.*

THESE deſires are ſo juſt and neceſſary for the ſecuring of religion, and the peace of that Kingdom, and for gaining not only the outward obedience, but alſo the inward affection of all your Majeſty's good people to your Royal Perſon, Authority and Government, after ſo great diſtractions and troubles, that the granting thereof will ſo far endear your Majeſty to that nation, as they will not only receive your Majeſty with all chearfulneſs, and moſt willingly render to you that ſubmiſſion and dutiful obedience which can be expected from loyal ſubjects to their gracious Maſter; but likewiſe contribute their utmoſt endeavours by all neceſſary and lawful means, according to their covenant, and the duty of faithful and loyal ſubjects, that your Majeſty may be reſtored to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Government of your other Kingdoms according to your Majeſty's undoubted right of ſucceſſion. And if your Majeſty ſhall begin ſpeedily to move that way which ſhall be acceptable to God and good men, and really offer to ſettle religion and peace as is repreſented in our deſires, and upon theſe grounds ſhall claim the right of your Royal Government before Democracy, or any new model of

*A.D.* 1649. Government under the name of an *Agreement of the People*, or any other name or device be ſettled or take root in England, it will be more eaſy to maintain Monarchical Government as yet entertained in the hearts of your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects there, than to reſtore it after a new form of Government hath gotten leave to take root, and the people have been habituated thereto. We are very confident that your Majeſty's ſpeedy and cordial joining in the Covenant with God and your good people, ſhall open a door of hope that God will ariſe and ſhine upon your Majeſty's juſt undertaking, and will plead your righteous cauſe againſt all the enemies thereof. †

CASSILIS. GEO. WYNRAME.

*Hague, Apr.* $\frac{10}{20}$.

A. BRODIE. AL. JAFFRAY.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKELEY.

*My John,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I BELIEVE the King's reſolution fixed for Ireland; but there is as little preparation towards the going thither as can be imagined; and I pray God, they who of late decline the publick proteſting againſt it, which they have uſed, do not underhand labour to caſt in all the rubs they can to hinder it. Nay, there want not ſome who avow the ſitting ſtill here to be much better than going into Scotland or Ireland; and truly, I think a more pernicious counſel cannot be followed. If you will believe me, there is all poſſible care taken the Scots may not be diſguſted with the King's purpoſe for Ireland: yet, whilſt they have any hope that their being unſatisfied with it, will hinder his journey, aſſure yourſelf they will never be, at leaſt will pretend not to be, ſatisfied. It is the hardeſt thing in the world to underſtand them (I mean, thoſe who are not inclined to be ſatisfied, for Montroſe, Seaforth, Sinclair, and all the officers of the nation are entire, and upon right grounds); and I, who have been ſo ſimply bred as to believe men ſpeak their minds, when they ſwear they do, am once a day confounded, and know not what to ſay. Before Will. Murray came hither, it was paſſionately and loudly affirmed, that he was falſe to the King, a great enemy to his ſervice, and a faſt friend to Argyle; who, they ſaid, concurred with Cromwell in his moſt monſtrous deſigns. He was no ſooner come hither, but theſe very men communicate counſels with him, and adviſe the King entirely to comply with his advices. They all jointly perſuade the King to take the Covenant, and give full ſatisfaction to the Kirk; and poſitively declare, there is no poſſible way to recover the Kingdom by any other way. Will. Murray importunes him to write to, and own, the Parliament; without which, he undertook to know that no Commiſſioners would be ſent to treat, which appeared of ſo high importance as to be worth the condeſcenſion; and they who pretend to fly the Kingdom for their fidelity to his Majeſty, and really are by the Acts of this Parliament declared Traitors, and their eſtates and offices ſeized and diſpoſed of, are moſt ſolicitous

† *The Papers which paſſed between the King and the Scotch Commiſſioners at Breda in the ſubſequent year, will be found in the Appendix to this Volume.*

that

that the King allow that Parliament and ſubmit to it; but when they find they could not prevail on the King's virtue (which they attempted all the unjuſtifiable ways imaginable), notwithſtanding all their confidence to the contrary, Commiſſioners are come; and though it be known they are bound up by inſtructions to as impudent demands as ever came from Edinburgh, yet it is generally given out, that the Covenant will be waved, the King's going thither not inſiſted on, and a wonderful compliance and ſubmiſſion to the King: *A.D.* 1649.

*Aut hæc in noſtros fabricata eſt machina muros,*
*Aut aliquis latet error.* ———

THE Commiſſioners had yeſterday audience with the King, and ſpake humbly and dutifully, with great horror and deteſtation of the murder of his Father, and mighty profeſſions of duty and obedience. Within an hour after, they went to the Queen of Bohemia, and ſaid, that the King's Father and himſelf had been ſeduced by evil Counſellors theſe eleven years againſt his people, and beſought her Majeſty to uſe her power to reclaim the King from thoſe ill courſes, and thoſe wicked Counſellors. How would you behave yourſelf with ſuch conſtitutions; yet in earneſt, they, and all their friends who were here before them, are, and always have been uſed with all civility, and much more reſpect than they return. And I am confident, when it ſhall be fit for the King reſolutely to declare what he will, or what he will not do (which I conceive, for many reaſons, he will defer 'till he come into Ireland), all who had not an immediate influence upon the life of the King, as no doubt many of that nation had, will ſubmit to what they perceive the King will ſteadily inſiſt on.

I THANK you very heartily for your good advice, to give as little advantage as I can to the malice of thoſe who deliver me as a perſon croſs to all Counſels that come from thence; and only, becauſe they come from thence. But what uſe to make of the advice I know not; for in good faith I may be as juſtly, and as reaſonably charged with ſacrilege or rebellion, as with that other aſperſion. I know not what the counſels or advices [*are which*] come from thence; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of differing from any opinion which to my knowledge had the leaſt countenance or authority from thence, except that ſingle caſe of the Duke of Lorrain's men, in which my poor judgment is as clear as ever; and I am ſure it was every other man's judgment in our company, whatever is averred to the contrary; and I wonder you ſay you were not ſatisfied in it, which at that time you ſeemed to be; and I am confident, upon a recollection of the whole ſtate of that debate, you muſt be. I well remember, I ſhewed you my letter to my Lord Jermyn before I ſent it, of the buſineſs at large, and all that was ſaid or thought by me in it; and I believe if you peruſed that letter again, you would be, as you were, ſatisfied with it. I very well remember the expreſſion you mean, and which it ſeems was laid up in reſerve, that "I hoped they would miſcarry, if they were ſent." It was in the debate concerning ſending thoſe men to Jerſey, to ſtay there till they ſhould be ſent to Guernſey; which was moſt importunately preſſed by the Doctor, † and as unanimouſly diſ[*ap*]proved by all of us; and when it was urged by one, I know not who it was, that the difficulty of

† *Dr. Goff.*

*A.D.*1649. tranſporting them to Jerſey was ſo great, conſidering the enemy was entire maſter of the ſea, that it was ten to one but they would miſcarry; I ſaid, "the way and the end appeared to me ſo unreaſonable and unpracti-"cable, that if they ſhould be ſent in that manner the Doctor preſſed, "the beſt that could be hoped for, was, that they might miſcarry in the "way; ſince, if they reached Jerſey, they would as abſolutely periſh, "and with much more diſadvantage to the King." And truly, that was, and is ſtill, my opinion; and if the expreſſion were not good, it was an error as pardonable as many that were committed in that tranſaction. I know not what other uſe to make of this intimation, or the liberty you give me upon it, than to remember, as carefully as I can, whatſoever I ſay, as well as do, in any buſineſs, ſince others think it worth their pains to do it with the utmoſt ſeverity; nor will it teach me any caution; for I make it leſs my care in debate of Counſels to avoid expreſſions, which being well meant may be ill interpreted, than to leave any thing unſaid, which in my judgment is of weight towards the deciſion of the matter in queſtion. All the little arts of theſe excellent obſervers of my carriage, tend only to have it believed, that I am not faithful enough in point of duty, or circumſpect enough in point of reſpect to the Queen, and her commands; and it is not impoſſible, the information may come from thoſe, who are therefore angry, becauſe they find I am not to be corrupted in either. Truſt me, John, I am too proud of being an honeſt man to be much afflicted with thoſe attempts; and though they may at ſome time raiſe a cloud of prejudice towards me, it will be diſſolved again to my advantage. My duty to the Queen is a part of my Religion; and I ſhall as ſoon take the Covenant, as commit any fault willingly againſt her. Out of the conſcience of what I ought to do, I ſerved her Majeſty induſtriouſly and paſſionately, before I had the honour to be known to her; ſhe hath been ſince a very gracious Miſtreſs to me, and heaped many obligations upon me; and if ingratitude be a vice in my nature, I may ſay it hath not been yet diſcovered by any action of my life. I muſt tell you, I have another obligation, which, if all others could, can never be diſſolved; and I hope it will have an influence upon the hearts of all honeſt Engliſhmen; that is, the reverence I pay to the precious memory of my dear Maſter. And I verily believe the immortal monument he hath left of his tranſcendent affection to, and value of her Majeſty, hath made that impreſſion in all men, that whoever pretends to honour him, can never fail in duty to her; and I am perſuaded the Queen will live to reap a very plentiful harveſt from that ſeed. I hope ſhortly to wait on her Majeſty; and if ſhe then think me worthy of any truſt, I ſhall ſerve her faithfully, and never fail in the leaſt degree in any thing I promiſe to do. And if I ſhall be thought in the preſent conjuncture (through the envy that is upon me, or malice againſt me, or weakneſs in me, for the two firſt, as well as the laſt, are reaſons enough to decline any man's ſervice) not fit for any employment, I ſhall with the ſame ſubmiſſion and chearfulneſs lay down the little title I have, and wait 'till his Majeſty's affairs may admit of inſtruments of ſuch vulgar and narrow faculties as mine.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

12 *April* 1649.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir*

*A.D.* 1649.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* HATTON.

*My good Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I WISH I could tell you we were as ready for Ireland as Ireland is for us; or, that the Spring made us more vigorous than the Winter. But truly, I can ſay no more to you than that the King heartily deſires to begin his journey, and I doubt others as heartily to hinder it; and that two of the parties, which the Queen very wiſely and reaſonably apprehended to be about the King, are in truth but one; they who avow the wiſhing that his Majeſty ſhould ſtay here, really diſguiſing their deſire he ſhould go for Scotland under the other cover. And truly, next his going into Scotland, it is the worſt advice can be given. It may be (though I have heard of little exceſs that way) that ſome men's impatiency for Ireland, and their jealouſy that another courſe will be ſteered, may tranſport them into more paſſion againſt particular Scotchmen than were to be wiſhed, at a time and in a place where every act of diſunion amongſt ourſelves hath an unhappy influence upon our Maſter's affairs. But in earneſt it is no eaſy matter for men to contain themſelves within the bounds of exact temper and ſobriety, when they are to deal with men who obſerve no rules of modeſty or civility. I believe it would puzzle your excellent conſtitution quietly to hear without reply, that the Covenant ought immediately to be taken by the King, and himſelf without delay or conditions to caſt himſelf into the arms of the Kirk and Parliament of Scotland; to hear thoſe men who have been the contrivers and authors of all our miſeries, juſtify all that they have done, and at the ſame time mutiny that they are not thought the beſt Counſellors to adviſe his Majeſty what he is to do, and accuſe all men of faction and want of moderation who preſume to differ from them in opinion. Here are now Commiſſioners from Scotland, who, as if they had reſcued his Majeſty from deſtruction, not ſold his Father to thoſe who murdered him, preſs him wholly to be adviſed by them; and, at the ſame time they have cut off the Marquis of Huntley's head, inſolently require the King to abandon my Lord Montroſe, becauſe he is excommunicated in Scotland; which they ſay, Jeſus Chriſt requires at his hands. I aſſure you an honeſt Engliſh heart is ſhrewdly put to it, to continue wiſe and honeſt together, and can be only ſupported with the hope that this reſtraint will not continue always. But you may confidently inform her Majeſty, that all imaginable application and civility hath been uſed, to prevail with thoſe of that nation to approve of the King's going for Ireland; and of late they ſeem more inclined to it than they have been, whatever their hearts are. And I hope as ſoon as the King knows what he is to expect from the States (which he will do within four or five days), that he will do ſomewhat briſkly to redeem himſelf out of theſe ſtreights. It is a moſt noble and Princely offer from the Queen, and which his Majeſty muſt never forget, to expoſe her own Jewels to ſale for the preſent ſupply of the King; but as nothing but the moſt extreme neceſſity could excuſe ſuch a treſpaſs, ſo I muſt confeſs I could never underſtand how thoſe Jewels can be reaſonably applied to redeem his Majeſty from his preſent wants; ſince a greater ſum of money muſt be paid before you can get the Jewels into your hands, than can eaſily by procured; and then an advantageous ſale of

A.D. 1649. them will require much longer time than we can ſtay in theſe parts. I will by the next meſſenger (for I think it not fit for the poſt) ſend you one of the King's books; † what you mean by the Manuſcripts, I do not underſtand. I hope to be ſooner with you than you expect; and I will then tell you I can never doubt of your kindneſs; for if you ſhould not love me, you were unexcuſable, having ſo abſolute a power and diſpoſal of,

*My dear Lord,*

12 *April*, 1649. *Your Lordſhip's, &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Earl of* PETERBOROUGH.

*My dear Lord,*

I HAVE according to your command acquainted the King with your deſire and purpoſe; who very readily conſents to any thing your Lordſhip finds neceſſary for your own affairs, and is moſt confident of your affection to him, and your reſolution for his ſervice. Your Servant likewiſe deſired a paſs from his Majeſty, which I have here incloſed; ſo that you ſee you have the King's leave. But now, give me pardon to offer you my doubts, and, for my own concernment, to proteſt againſt your putting yourſelf into the hands of thoſe devils, upon the ſecurity of any private undertaking of any particular men, how powerful ſoever at preſent. I will not trouble you with a diſpute how little you ought to rely upon any promiſe they can make, who have no other meaſure of keeping their faith, but their own conveniency; nor, how improbable it is, that they will ſuffer you to compound, and enjoy your liberty and eſtate, without good caution that neither of them ſhall now or hereafter prove prejudicial to them; nor, how little benefit you ſhall have by any compoſition, except you take a pardon from them; and the conſequence of receiving ſuch a pardon. To all which you will find anſwers enough by the practice and example of other men. But I muſt inſiſt, that upon leſs than a paſs from the General and the Speaker, you venture not over; for the malice of the meaneſt rogue there will do you more miſchief, than the private aſſurance of the greateſt Grandee can do you good. If your preſence be required, it is to aſk more of you than your bare conſent to compound, which may be as well done by your friends in your abſence. Beſides, I do not like the ſeaſon of the year; when it muſt be naturally expected there will be ſome inſurrections of the people, and attempts upon the prevalent party how ſucceſsleſs ſoever; and then, all honeſt and doubted men muſt look to be thrown into priſons at leaſt, out of the jealouſy of the State. Winter were a much better ſeaſon to go thither, if there could be forbearance 'till then. Of all this, and much more which the vivacity of your wit can ſuggeſt to you, you can make the beſt judgment, and will excuſe the freedom of

*My dear Lord, &c.*

11 *May.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

† *Perhaps* Eikon Basilikè.

SECRET

*A. D.* 1649.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS *for our Right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor,* FRANCIS *Lord* COTTINGTON, *Lord High Treaſurer of* England; *and our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellor, Sir* EDWARD HYDE, *Knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, our Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to his Catholick Majeſty.*

CHARLES R.

1. YOU ſhall aſſure his Catholick Majeſty, that we are not only willing and deſirous to renew the antient amity and league which was made between our Grandfather and Father of bleſſed memory, with his Catholick Majeſty; but to enter into a ſtricter alliance and league offenſive and defenſive with him; and if his Majeſty will, at this time of our neceſſity and diſtreſs, take us into his arms, and aſſiſt us for the recovery of our rights; he ſhall always find us ſo wedded to his intereſt, that no other alliance ſhall keep us from giving him our beſt aſſiſtance upon all occaſions.

2. YOU ſhall aſſure his Catholick Majeſty of our full reſolution of grace and favour towards the Catholicks of our ſeveral dominions; and that we are ſo far from an inclination to be ſevere againſt them, that we reſolve not only to give them our utmoſt protection from the ſeverity of thoſe laws which have been made to their prejudice, but to endeavour effectually the repeal of thoſe laws; which, if his Catholick Majeſty ſhall at preſent eminently aſſiſt us, we have reaſon to believe we ſhall eaſily do; ſince what he ſhall at this time do for us, will not only be an obligation upon us, and our Poſterity and Succeſſors; but upon all the Nobility and principal Gentry of our Dominions, whoſe deſtruction is underſtood to be equally intended by the Rebels with our own, and that of Monarchy. And therefore, you ſhall deſire his Majeſty, upon this aſſurance, to uſe his power and authority with other Catholick Princes, and with our Catholick Subjects in all our Dominions, vigorouſly to expreſs their affections to us, and towards the recovery of what is due to us.

3. IF upon the loan of money, his Catholick Majeſty or his Miniſters ſhall propoſe ſecurity by the goods of our Engliſh Subjects; you ſhall inform his Majeſty, that we are ready to grant the ſame under our Great Seal of England, in as ample manner as ſhall be deſired; and in that caſe, you ſhall agree upon ſuch draught as may give ſatisfaction to his Catholick Majeſty, and ſend or bring the ſame to us, that we may paſs it accordingly.

4. YOU ſhall perform all ſuch compliments and civilities, as you ſhall judge conducing to our ſervice, with the Pope's Nuntio, or any other Miniſter of his, and hold ſuch correſpondence, and make ſuch addreſſes to Rome, as may incline the Pope to give us his aſſiſtance in this our diſtreſs.

5. YOU ſhall communicate theſe particular inſtructions with none, or addreſs your letters upon either of theſe particulars to any but ourſelf; who will as carefully with our own hand return you our directions and pleaſure therein, upon all occaſions. Given at the Hague the 24th day of May in the firſt year of our reign.

C. R.

*An Original, ſigned by the King.* †

† *There are rough Draughts of all the Papers preparatory to this Embaſſy, in Lord Clarendon's hand.*

*A.D.* 1649.

*The Marquis of* ORMOND *to the titular Biſhop of* FERNES.

*My Lord,*

I HAVE written to the Mayor of Wexford, to let him know the great neceſſity there is of Seamen for the uſe of the King's fleet, upon occaſion of the arrival of a great fleet of the Independents; who, if not ſuddenly diſperſed, I fear the conſequences are like to be more dangerous to the ſafety of this Kingdom than for many reaſons I think convenient to have publickly known. Wherefore I thought fit by this my private letter to inform your Lordſhip, that if [*I*] be not miſinformed, this is but the forerunner of a very powerful invaſion; to the [*end*] you may be pleaſed to contribute your beſt furtherance towards the getting by fair means or preſſing of Seamen in Wexford for this ſervice ſo neceſſary to be ſpeedily effected. I deſire to hear from your Lordſhip what may be done in this particular at Waterford, whither I intend to repair to morrow, purpoſely to get ſome Seamen there alſo. So I remain

*Your Lordſhip's affectionate Servant.*

*Kilkenny Caſtle, this 25th of May* 1649.

I DESIRE your Lordſhip to forward the ſpeedy coming of the Loan-Money of that town; whereon depends the ſaving the army from diſperſing.

*An Original.*

*A Paper ſent by his* MAJESTY *to the States General.*

HIS Majeſty having by a paper delivered to the Lords Deputies of the States General on Monday the 29th of the laſt month, † communicated the preſent ſtate of his affairs, and amongſt other particulars deſired their Lordſhips' aſſiſtance for the better tranſporting his perſon out of theſe parts; his Majeſty is compelled to deſire their Lordſhips' anſwer to that particular, as ſoon as may be; it being abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty to make all poſſible haſte into his own Dominions; that ſo he may diſpoſe himſelf upon all occaſions to that part of his Kingdoms, where his preſence ſhall be thought moſt requiſite; towards which, he deſires their Lordſhips the States General to aſſiſt him with ſhips and the loan of twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, towards the diſcharge of the debts contracted in this country by himſelf and his Brother, and the ſupply of the charge of his wars; which ſum if their Lordſhips ſhall upon this exigent furniſh him with, his Majeſty will give ſuch ſecurity for it as their Lordſhips ſhall judge ſufficient, and ſhall always remember and acknowledge the ſeaſonableneſs of the obligation.

*A rough Draught, by Lord Clarendon.*

† *This is the Paper of which ſo large an account is given in the Hiſt. Rebell. B.* 12. *and which is publiſhed in Carte's Collection of Original Letters, &c. V.* 1. *P.* 260. *There is a rough draught of it among theſe MSS. in Lord Clarendon's hand. The Copy in Carte's Collection is dated March* 29. 1649. *which is a miſtake for May* 29. *For Lord Clarendon informs us that it was delivered ſoon after the aſſaſſination of Doriſlaus, which was* 3*d May* 1649. *And there is a Copy of it, by Mr. Edgman, attending the rough draught above-mentioned, dated May* 29*th. So that the preſent Paper muſt have been delivered in June* 1649.

*The*

*A.D.* 1649.

*The* ESTATES *of Parliament in* Scotland *to the* QUEEN *of* Sweden.

NOS Ordines Regni Scotiæ, pro eâ quæ Auguſtæ tuæ Majeſtatis majoribus cum hoc Regno jam olim interceſſit amicitiâ, ſummâque Majeſtatis tuæ erga nos benevolentiâ (neceſſitudinis arctioris fœdere nobis delato, nec exiguo voluntatis affectu a nobis amplexato) non ita pridem haud obſcure teſtatâ, officii eſſe noſtri duximus Auguſtam tuam Majeſtatem de ſummâ rerum noſtrarum facere certiorem: Ut quæ Partes noſtræ fuerint per has diſcordiarum civilium tempeſtates, quibus hæc Regna tamdiu jactata conflictantur, ſic Majeſtati tuæ conſtet, ut iniquis adverſariorum calumniis aditus præcludatur.

MAJESTATEM tuam non latere arbitramur, Romanenſium et Malignantium factione hic obtinente ad annum 1643. quàm juſtâ neceſſitate Scotiæ, Angliæ, et Hiberniæ Regna, de ſacris repurgandis, de Religione propugnandâ, de Regis noſtri honore & felicitate, triumque Regnorum tranquillitate & incolumitate conſervandâ, ſanctiſſimi fœderis ſocietatem inierint. Quibus conſiliis tantâ hactenus conſtantiâ nos inſiſtere perſtitimus, ut neque ad Romanenſium et Malignantium novationem Sacrorum in Eccleſiâ, et arbitrariam legumque vinculis ſolutam imperii rationem in Republicâ molientium, factionem deflexerimus, neque Sectariorum in vicino Regno conſiliis acceſſerimus; qui armis uſurpatis, fœderum Societate, & fidelitatis erga Regem neceſſitudine ſuperbè faſtiditâ, promiſcuam omnium dogmatum & rituum tolerationem in Eccleſiâ permiſerunt, Regem nefariè trucidârunt, & publici Regiminis ipſa Fundamenta ſubverterunt. Quæ omnia quàm nobis invitis patrata fuerint, quantopere ab iis animi noſtri abhorruerint, teſtes erunt hi, quos unà cum his literis ad Majeſtatem tuam mittimus, Delegatorum noſtrorum de rebus à ſe Londini tractatis Commentarii.

QUUM autem triſtiſſimus de Regis noſtri parricidio nuncius ad nos permanavit, poſtero ſtatim die, Regni Ordines, pompâ frequenti & magnis ſolennibus, filium ipſius, Walliæ Principem, publico præconio Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regem promulgârunt; & ſine morâ, Legatis in Belgium miſſis, Majeſtati ipſius ſupplicârunt, ut antiquo ſuo Regno de Religionis purioris ſecuritate, de unione in quam ab utroque Regno conventum fuerat, deque hujus Regni incolumitate & tranquillitate, cavere dignaretur. Quibus ſi annuere viſum eſſet, nos contrà ſpoſpondimus, concordibuſque omnium Ordinum animis, ad hujus Regni habenas capeſſendas Majeſtatem ſuam acceptum iri; neque nos modò fidelis obedientiæ omnibus officiis ipſum culturos, & ſed omni honeſto conſilio & conatu ut reliquorum Regnorum ſecuram poſſeſſionem adire poſſit, quantum in nobis erit, operam daturos. Quæ noſtra quamvis æquiſſima poſtulata cum Majeſtati ipſius communicâſſent Legati noſtri, & reſponſum ab ipſo per tres menſes patientèr expectâſſent, re infectâ, cum ſummo animorum noſtrorum mœrore, domum remiſſi ſunt (ut actionis iſtius commentarii, cum his literis unà miſſi, teſtantur); uſque adeo improborum hominum non Majeſtati ipſius modò profectionem in hoc Regnum diſſuaſerunt, ſed ad conſilia etiam ancipitia, & ipſi tum inhonorifica, tum pernicioſa etiam animum ejus impellere moliuntur; ut Pontificiis Hibernenſibus, ejuſque factionis popularibus, ſe addicat; quos Sereniſſimus Rex noſter, pater ipſius,

*A.D.* 1649. ſius, horrendæ & ſanguinariæ multorum millium puriorem Religionem in eo Regno profitentium lanienæ reos, jampridem perduelles & hoſtes publicos declaraverat. In hoc rerum noſtrarum ſtatu, Auguſtam tuam Majeſtatem vehementèr obteſtamur, ut apud Regem noſtrum Sereniſſimum intercedere digneris, ne conſiliis ejuſmodi nefariis aurem præbeat, quibus et Religionis Evangelicæ jugulum apertè petitur, & ipſius honori derogatur, & cum incolumitas ejus, tum horum Regnorum tranquillitas & felicitas, certiſſimis periculis objectatur: Sed illud potiùs ſtudere velit, quibus rationibus fideliſſimorum ſuorum civium votis æquiſſimis ſatisfaciat; qui, ex fœderis ſanctiſſimi formulâ, id unum ſeriò laborant, ut Religionis Evangelicæ puritas, Sereniſſimi Regis incolumitas, & legitima civium libertas conſervetur. Quod profectò Pietatis officium, cum Auguſtâ Majeſtate tuâ, purioris Religionis conſervandæ ſtudioſiſſimâ, dignum erit, & Regi noſtro ſalutare, tum verò ad priſtina tua Majorumque tuorum in hoc Regnum ampliſſima merita incredibile pondus & momentum afferet; cujus memoriam & gratis animis conſervare, & pro merito conſtanter celebrare ſtudebimus

*Auguſtæ Majeſtati tuæ ad omne*

*Obſequium paratiſſimi*

ORDINES PARLIAMENTI REGNI SCOTIÆ.

QUORUM nomine & mandato præſentes literas ſubſignavit

LOUDON, *Cancellarius, et Præſes Parliamenti.*

*Edinburgi, datum* 14 *menſis Junii*, 1649.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *The* QUEEN *of* Sweden *to his* MAJESTY.

NOS Chriſtina, Dei Gratiâ, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regina, & Princeps Hæreditaria, Magna Princeps Finlandiæ, Dux Eſthoniæ et Careliæ, Ingriæque Domina, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi, Fratri & Conſanguineo noſtro chariſſimo, Domino Carolo, eâdem gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defenſori, Salutem & proſperos rerum Succeſſus!

SERENISSIME Princeps, Frater, & Conſanguinee chariſſime, Serenitatem veſtram celare nolumus, in manus noſtras heſternâ die perveniſſe literas Ordinum Parliamenti Regni Scotiæ, Edinburgi die 14. menſis Junii proximè elapſi ad nos ſcriptas. Quarum argumentum ut Serenitati veſtræ luculentius conſtet, pro ſororio illo ac ſingulari, quo eandem proſequimur, affectu, committere non potuimus, quin exemplum earum Serenitati veſtræ, per reducem Colonellum Ballantinum, actutùm tranſmitteremus. Neque enim diſquirendum nobis fuit, quâ vel illi ſint innocentiâ & extra omnem culpam trucidati Regis, Serenitatis veſtræ Parentis, quibuſve conditionibus Serenitatem veſtram ad capeſſendas iſtius Regni habenas accerſerint. Noſtrarum quidem partium fuit, in adeundâ Regnorum ſuorum poſſeſſione, conſilio & ope, quantum in nobis ſitum eſt, adeſſe.

Fugit autem nos ejuſdem propoſitum, atque imprimis, quibus ea mota fuit conſiliis, profectionem in Scotiam differendi, nec oblatam iſtius Regni poſſeſſionem arripiendi. Quocirca, licet ordinibus præfati Regni literis nos obteſtantibus, id apud Serenitatem veſtram efficere, ut votis ipſorum ab eâ ſatisfiat, Authores potius eſſe velimus, ut, tanquam ſubditi fideles, Serenitati veſtræ, Regi ſuo à Deo per legitimam ſucceſſionem conſtituto, juſtam omnem obedientiam præſtent, quàm ut ancipitibus conſiliis, noviſque adhuc motibus cauſam præbeant & occaſiones. Cum tamen è re & uſu Serenitatis veſtræ maximè eſſe exiſtimemus, ut cautè in omnibus procedatur, nec quicquam committatur, unde majora pericula & difficultates, adeundæ imprimis poſſeſſionis Regni Scotici, accreſcere poterunt; eandem peramicè requirimus, velit nobis, ſicubi neceſſe fore judicaverit, mentem & animi ſui ſenſa ſuper hâc re aperire; nobiſque haud gravatè communicare, quibus rationibus modiſque exiſtimaverit à nobis contribui quicquam operæ poſſe, ad ſopienda ejuſmodi diſcordiarum ſemina, & media quærenda, quibus animi concordibus votis utrinque coaleſcant. Deum rogamus ut ſalutaria conſilia ſuppeditet, & Serenitatem veſtram potentem tueatur, omnique proſperitate cumulet. Dabantur in Regiâ noſtra Stockholmenſi, die 17 Julii Anno 1649. *A.D.* 1649.

*Serenitatis veſtræ*

*Bona Soror & Conſanguinea,*

CHRISTINA.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

*His* MAJESTY *to the* QUEEN *of* Sweden.

PLACEAT Serenitati veſtræ cognoſcere, quòd poſt unionem factam Angliæ & Scotiæ ſub câdem coronâ in perſonâ Sereniſſimi Avi noſtri Jacobi, floruerint multo tempore ambæ nationes in majori pace & rerum copiâ, quàm quæ hactenus per plurimas ætates ante unionem contigerant; quòd Religio in Eccleſiâ ſtabilita ea fuerit, quæ in ſubſtantiâ concordat cum Auguſtanâ Confeſſione, in Serenitatis veſtræ dictionibus receptâ & obſervatâ; quòd Regimen Monarchicum hic perpetuò Status acceperit, idque ab omni memoria per fundamentales utriuſque Regni leges ſtabilitum; quòd hâc pace & ubertate gaudentibus uſque ad annum 1639. cum extitiſſent turbulenta nonnullorum ingenia in utroque Regni, quibus id ſolum in animo erat, optimam Eccleſiæ & Statûs gubernationem evertere, ſubditi noſtri in Scotiâ promptiſſimi apparuere, qui hoc conſilium exequi aggrederentur. In hunc igitur finem arma moverunt adverſus Patrem noſtrum chariſſimum, Regem ſuum naturalem, arces plurimas in Scotiâ validiſſimas occupârunt, multos è Proceribus incarcerârunt, omnes Eccleſiæ proventus invaſerunt, Epiſcopos, cæteroſque juſtitiæ & civilis regiminis miniſtros, a Parente noſtro conſtitutos præpoſitos, a Regno omnes expulerunt. His & aliis ſimilibus patratis furoribus, cum jam, anno inſequente, magno & numeroſo exercitu Angliam invaſiſſent, atque nonnullas etiam inibi arces occupâſſent; Parens tamen noſter chariſſimus; pro affectu illo innato, & ſincerâ benevolentiâ quâ Scotorum ſemper gentem eſt proſecutus, elegit potius per medium tractatuum infelices hos tumultus conſopire, & in plurimas etiam novationes in Eccleſia

*A.D.* 1649. & Statu consentire, quàm vi & armis decertantem Regna sua bello intestino illigare. Atque adeo actu generali pacificatorio eodem anno facto, composuit omnes superiores controversias inter se & subditos illius Regni, & publico actu oblivionis, præteritas omnes in se injurias obliteravit.

Anno sequente, 1641. profectus est ipse in Regnum Scotiæ, atque in plenis Parliamenti Consiliis Edinburgi habitis, ita omnibus Subditorum illius Regni desideriis prolixè satisfecit, ut unanimi ore agnoscerent nihil ultra restare postulandum, atque adeo in futurum plenam illi & integram obedientiam & obsequium solenniter omnes profiterentur.

Anno 1642. Subditi in Angliâ, eodem exemplo et eodem fere prætextu concitati, arma & ipsi ceperunt contra præfatum Patrem nostrum charissimum, & diu cum illo gesserunt bellum istud nefarium & cruentissimum. Cum vero, Dei gratia, armis illius initio benedicente, vires eorum maximam partem fregisset, & jam propinqua spes esset cæteros omnes ad obsequium pristinum reducendi, tunc iidem illi homines in Scotiâ, omnium illarum Patris nostri immemores tum publicarum concessionum, tum privatæ in plurimos indulgentiæ, nullâ gratitudinis aut fidei ratione habitâ, fœdus inierunt, quo jam pene oppressis perduellibus in Angliâ opitularentur. In hunc finem & ob hanc causam Anno 1643. Conventum Ordinum indixerunt absque Regis sui Authoritate, & palam adversus consensum. Hic, quo pulchriori obtentu causam suam honestarent, Ligam illam seu Fœdus excogitârunt (cujus in literis suis ad vestram Serenitatem mentionem faciunt); quod revera nihil aliud erat quam coitio quædam & conjuratio inita ad præsentem formam gubernationis in Ecclesiâ & statu per universa patris nostri regna subvertendam, nec non omnes ad supplicium pertrahendos, qui (prout obsequio & fide obstricti fuerant) patri nostro in hoc bello inserviissent. Hujus primùm fœderationis exemplar in Angliam miserunt, atque ibi a rebellibus approbatum mutuo consilio statuerunt cæteris omnibus in patris nostri Regnis agentibus id in quod ipsi jurârant imponere; quin & patrem nostrum vehementer urgebant ut idem ipse vellet suscipere. In has ergo fœderis leges iidem illi homines in Scotiâ, colloquio prius habito, fœdus percusserunt cum rebellantibus in Angliâ; & mox, contra omnes superiores suas stipulationes, magno & potenti exercitu ipsa viscera Angliæ invaserunt; & ita strenuum auxilium rebellantibus præbuerunt, ut eorum operâ præcipue dissipatæ essent vires patris nostri, expugnata oppida, & ipse in summas angustias redactus.

Parens interim noster charissimus, fractis ita & accisis viribus suis, & majoribus indies difficultatibus oppressus, mirâ tamen adhuc erga Scotos fide, quos amico in se credebat & benevolo animo, optavit potius in eorum potestatem se tradere, & honorem hunc illis peculiarem facere, ut per illos potissimùm rem suam conservaret, quàm cum aliis quibuscunque subditis suis facere quicquam ejusmodi, vel tractare. Postquam igitur cum plurimis ex illâ natione Primariis super hâc re egisset, & solennem ab iis stipulationem retulisset, se eum cum honore et incolumitate excepturos, Mense Aprilis 1646. Se ad Scotorum exercitum recepit, jam biennio in in Angliâ triumphantem, seque ultro & res suas omnes eorum fidei & tutelæ concredidit. Et quò ampliori testimonio fiduciam illam affectûs sui & amoris in ipsos confirmaret, arces quasdam & præsidia, in potestate ipsius adhuc manentia, mandavit continuò ut eorum Generali traderentur. Et ne quid ultra supereresset obstaculi, quominus libere ac unanimiter in hoc negotio conficiendo fidelem illi operam præstarent, jussit etiam, ab iis rogatus,

rogatus, Marchionem Montiſroſarum, ſummium tunc in Scotiâ Regiarum partium ducem, ut, ſuis ſtatim copiis dimiſſis, à re & cauſâ regiâ hoc amplius tempore proſequendâ abſiſteret: Hoc tamen utroque tam inſigni beneficio in cumulum accedente, cumque ſe tam liberaliter in brachia eorum conjeciſſet, acceptâ nihilominus paulò poſtea Menſe Jan: 1647. 200,000. librarum *Sterling* penſione, Commiſſariis quibuſdam ab utrâque Domo Parliamenti in Angliâ, ob eam rem miſſis, Regis ſui perſonam tradiderunt; quibus poſtea a ſanguinolentis illis proditoribus ereptus eſt; qui, ut Serenitas veſtra nimis novit, pernicioſiſſimo in omnes Chriſtianos Monarchas exemplo, barbarum illud & deteſtabile parricidium in perſonam Regis ſui commiſerunt. Cujus horrendi ſceleris conſilio utinam ſubditi illi noſtri in Scotiâ ſatis poſſint ſe expertes probare. *A.D.* 1649.

Verum eſt, poſt Parentis noſtri exceſſum, eos qui ſe Ordines Scotiæ appellant, curâſſe ut publico præconio declararemur Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex. Eodem tamen ipſo tempore publicârunt, nolle ſe nos prius admittere ad exercitium regiæ poteſtatis, quam rogationibus nonnullis, quas nobis erant exhibituri, ſatisfactum fuiſſet. Et mox, per Deputatos ſuos, miſſos Hagam in Hollandiâ, inter alia plurima poſtulabant, ut, priuſquam in Regnum reciperemur, ſolenni juramento præhibito, manuque inſuper noſtrâ & ſigillo coitionem illam præfatam vel unionem, quæ ab illis liga & fœdus appellatur, ratam imprimis faceremus; & deinde nos ipſos obligaremus ad omnes fines illius perſequendos: Cujus ſenſus is eſſe poteſt, ut corona noſtra ad eorum libidinem proculcetur, Eccleſia Anglicana, in qúâ hactenus educati ſumus, evertatur, omnes qui fideliter parenti noſtro vel nobis adhæſerunt, ad ſupplicium unà rapiantur. Requirebant inſuper ut conſenſum noſtrum præmitteremus, quo in ſingulis noſtris Regnis mandaretur in hoc fœdus jurari, utque eorum rogatu aſſenſum noſtrum præberemus ad inſtituendam novam formam regiminis in Eccleſiis Angliæ & Hiberniæ, approbantes fide quâdam implicitâ leges omnes in hunc finem ſanciendas, priuſquam adhuc ſciretur in quas formas aut conſtitutiones utrumque Regnum vellet conſentire; iterùm, ut nos in familiâ noſtrâ & privatis devotionibus omitteremus illam formam communem divini cultûs & Liturgiæ ab ipſo reformationis initio uſurpatam in Angliâ, & tot Martyrum ſanguine (qui eam primò componebant) conſignatam, & ab utriuſque tum Angliæ tum Hiberniæ legibus ſtabilitam; poſtremò, ut nos ipſos actu noſtro proprio ab adminiſtratione Regni Scotiæ penitùs excluderemus; conſentientes ut res omnes civiles in Parliamentis, Eccleſiaſticæ in Conventu Eccleſiaſtico agerentur, utriſque non ſolùm ſine nobis, ſed (prout iſti ſe explicant) ſupra nos valituris.

Haud dubitamus quin Serenitati veſtræ pro æquitate ſuâ & prudentiâ nimis hæc iniqua poſtulata videantur, in quæ noſter conſenſus expectetur, & indigne admodum à ſubditis à legitimo ſuo Rege exigenda, cujus ipſi jus clarum & titulum extra omnem controverſiam agnoſcunt. Nec magis æquum cenſebit Serenitas veſtra, ut, quò Scotorum importunitati ſatisfiat, cæteris Regnis noſtris, abſque eorum conſenſu vel conſilio adhibito, novæ quædam Leges imponantur. Hanc tamen ob cauſam, quia his & ſimilibus inquiſſimis poſtulatis implicitum ita conſenſum præſtare noluimus, ſubditi noſtri in Scotiâ, & tunc quidem recuſârunt, & jam etiam recuſant, nos in Regni illius poſſeſſionem admittere.

Illud interim prætereundum non eſt, quòd eodem ipſo tempore, quo hæc nobiſcum in Hollandiâ per Delegatos ſuos agitabant, Marchionem Huntlæum,

*A.D.* 1649. læum, virum [*inter*] Scotos nobilitate illuſtrem, nec virtute minus quam dignitate conſpicuum, Authores iſtius Delegationis injuſtiſſimâ morte affecerint, nullum aliud ob crimen niſi quòd fidus in patrem noſtrum & in nos extitiſſet.

Nos verò in reſponſionibus noſtris datis in Hollandiâ ultrò nos paratos obtulimus ad confirmandam Civilem & Eccleſiaſticam Adminiſtrationem in Scotiâ, prout jam Regni legibus in præſentiâ ſtabilitur, & omnia illa inſuper Acta Parliamentaria, in quæ parens noſter, vel illius Commiſſarii, legitimâ Authoritate veſtiti, aſſenſi fuerant, tum & omnes Regni illius antiquas & notas leges; prompti etiam in plurimas conſentire in Eccleſiâ & Statu mutationes, ſiquo modo bonis noſtris ſubditis ſatisfacere poſſimus; omnia porro libenter conceſſuri, quæ in favorem illius nationis ullâ poſſunt æquitate poſtulari. Has ſi nobis rogationes attuliſſent Commiſſarii, nec ipſis tam prolixâ opus fuiſſet in Hollandiâ morâ, nec tam in longum dilata eſſet profectio noſtra in Scotiam ad coronam noſtram illic capeſſendam.

Ut verò meliûs conſtet Serenitati veſtræ de ſingulis inter nos & illos diverſo tempore agitatis, quòdque reſponſiones noſtræ in Hollandiâ non adeo (prout iſti in literis ſuis commemorant) ſuſpenſæ fuerint & perendinæ, unà ſimul cum his miſimus ad Serenitatem veſtram vera omnium chartarum exemplaria, quæ alicujus momenti inter nos tunc invicem tradebantur; id unicè optantes, ut ſubditi noſtri in Scotiâ majorem in ſuis Propoſitionibus moderationem adhiberent, nec ea à nobis poſtularent, quæ cum Regiâ gubernatione (quam ita verbis tueri profitentur) nullâ poſſunt ratione conſiſtere: Ut ſic omnes controverſiæ, abſque ullâ præterea Chriſtiani ſanguinis effuſione, concordantibus utrinque animis, felici exitu componantur.

10 *Novembris* 1649.

*A Copy.*

*A general Letter of Credence, for Mr.* Robert Meynell, *ſent by his* Majesty *to* Rome.

Quandoquidem nobis viſum fuit Romam expreſſè mittere præſentium latorem, Dominum Robertum Meynell, illiuſque uti ope & induſtriâ in aliquibus negotiis ad rem noſtram plurimùm conducentibus: Hiſce ergo omnes & ſingulos, ad quos pervenerit, & quibuſcum de rebus noſtris tractaturus vel negotiaturus ſit, enixè rogamus, et rogatos volumus, ut integram fidem ei adhibeant in omnibus, quæ noſtro nomine de nobis dicturus ſit. In cujus rei teſtimonium, manum propriam apponimus, & ſigillo privato præſentes munimus, datas Pariſiis Die 7°. Auguſti, 1649.

*A Draught, by Mr. Meynell.*

*The Lord* Cottington *to Cardinal* Capponi.

*Eminentiſſime & Reverendiſſime Domine,*

Etsi Credentiales Literæ quas ſecum fert præſentium lator, D. Robertus Meynell, univerſaliores ſint quàm quæ a Sanctiſſimo Domino intelligi poſſint ullâ ratione ad ſuam ſpectare Sanctitatem; dignetur tamen mihi credere veſtra Eminentia, eas non eſſe alio fine Sigillo Regio, ac pro-

prio

prio insuper Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, Dei gratiâ, Caroli secundi, Chirographo munitas, quàm ut per illas fidem etiam inveniat apud suam Sanctitatem dictus Dominus Meynell. *A.D.* 1649.

Quapropter ego humillimè rogo vestram Eminentiam, uti dignetur Sanctissimum Dominum informare, quòd ex meâ certâ scientiâ, qui sum à secretioribus Consiliis suæ dictæ Majestati, harum lator literarum missus est expressè ad suam Sanctitatem, ut apud ipsam agat, clancularitèr saltem, quod ego publice acturus sum apud Catholicam Majestatem; hoc est, ut exponat suæ Sanctitati, uti ego Catholicæ Majestati expositurus sum, bonam esse in supra dicto Rege intentionem erga omnes omninò subditos suos, qui fidem profitentur Catholicam, ut ipsis faveat, & eatenùs indulgeat, quatenùs etiam visum fuerit Sanctissimo Domino, si per suam Sanctitatem, aliosque Principes Catholicos dentur (eâ lege) suppetiæ huic fini competentes suæ dictæ Majestati.

Hac super re plura dicet Sanctissimo Domino atque vestræ Eminentiæ præsentium lator, cui precor (et hoc ex speciali mandato Domini mei Regis) eandem fidem dari, quæ mihi ipsi daretur, si palam (per Credentiales Literas omni exceptione majores) in istâ curiâ eadem negotia tractarem ego, quæ, propter rationes statûs, clancularitèr solùm usque hùc tractabuntur a dicto Domino Meynell.

Det Dominus Deus his Principiis incrementum, & Eminentissimo Domino felices quos precatur Annos

*Vestræ Eminentiæ Servus humillimus,*

*Datum Parisiis octavo Die Augusti*, 1649.

*& ad nutum paratissimus.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman.*

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to Father* Isidore.

*Reverendissime Pater*,

Interea temporis, quod Antverpiæ agitur, contrahitur felicissima cum Reverendo Patre Petro à Cruce amicitia: Ex quo & didici tenerrimum sensum, & pientissima candidissimi pectoris tui viscera, quæ erga Serenissimum Angliæ Regem, Dominum meum, & gessisti jam olim, & adhuc geris. Ex quo & perdidici insuper non minori Paternitatem vestram zelo & detestatione (quam pro datâ occasione semper promis) infanda & inaudita perditissimorum rebellium facinora prosequi, quàm illi malitiâ & Diabolicâ proditione beatissimæ memoriæ Regem Patrem prosecuti sunt, &, currente scelere, Regem Filium prosequuntur; geminos quidem incomparabilis Virtutis Principes (illius hauserunt noviss imè sacrum sanguinem, hujus sitiunt). Quamobrem pientissimum illum affectum & sympathiam vestram Paternitati vestræ ex animo gratulor; immo, gratulamur tota fidelioris Angliæ gens. Sane quidem (nisi me fallat animus, & bene ominari nesciat) bonæ hæ sunt aves, & sanum Dei magis propitii auspicium, & quasi surgentis in negata regna & dominia Principis; cum in tam generali subditorum suorum defectione, tam ingentes animas, tam sacra capita, divinâ quasi virgulâ excitata, inque partes & causam Regiam transeuntia videamus; cum advenæ affectus defectus indigenas suppleant. Sane mirum est, sane divinum est.

Serenissimus Rex, Dominus & Herus meus, Hiberniam profecturus est, & jam aliquam viæ partem (cum Deo bono) confecit. Cujus accessu,

*A.D.* 1649. cum Catholicorum Subditorum ſuorum ope & auxilio, audaces Rebellium animos brevi fractos iri, & peſſundatos ibidem, ſperamus & cogitamus. Majeſtas ſua Baronem Cottingtonum, Summum Angliæ Theſaurarium, unáque meipſum, Catholicæ Majeſtati Legatos dedit extraordinarios; cujus ad præſentiam, quâ poſſumus expeditione maturamus. Reverendus Pater Petrus à Cruce (cujus per manus literæ hæ ad veſtras tranſeunt) id inducit animi ſpeique nobis, (quam & credere jubet) ſummam te afflictis Regis rebus operam, ubi anſa dabitur, daturum ſublevandis; idque agere dignaturum, non illâ ſolùm quâ nunc agis feliciter ſcenâ, ſed & illâ etiam alterâ (ad quam properamus nos, & tu plurimùm potes) Hiſpanicâ; in quâ cum opere, conſilio, & intelligentiâ veſtrâ, feliciùs & negotiis fungemur regiis, & officiis noſtris. Summam hanc a te poſtulaturus gratiam non accederem (neque enim auderem), niſi infallibili & indubitato candoris veſtri argumento inductum me & perſuaſum reddidiſſet ille Pater venerandus: Quem & fidejuſſorem ſpero & expecto apud te pro me futurum, me, ſcilicet, juxta & pariter futurum in omni officiorum genere,

*Reverendiſſime Pater,*

*Reverendiſſimæ Paternitatis veſtræ*

*addictiſſimum Servum,*

*A Draught by himſelf; endorſed by him,*
"My Letter to F. Iſidore at Rome."

E. H.

## *The Earl of* Bristol *to Sir* Edward Hyde.

*Good Mr. Chancellor,*

I WAS deſirous to have waited on you and my Lord Treaſurer at St. Germain's; but having finally taken my leave of the King and Queen, I feared I ſhould have been thought a pretender, if I ſhould have come thither. Beſides, being laid aſide in point of affairs, and ſecluded the Council, I could not think it comely for me, or of advantage to the King's ſervice to be there. I therefore ſend you this farewell, and heartily wiſh you all proſperity and happineſs in your journey. But to deal freely with you, I am not much ſatisfied with your preſent employment, knowing you were (in my opinion) the fitteſt man in the King's Dominions for another, and that of the moſt uſe.

I PRAY you remember my ſervice to my Lord Treaſurer, and tell him I wiſh him all happineſs, and that I and all mine will ever faithfully ſerve him: But I could [have] much more have wiſhed, that his perſonal attendance had been continued nearer about the King, where I fear he will be much wanted. I pray God in Heaven to bleſs you both, and ſo I reſt

*Your moſt faithful Friend and Servant,*

Bristol.

*Paris, 19th Auguſt* 1649.

*An Original.*

*Mr.*

*A.D.* 1649.

*Mr.* RICHARD WATSON † *to Mr.* WILLIAM EDGMAN.

*My dear Brother,*

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I WAS lately, you would little think it, the only man invited to a Captain's chamber at dinner; where I met Maſſie, Graves, the King's jailor at Holmby, Alderman Bunce of London, and Alexander, the great cheat, that was their Receiver at Goldſmith's-Hall. The Captain that invited us, was a very Presbyterian too; and judge you what work I had to deal with ſuch gameſters, who fell to play, as ſoon as they ſat down, with the publick diviſions, more than they did to work with their good cheer. I 'bated them not an ace; yet was ſo cautelous, as to give offence to none by the liberty I uſed. They all pretended their good meaning to the murdered King. I aſked them, why they did not ſhew it, when it was in their power? I did not particulariſe the time to Maſſie, when the King was before Glouceſter, nor to Graves, when he had him in his cuſtody: But they both might gueſs very well what I reflected on. There was a picture in the chamber, which Maſſie took to be little David cutting off Goliah's head. Says he, "He has given him one blow, and yet it will not do!" "The "next will, to the purpoſe," ſaid Alexander, like a rogue; for in my conſcience they both meant it of the King. Graves carried it fairly, and deſired further acquaintance, and a right apprehenſion; which I think had been improved to ſome good end, if he had not been under Willoughby's wing, and durſt not be familiar with an incorrigible Cavalier. Bunce, a good merry and honeſt fellow, if any honeſty can be in a Preſbyterian, did nothing but hug me, and carry me to a corner to tell me ſtories, and argue: Which Maſſie, I obſerved, ſtill interrupted; and overhearing him ſpeak ſomewhat by way of accommodation, ſaith Maſſie, "Talk no more." The truth is, the Preſbyterians have cozened the Kingdom, the Independents the Preſbyterians, and the Cavalier muſt have his turn to cozen one or both; or elſe, there never can be peace. Judge you what rogues theſe are, when in their wine they can drop this truth; for they drank pretty devoutly, among the reſt, the King's health, which Maſſie begun, the Duke of York's, and at laſt, the Queen of Hearts, which was a myſtery among themſelves, whereof I could not pick the meaning.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

*I am,*

*Dear Brother,*

*your unfeigned faithful Friend,*

*Breda, Sept.* 7. 1649.

FITZW. *

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Edgman.*

† *He was Chaplain to Lord Hopton. See an account of him in Wood's* Athenæ Oxonienſes.
* *A fictitious Signature: But he generally tranſpoſes the initials of his name.*

*A.D.* 1649.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Counteſs of* MORTON.

THOUGH no abſence or diſtance ought to leſſen or allay that virtuous habit of the mind which we call love or friendſhip, yet there is a paſſion and impatience which are not unnatural branches from that noble root, which ſure time orders and corrects. How comes it elſe to paſs, that I am worſe prepared to bear, and more ſenſible of the pain of being deprived of your company now, than I was a month before I came laſt to you, when I had the ſame affection and value for you, which I have now? Doubtleſs, as the ſame kindneſs and reverence to the memory of our friends continues a year after their death, that we were poſſeſſed with at the day of their funeral, though we were not tranſported with the ſame unrulineſs of paſſion and exclamation, ſo it is no wonder, if after a parting with thoſe we entirely love (which is a civil death), we feel a ſharper ſenſe of the ſeparation for a time, than we do after we have corrected our affections with thoughts of neceſſity and conveniency, and thoſe other arguments which prevail over our underſtanding and judgment. And therefore, I am not afraid of bringing a ſcandal upon my affection to you, as if it were capable of diminution, when I tell you, I hope, and will endeavour to bear this abſence from you, better than I yet find myſelf able to do. Nor do I think the worſe of that paſſion I have for you, becauſe it is without any mixture of that jealouſy which your Court holds love to be compounded of, fear of rivals. It would be a great comfort to me to know you had any man with you (for he muſt be come ſince I left you) who loves you as well as I do. The greateſt trouble I ſuffer is, that you are left without a lover, without ſuch a friend as you may ſafely receive advice from, ſince the condition we are all in, and are like to be in, does exceedingly need a friend for our ſupport and comfort in the difficulties we muſt ſtruggle with. I would be glad Dr. Morley were come to you; who ſeriouſly I hope will do much good in your Court by his converſation. I am ſure he will be of ſingular uſe to you, being of great ability and wiſdom to adviſe you in whatſoever may concern you, and having a perfect value and eſteem of you. It is time to tell you, which is all I meant to ſay when I began to write, that we are, I thank God, thus far well on our way. God of Heaven preſerve you!

*Your &c.*

10*th Sept. St. nov.* 1649.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL *to the Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My Lords,*

MAY it pleaſe your Excellencies to take a general account of what I have particularized every week to Paris. I came to Rome the 18th of September; and, after mature deliberation, I found none ſo fit to addreſs your Honour's letters to, as Cardinal Capponi, our Comprotector, a man of great wiſdom and integrity, affectionate to our King and Country, and none of more authority with his Holineſs than he. He wondered, why I addreſſed to him; for which in my firſt audience I gave him the reaſons

before

before mentioned; to wit, his affection to our King, his piety to our Country, his prudence and authority with his Holineſs. Then I opened all my deſign with confidence, which he was pleaſed to hear with patience. Firſt, I took upon me modeſtly to admire, why his Holineſs had never mediately nor immediately looked after our now King, made a ſpectacle to the world, whoſe Father was baſely murdered by his own ſubjects, his Mother in exile, he himſelf baniſhed, impudently declared a rebel to his native Country, and fooliſhly a traitor to himſelf. To this the Cardinal replied, that that office and piety of a common Father had been paid; but that his Holineſs had reaſon to fear leaſt his Nuntio or brief might have been rejected with contempt, and he not acknowledged a common Father. Then I begun to open my buſineſs, ſhewing the great advantages which were offered by this application of his Majeſty to his Holineſs, both to his Holineſs and to the whole Catholick Church; and the irreparable inconveniencies which would, by all likelihood, enſue, if this addreſs was either ſlighted or not handſomely complied withal. To animate them to this compliance, I deſcended to particulars, and aſſured his Eminence, that in caſe of this compliance, all his Majeſty's Catholick ſubjects might be ſure of all favour from his Majeſty; nay, that his Holineſs might be admitted not only a mediator but an arbitrator for them. Then I warranted his Eminency, that whoſoever, or whatſoever he would pleaſe to ſend to his Majeſty, ſhould find both a civil and cordial reception. After this I produced my credentials; which he peruſed, and returned. He forthwith promiſed me his utmoſt endeavour; and went not long after to his Holineſs, to whom he communicated the whole matter. His Holineſs heard it with guſt. The Cardinal after his return ſent for me, and confirmed what he had told before; to wit, that his Holineſs never had a conceit in prejudice to our King or his Title in Ireland, and that my meſſage would be exceeding welcome to him. He required my credentials; which I gave him: He repaired again to the Pope, to no other end, as I ſuppoſe, than to preſent them to his Holineſs; which done, at my next acceſs to his Eminence, he reſtored them again to me, and gave me orders to expect audience of his Holineſs the eighth of this preſent. I told his Eminence, that I would ſay nothing to his Holineſs but what his prudence would pleaſe to ſuggeſt to me; and in this I am confident I do not amiſs; for the Cardinal, without doubt, is really and cordially our's. By his approbation I reduced what I intended to repreſent to his Holineſs to three heads. Firſt, I endeavoured to aſſure his Holineſs of the good inclinations and intentions of his Majeſty to favour Catholicks. Secondly, That his brief or Nuntio ſhould be affectionately received. Thirdly, That he would pleaſe to give order to his Nuntio at Madrid to treat with your Honours. I went according to the Cardinal's order, the eighth of this preſent, in the morning, to Court, and was not long there 'till introduced to his Holineſs, who received me with affable alacrity; and when I begun to tell my errand, he bid me ſpeak louder, and freely, for, ſays he, all is faſt, and nobody can hear but ourſelves. Before I fell to my three intended points, I told his Holineſs, that I came not only to beg favours, but to deprecate ills. This bred a diſpute between us; for his Holineſs would needs vindicate himſelf, ſaying that he never did any thing in prejudice either of our glorious King of happy memory, or of his now preſent Majeſty, and urged me to particularize. Upon this I was forced to alledge, that his Majeſty was too too ſenſible of his heavy hand in Ireland laid on by his Nun- *A.D.* 1649.

*A.D.* 1649. tio's excommunication of thoſe Confederate Catholicks, which had declared for the King. This ended the diſpute; and his Holineſs excuſed it thus; that, that could be little diſadvantage to his Majeſty's affairs in Ireland; for the excommunication was taken off the generality long ſince; that there remained not above a dozen *nominatim* excommunicated, and that divers of them were already abſolved by his Nuntio; and that his Nuntio had left delegate power to abſolve the reſt. Then I proceeded to my three mentioned heads, which I had thought to have propoſed in Latin, as having more confidence in that language; but he tied me to Italian, ſaying he underſtood me very well; which I imped up how and then with a Latin word. When I had ſaid, his Holineſs told me with a great deal of paternal affection, that he reſented his Majeſty's condition very much, and that he would ſeriouſly conſider what I had reported, and of ſome efficacious way to ſerve his Majeſty. I begged to know, what I might return in anſwer to his Majeſty; pretending, that I had expreſs command to give his Majeſty a preſent account. To this his Holineſs replied, that he could not give his preſent judgment of a matter ſo weighty and important; but, ſays he, you may tell his Majeſty this, that he may expect all favour, for I will do what I judge moſt for God's honour, for the advancement of the Catholick Church, and for his Majeſty's ſervice. I added, that the conjuncture of time and my affairs cried haſte; beſides, that there was not only danger in delay; but that, if time were neglected, it was to be feared, that his Holineſs would neither be able to aſſiſt his Majeſty, nor his Majeſty capable of his intended favours, if once the enemy by Oneal's joining with him, ſhould make himſelf Maſter of Ireland. "Well," ſays his Holineſs, "I'll do my endeavour to prevent "that." This done, I took leave, and went the next morning to Cardinal Capponi to render him an account of what had paſſed. You have done well, ſays he; for I was yeſterday, after your audience, with his Holineſs 'till late at night, conſulting only of your buſineſs; and aſſure yourſelf, his Holineſs looks upon it as one of the greateſt and moſt important under Heaven. By this your Honours may gather that I have gained entire credit, which your letter to Cardinal Capponi did not a little diſpoſe to. I am with the Cardinal every other day, who receives me with conſtant kindneſs. I omit not to ſuggeſt what appears may be advantageous to my Maſter, or his buſineſs; and continually preſs for ſome ſpeedy reſolutions; but I need not inſtance or plead the ſlowneſs of other Courts; you know them better much than I; and this is naturally the graveſt and ſloweſt of all others. Yet, I have had one audience in leſs than three weeks, and may have more when I pleaſe, as the Cardinal aſſures me; but I have nothing new to repreſent to his Holineſs, which the Cardinal cannot propoſe with more authority. The *Remora*, which hinders the emiſſions of his Holineſs's reſolutions, is the daily expectation of Rinuccini, his *quondam* Nuntio in Ireland; who hath been long at Florence, and is looked for daily here, he being now on his way for Rome. The Pope is reſolved to ſpeak with him before he declares his mind, not that he will ſteer his reſolves by his information; but for ſome other ends. Neither the Pope, nor almoſt any elſe, are ſatisfied at this Nuntio's proceedings in Ireland; yet they will ſave his credit all they can. There is an Iriſh Carmelite here, a wiſe man, and very zealous for the King, who preſents the Confederate Catholicks appeal from the Nuntio's ſentence to his Holineſs, with much diligence and dexterity. He hath been above ſeven months here, and could never yet obtain audience of his Holi-

neſs.

nels. He has had acceſs to all his Miniſters, and now, ſince my coming, they begin to comply with him. I verily think his buſineſs will be an effect of my coming, which is to have his appeal admitted, and the excommunication ſuſpended, and the excommunicated free *quoad poteſtatem agendi*. I took advantage of the news brought by the laſt French poſt the 16th of this; and went to Cardinal Capponi, telling him, that his Majeſty was now on his way for Ireland (which perhaps they had ſome ſcruple of), that England was now in diſorder and divided, that Cromwell could not take the field without new recruits, and (which was of moſt concern and confidently aſſerted in one letter) that Oneal was joined with the reſt of the Catholicks for the King. Out of this I urged two things; firſt, haſty reſolves; for, ſaid I, if ſomething be not done ſpeedily on his Holineſs's behalf, it will be cenſured that what he does hereafter, is by compulſion, and *ex intuitu* of the King's good condition, rather than out of his own good will: Again; (your Eminence will give me leave to ſpeak my thoughts freely, which I muſt do in my Maſter's behalf, having expreſs power from him to propoſe in his name what I judge conduces to his honour and ſervice:) methinks, it can be neither for his Holineſs's honour, nor for my Maſter the King of England's ſervice, that his Holineſs ſhould demur his reſolves in expectation of Rinuccini's coming; for he can know very little of the preſent ſtate of Ireland, having been long from thence: Beſides, by your own confeſſions, he has not had a line of correſpondence either from Oneal or any of his party ſince he left Ireland. And, which is of main concern, I judge the Nuntio an unfit perſon, to whom my buſineſs, committed to me with ſo much caution of ſecrecy, ſhould be communicated; or by whoſe report his Holineſs ſhould any way ſquare his reſolutions; being he, the Nuntio, hath always proceeded with prejudice to his Majeſty's ſervice. Beſides, if his Holineſs admit him into this deliberation, it will give ſome kind of ſuſpicion, that his Holineſs abets the Nuntio's proceedings in Ireland, which your Eminency told me he diſliked. To this the Cardinal anſwered, that the Nuntio was to have no vote in the buſineſs; but his Holineſs was reſolved to hear him ſpeak. I humbly deſired the Cardinal to preſent this to his Holineſs, which he promiſed to do forthwith; and this was my yeſterday's employment, who am, my Lords,

*Your obedient Servant,*

*Rome, October* 18. 1649.

ROBERT MEYNELL.

*An Original.*

*A. D.* 1649.

## *The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to Mr.* GEORGE LANE. †

*Sir,*

I SHALL deſire you to intreat his Excellency to ſend ſpeedy orders for the hanging of Caulfield, leſt any letter may be ſent unto me in his behalf from the enemy, that, if he ſhould miſcarry, they will hang ſome of my officers, priſoners, and by that means he may eſcape; ſo that I would have him deſpatched out of the way, without giving me any notice thereof; which I hope will not be neglected; ſo I remain

*Your very affectionate Friend,*

*Lowgrange, 3d Novemb.* 1649.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

† *Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.*

*A.D.* 1649.

*The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

I FIND Colonel Phayre has been ſucceſsful in gaining my trumpeter's good opinion of their proceedings in that army; and the fellow now tells me, that he has taken an oath never to ſerve on that ſide Owen ô Neil is of; and therefore deſires my leave to go for England, pretending that he will never ſerve againſt me. I was ſomewhat angry; but ſuppreſſed it, becauſe the fellow told me that Phayre had diſcourſed with him of all that Croaker had in charge on both ſides; wherein Phayre deſired I would employ him; and therefore I ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied of his affection to me; and ſaid, if I intended to correſpond at all with that party, I would employ him. Whereupon he told me that Phayre aſſured him I ſhould have all thoſe conditions which Colonel Jephſon was heretofore getting for me, when I got this army to declare for the King; and the fellow ſpeaks as if they make ſure account I will accept them; yet he ſays Cromwell told Phayre, he would never grant me ſuch high conditions, being confident to do his work without me; but ſays, if thoſe be they I would have, Phayre bid him tell me he would procure them. I aſked him whether they ſpoke any thing of your Excellency; whereupon he told me, they underſtood from Croaker, that I would not take conditions, except the ſame were offered to your Excellency. When I aſked why he concealed this two days; he told me, that Croaker being gone for Munſter, and expected to be here yeſterday, he forbore in expectation of him; and ſeeing him not come, thought fit to tell me, for fear it ſhould be too late; profeſſing how faithfully he would ſerve me. I knew not well how to behave myſelf; but reſolved at length to let him have liberty to go away when he pleaſed, being I ſaw no perſuaſions would ſtay him; and when I told him ſo, I deſired him to let Colonel Phayre know, that I would not have him deceive himſelf or others, with an expectation of any compliance from me, and therefore it would be to no purpoſe for him to endeavour the getting of Jephſon's conditions, or any other for me; taking occaſion thereupon to hold forth probabilities, that it might rather be ſhortly their condition to capitulate with us for their lives; and however, that there were ſo many reaſons to induce me to oppoſe their ways, that I could not in conſcience decline any means to that end, having a calling that did as well render it my duty, as inclination; for which I gave ſuch reaſons as made my trumpeter ſwear he would never ſerve them; but would go to Corke, and there do me all the ſervice he can. However, it ſhall not be in his power to do any diſſervice; and ſome engines I have now put on foot (which I hope Dean Boyle will manage well) may poſſibly bring back Corke, which is not to be done but by ſuch means as may not directly be owned, if the perſons employed therein be not above ſuſpicion. That which I aim at, is to get the power there brought into the hands of Trenchard and Courtenay, with ſome others; who, if they find correſpondents in the town that ſhall aſſure them thereof, ſhall join with them at Corke, and get them to deny the receiving of a garriſon from Cromwell, upon pretence that they know all the reſt of the garriſons, and moſt of the army will go the ſame way with them; and that therefore they would not be ſo treacherous to them as to accept a garriſon from Cromwell,

before they had assurance of conditions for them, as well as for themselves; and if we can bring it but to this pass, I warrant it to bring Corke to a right temper again, except we be beaten: *A.D.* 1649.

*I am*

*Your Excellency's*

*most humble Servant,*

*Lowgrange, 5 Nov.* 1649.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

*Father* ROWE *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My Lord,*

YOUR constant loyalty to our King, your singular courtesy towards all men, and your great wisdom in managing arduous matters do invite me, a stranger, to make these addresses unto your Excellency; presuming that your courtesy will excuse my prolixity and rudeness, your wisdom will rather weigh the matter than the words or expression, and your zeal for his Majesty's service will move you to afford what I demand, at least what reasonably I may expect.

KNOW then, most excellent Lord, that I was sent unto this Court of Rome by the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland for to prosecute their appeal from the Nuntio's censures to the Pope's Holiness; wherein I have been these eleven months labouring to get the censures taken off, to reunite the Catholicks, and oblige them all unanimously to their loyalty towards their Prince. These have been and are still the scope of my negotiation, as most conducing to the advance of his Majesty's service, the preservation and weal of Ireland, and (to be plain with your Excellency) the means for to attain to what was intended, as well by the first motions of Ireland, as also by this last distemper, if *finis operis et primarius* be regarded.

I WAS ever of opinion, that we, the Catholicks of Ireland, must make the King's interest to be our own, as our interest is his, while it doth not swerve from reason or loyalty. I confess, my Lord, it is not very easy to persuade this to most who look not upon our affairs but of that side is turned towards themselves; and I must not wonder to see strangers in this error, when very many of our own Catholicks and Protestants have been hitherto so over scrupulous (for not to say other), as that they would not admit this, but divided our interest from that of the King's; by which, and the ill management of the business upon this ground, they have almost destroyed the one and the other.

WHAT endeavours have been used here to represent, that the interest of the one was destructive of the other's interest, and what acceptance it had among some, were troublesome to relate; which by God's grace I have made appear to be false, and the proofs alledged to be calumnies; so that our business is looked upon with a more impartial eye than our adversaries did expect; and the greatest difficulty was, and is still, to remove certain ill-grounded suspicions and jealousies of those addicted to his Majesty; for which I left nothing unattempted, that a better intelligence (for what concerned his Majesty's authority and their loyalty) might be begotten;

A.D. 1649. and to facilitate it, I ſtick on nothing (ſo our innocency may not be damnified), but give them all the liberty imaginable to come off with as much credit to their Miniſter as they may.

ALL which produced hitherto no other effects than that our appeal was accepted of in the latter end of June, the letters for abſolution *ad cautelam* decreed; but the execution ſuſpended, upon pretended ſuſpicions, but in effect until the late Nuntio of Ireland had come to Rome, who but fifteen days ago arrived; ſo that now we expect their reſolution, which they promiſe. And yeſterday I gave my demands by the French Ambaſſador (a very gallant man and one who ſince his being here did earneſtly preſs this buſineſs), being thereto invited by the Pope's Holineſs upon his laſt motion in our behalf. And although his Excellency had a large invitation to propound any thing either in the temporal or ſpiritual that may be done by his Holineſs for to accommodate this buſineſs, yet have I thought good for the preſent to propound no other than three points; to wit, the cenſures to be taken away, union between the Catholicks, and exhorting them to their loyalty; ſo that all ſuſpicions hereafter may be taken away, of any influence herehence to the King's prejudice, or to the ſubjects for their loyalty.

ALTHOUGH we are in very good hopes to ſee all this done very ſoon, yet reaſon and experience taught me to ſuſpect delays; not that I fear any thing poſitively to be done againſt us, as well for the juſtice of the cauſe in itſelf, as alſo for the much circumſpection ever uſed in this Court; but that I know there will not want endeavours to favour the adverſe party; which can be no other way than by delaying their poſitive reſolution. Therefore, I thought good to make this addreſs unto your Excellency, to intreat you will be pleaſed to get that Court of Spain to recommend this buſineſs to their Ambaſſador here in Rome; and though I have informed the Cardinal, that ſupplied the Ambaſſador's place hitherto, of this whole matter, and that he did at firſt beſtir himſelf in it, yet I ever ſuſpected ſome practices againſt us from certain Miniſters of Spain out of the low countries; and by the ſucceſs I have diſcovered ſomewhat.

THUS I have given your Excellency an account of this troubleſome buſineſs, to what paſs it is brought, what hopes we have of it, and what I conceive your Excellency may do to forward it, which I leave to your wiſdom to conſider. Now, my Lord, permit I beſeech you, that I may repreſent unto you my own condition here. My inclination and profeſſion drew me to lead a private life theſe 24 years; the commands of the ſupreme Council, the importunate perſuaſion of many Noblemen and Prelates well affected to his Majeſty, and the deluge of miſeries that I ſaw overflowing the whole Country, have drawn me from my ſolitarineſs, and ſet me on the ſtage, for to defend the innocency of the beſt part of my Country, to vindicate their honour, to uphold civil authority, maintain the King's right, and draw good intelligence between this Court and the Confederates' army; motives theſe are to draw the retiredſt Hermit from his Cell; but a hard taſk, the matter very tickleſome to be touched; of which I was not ignorant, knowing I muſt draw upon me the indignation of many, and expoſe myſelf to the obloquies of zealiſts; the which I experience daily, being threatened by the adverſe party and their abettors. And though in all equity I ſhould fear no ſuch menaces, yet to prevent all ſiniſter practices againſt my perſon, it may be deemed too much preſumption or folly in me not to uſe all moderate endeavours.

deavours. And therefore, I have thought that a letter of Credence of his Majeſty, allowing my endeavours in this Court for the benefit of his Catholick Subjects in Ireland, or his commands that I ſhould come unto him to give him an account of my negotiation in this Court, or ſome other ſuch as your Excellency will judge fitting, may avail me. I remit myſelf wholly, if this my demand be not expedient to be granted. If your Excellency do judge it to purpoſe, I ſhall intreat that ſpeedily you will further it, ſuppoſing you may do it without having recourſe unto his Majeſty, and to conſider it may be a huge diſcouragement to any other to engage themſelves in any arduous matter for his Majeſty's ſervice, if they ſhould ſee me ſuffer for want of the encouragement which a loyal ſubject may expect; aſſuring your Excellency that, though his Majeſty hath many more uſeful, yet of my rank none more loyal than I; who wiſh unto your Excellency all grace and happineſs. With my due reſpects I humbly remain, *A.D.* 1649.

*My Lord,*

*Your Excellency's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

FR. JOHN ROWE.

*Rome*, 27 *Nov.* 1649.

*An Original.*

## *Sir* JOHN BERKELEY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Mr. Chancellor,*

I RECEIVED at Jerſey your's that was dated between Blois and Bourdeaux; and am ſorry my friend and you parted no better; the rather, becauſe I have taken ſome pains he ſhould be your's, and that I am reſolved to be an humble ſervant to you both. Neither am I ſubtle enough to diſcern any thing in him but value and kindneſs of and to you; we muſt expect no degree of perfection in this world; and if we diſmiſs our friends for every failing, we ſhall be left alone. I believe, if ſome of thoſe Paragons now at Jerſey were well examined by an exact lapidary, they would be found with their flaws; but they have learnt a rule, which the Spaniards have turned into a Proverb, *Procura buena fama, y echa te a dormir.* In ſuch a ſlumber I left ſome of them; who to my ſeeming did things the moſt like diſhoneſt men, inſomuch I ſhould have ſworn it, if they had been done by any leſs fallible than themſelves. And this I ſhall interpret unto you when we meet. For the preſent, let us return to the ſubject of your letter; wherein you ſay you doubt P. will cozen us; I am glad we are cozenable; I had thought we were in ſo deſperate a condition, as whoſoever had to do with us, were in danger to be loſers by us; and that the Diurnal the laſt week ſummed up the matter not very ill, by ſaying, if the King join not with the Scots, he is undone; and if he do, they are. I do believe we have been and are ſtill deceived; but, truſt me, I think it is by ourſelves, by never allowing any expedient conducing to our recovery, lawful, until it be ineffectual; by not enduring to ſwallow bitter pills 'till they would not work; by loſing what we might have had, becauſe we could not obtain what we wiſhed to have; by being of the opinion of ſome of

*A.D.*1649. your friends now at Jerſey, that it was happy for Crown and Kingdom that Hamilton did not prevail in England; and that we ought not to wiſh that nation engaged againſt the murderers upon the ſame terms they were then (which ſome believe we might have obtained of them), and in the mean time propound no means for our recovery, but ſuch as would not acquit one before an honeſt jury from being not *compos mentis*. And for my part, I will deal freely with you, that I think we ſhall never be undeceived until our eyes are opened ſo as to be able to ſee, that we ought to give one hand to the Catholick Roman, and the other to the Preſbyterians, and join with them both to the deſtruction of our common enemy, as far as we can do *ſalvâ conſcientiâ*; and that not ſcrupled with ſcholaſtical notions, but ſuch as become a ſober Chriſtian. That done, I take the following rule to have no exception; *redime te captum quàm queas minimo.*

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*I am moſt humbly and faithfully*

3d Dec. *Your's.*

*An Original.*

*Mr.* RICHARD WATSON *to Mr.* WILLIAM EDGMAN.

*My dear Brother,*

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STRICKLAND, as Ambaſſador from England formed into a Republick, upon his third inſtance, hath prevailed with the States to ſuppreſs Salmaſius's book written for the King, firſt prohibited to be printed at Leyden, afterwards finiſhed at Amſterdam, terming it, in his memorial, a Paſquil againſt the Republick of England. And it is not yet determined, whether it ſhall be burnt, or no; which he would have. There is another lately paſſed the preſs without that danger; a confutation of our Bleſſed Martyr King's book, in Engliſh. I have not yet ſeen it.

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*Dear Brother,*

*Thine in all affection and fidelity,*

*Breda, Dec.* 8. 1649. R. W.

*An Original, endorſed by Mr. Edgman.*

*The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

HERE I found my Siſter Boyle; by whom I underſtand many things from Corke, where there are many that offer to come off unto me, who have ſent one Captain Purdon of purpoſe to be informed what I would have them do; whereunto I can yet give no anſwer, but that I would have them continue there a while, until I ſhall conſider wherein they may beſt employ themſelves in his Majeſty's ſervice. Inſtead of bringing them hither, I doubt I muſt ſend away thoſe I have according to the advice I told you was given me, * * * * * *

whom

whom I find to be ſo generally hated by them; that really, if they were not very great conſiderations that induce me to it, I ſhould not longer continue in any action amongſt them. But I cannot now decline it, if it were only to avoid giving ſuch a confirmation of what has been ſuggeſted of me, which I am afraid will receive credit, if that ſhould be known; which my Siſter tells me of; being, that Dean Worth is come to Corke; and that Alexander Pigot, my Lord of Broghill, and he, have deſigned to be very earneſt with Cromwell to offer me conditions. I do now perceive the friend that Alexander writ was able to do me ſervice, was Worth; and that the reaſon why he adviſed me to ſtay, was for this purpoſe; but I vow before God, I did never ſend to any of them, nor knew ('till now) that Worth was there, or that any of them had any ſuch intention. My Lord of Broghill ſent me ſome meſſages; firſt, that he aſſures me he does not act for them, nor by their Commiſſion, that he will never diſſerve the King, though he act in this national quarrel, and that, though perhaps I may not believe it, yet he would be glad to do me perſonal ſervice. My Siſter ſays, that all thoſe who were active in the treachery againſt me, are looked upon as rogues, and that ſhe believes Cromwell will truſt none of them; and Broghill, if he has any power, will employ it to keep in thoſe men that I would have in. I do now ſend privately to Alexander Pigot to forbear any diſcourſe in my behalf to any of them, and to put ſome one elſe in a way of diſcovery what they would do for the Engliſh officers, in caſe they ſhould deſert me. But I do verily believe, that though I ſhould tell them I ſent them away myſelf upon a deſign, yet divers of them will not go without paſſes to vindicate them from the diſhonour of it, and ſome dare not go upon any terms, unleſs they may be ſure of conditions beforehand from Cromwell; ſo as I cannot tell in the earth, what to do with them. *A.D.* 1649.

My Lord, I confeſs I am not yet free from the trouble given me by your Excellency's ſilence ſo long in the buſineſs ſo lately diſcovered unto you, although it be obſervable in you, that you ſeldom open thoughts that trouble you, to any one, until there be a neceſſity, or that it be drawn from you; whereby, though your judgment does ſupply the want of advice that may be given you, yet you do often diſſatisfy ſuch friends as think their integrity and affection to your perſon might well induce your Excellency to communicate ſuch things with them. For my own part, I am the leaſt jealous of any body; and I proteſt to God, I am ſo far from giving cauſe of jealouſy in the King's buſineſs, that though that were laid aſide, I would never have any kind of correſpondency with that party without your conſent, if the quarrel were only between your Excellency and them. But I muſt confeſs, the policy of talking ſo much to the trumpeter as rendered him able to give them light for the faſtening of ſuch a ſcandal upon me, was a convincing argument of my weakneſs; whereof I am very ſenſible, though my end were good; and ſo had my deſigns been too, if Phayre had not come juſt as he did; for I am aſſured they were all at Corke reſolved to keep out Broghill and Phayre, until Cromwell ſhould make his way to them with his army. And at that inſtant the news came of their being poſſeſſed of Youghill, Warden and the other two traitors were ready to go to Halebowlin, to ſhip away upon the apprehenſion of their return to us. And alſo there were ſeventy men in the fort, who were to ſecure it that night for us if that news had not come, which deterred them from it.

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*A.D.* 1649. I HAVE now tired your Excellency, and I will therefore omit the mention of ſome other buſineſs until to morrow; concluding at this time with an humble requeſt, that nothing may induce you to believe otherwiſe than that I am (upon your own ſcore unalterably)

*Your Excellency's*

*moſt humble Servant,*

*Kilmallock, 9th Dec.* 1649. INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*Our very good Lord,*

* * * \

tween his Eminency and us; and that you will write at large to us what hope there is of doing good in that great work. We have many reasons to believe that this Crown is much inclined to this peace; and if you find the like inclinations there, you and we may be good instruments towards it. *A.D.* 1649.

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15 *Dec.*

*Your Lordship's &c.*

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

## *The Lord* INCHIQUIN *to the Marquis of* ORMOND.

*May it please your Excellency,*

. . . . . .

I COULD not prevail with Colonel Dermot ô Sullivan to deliver Castlemain into Sir Edward Fitz Harris's hands, though I sent Major General Purcell to convince him by reason of the conveniency of his so doing; for besides that it was his duty, it would also be convenient for the Country; as well because that place might be in hand, whereof the Country was confident (and not at the disposal of idle and irresponsible people), as that otherwise all those in the Country, who were consenting to put him in, and victual him there, were in much danger of being ruined by the forces with me. But although the Major General could not persuade him to this, yet he could find that he relied not barely upon himself. Perhaps he will tell your Excellency more than he will tell me; though he let me know, that if the Bishops of Clonmacnoise give any hint for it, he finds that a great party are ready to use your Excellency and me with all that are supposed to adhere unto us, as they please, without distinction of Papists or Protestants; only, that they will conclude all the latter to be either at your Lordship's disposal or mine. He has advised me to be upon my guard, for that neither myself or any of my party are here esteemed friends. The truth is, I am already condemned amongst them; and I believe your Excellency has but a short reprieve, for Patrick says, they cannot trust you, except you go to Mass.

MY Lord, I was about to proclaim Colonel Sullivan and all his Relievers and Abettors, traitors; but upon better consideration I forbore it, lest it might drive their party in the Kingdom to some desperate attempt (for prevention of discovery); wherein possibly your Excellency might be in some danger; at least, it must have been some publick prejudice, and advantageous to the English Rebels, though it might cost these dear. And perhaps they may be diverted from the design they are upon by those at Clonmacnoise; if not, I am sure it will be endeavoured to surprize me, and all my old party, and I expect the like attempt upon your Excellency.

FOR my part, I will provide no otherwise against this than your Excellency shall direct; but though I intend to take no notice of their intentions, yet I will not be in any of their powers 'till then. I take God to witness, I would decline no hazard to do this people good in their loyal ways (though they hate me thus vehemently); yet I shall beseech your Excellency (if you dare) to cause some examples to be made, to deter others from these rebellious actions that are perpetrated by them of Castlemain. And for that purpose, I desire your order may come to Colonel Dermot ô Sullivan and Lieutenant ô Sullivan; immediately to come before your Excellency, and to deliver that Castle to whom I shall appoint; that, if I be worthy to serve his

A.D. 1649. Majeſty, no mark of diſtruſt may be placed upon me. I will place no Engliſh in it, nor any one that ſhall be liable to ſuſpicion by this party.

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I SHALL ſtay in this County until your Lordſhip's commands come to

*Your Excellency's moſt humble*

*and faithful Servant,*

[.....] 19 *Dec.* 1649.

INCHIQUINE.

*An Original.*

*The Paper delivered by the Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the King of* SPAIN *at their firſt Audience.* †

FRANCIS Lord Cottington, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Sir Edward Hyde, Knight, Extraordinary Ambaſſadors from the King of Great Britain to your Catholick Majeſty, being commanded by their Maſter to preſent a clear and full account of his affairs to your Majeſty, ſay that;

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HIS Majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, who, as ſoon as they were advertiſed of the murder of his Father had proclaimed his Majeſty King of that and of his other Realms, ſent Commiſſioners to the Hague, very earneſtly to importune his Majeſty to repair to that his Kingdom, promiſing an union of the whole nation towards the vindicating his quarrel in England; but they did withal as earneſtly importune his Majeſty to make ſome conceſſions to them which in conſcience and honour he could not conſent to, and whereby he ſhould have put his Catholick Subjects of his ſeveral Realms out of his protection, and upon the matter contributed to the utter extirpation of them; which his Majeſty reſolving never to do, he deferred the thought of going himſelf in Perſon into Scotland, 'till the affections of that people be reformed or reduced; which he doubts not will be ſhortly done by the Marquis of Montroſe, whom he hath ſent with commiſſion thither, and with whom he hath reaſon to believe the moſt conſiderable part of the Nobility and the People (who are generally well affected to his Majeſty) will join on his Majeſty's behalf.

THIS being the ſtate of his affairs in England and Scotland, and his Majeſty having lately made a pacification with his Catholick Subjects in Ireland, who expreſſed a great alacrity to join cordially with his own party who have been always faithful to him, and remain ſtill poſſeſſed of the ſame affections, how much ſoever they are for the preſent oppreſſed and kept under by the tyranny of the Rebels; his Majeſty reſolves to tranſport his own Perſon into Ireland; where, beſides good armies, he hath good Ports at his devotion,

† *There is a Copy of this in Spaniſh. The former part of the paper contains juſt ſuch a Detail,* mutatis mutandis, *of the late King's conteſts with his diſcontented Subjects of England and Scotland, and of the iſſue of thoſe conteſts, as occurs above in the Latin letter from his Majeſty to the Queen of Sweden, dated 16th November 1649.*

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for the reception of his fleet; which, by the advantage of his ſtrong Iſlands of Scilly and Jerſey, will be able to diſtreſs the trade of England. *A.D.* 1649.

His Majeſty having taken this reſolution, and to incorporate his own party with his Catholick Subjects throughout his Dominions; and purpoſing for the better encouragement of his Catholick Subjects whom he will entirely truſt, to grant them large privileges and immunities in England, as he hath already done in Ireland, which in all particulars, as well for their own ſakes, as for his Majeſty's ſervice, may not be yet fit to publiſh; his Majeſty reſolved to addreſs this Embaſſy to your Catholick Majeſty, as to a Prince into whoſe arms he deſires to caſt himſelf, and would rather be obliged by your Majeſty than by any Prince living; nor in this reſolution of his hath he only followed his own inclination, or the advice of thoſe few Counſellors he hath about his perſon, but in truth, the deliberated counſel of thoſe friends upon whoſe affection he moſt depends, and of the chief of the Nobility in England, from whom he receives advice in thoſe matters which moſt highly concern him; by whoſe joint deſires he choſe to communicate all his thoughts and purpoſes to your Majeſty, and to deſire your counſel and advice in all that concerns him; and that your Majeſty being yourſelf ſatisfied in our Maſter's purpoſes, which ſatisfaction we have full authority to give in ſuch a manner or degree as your Majeſty will require, [that] your Majeſty will vouchſafe to lend him your name and credit for the ſatisfaction of others, to whom for many reaſons it will not be in his Majeſty's power to give the ſame preſent ſatisfaction.

Your Majeſty cannot expect any great particular offers from the unfortunate condition in which the King our Maſter is at preſent; yet by what he offers now, your Majeſty may judge what he would offer, if he were in as glorious a condition as any of his anceſtors have been, and to which he hopes God in his good time will raiſe and reſtore him. He does offer to your Majeſty an entire confidence, friendſhip and alliance in as ample and full a manner as may be moſt conducible to the greatneſs of your Majeſty, and to that purpoſe he hath given us an ample Commiſſion under the Great Seal of England (which we ſhall be ready at any time to produce to your Majeſty) to give you aſſurance and ſatisfaction in all particulars; ſo that whatever conveniency or advantage your Majeſty may hereafter receive by the moſt entire friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Crown of England, when it ſhall pleaſe God to buoy it up again, it is now in your Majeſty's power to poſſeſs yourſelf of the aſſurance of it, in what manner you think moſt convenient. And this is all that is in his Majeſty's power to offer.

That which his Majeſty propoſes and deſires from your Majeſty is,

1. That you will give him your counſel and advice upon his whole affairs, how to manage and govern them; and that you will give him ſuch aſſiſtance, conſidering the preſent wants and neceſſity he is in, as may agree with the preſent ſtate of your Majeſty's affairs, and in ſuch manner as in your wiſdom you ſhall think fit.

2. That your Majeſty will uſe your mediation and interpoſition with the Pope's Holineſs on his Majeſty's behalf, that he may have a tender ſenſe of his condition; and that your Majeſty will ſatisfy his Holineſs of the King's gracious intentions to all his Catholick Subjects (in which particular we are ready to give your Majeſty, or any other to whom you will refer us, full ſatisfaction), and thereupon move his Holineſs that he will diſpoſe all the Catholicks of his Dominions, as well thoſe in Ireland as England, to be

*A.D.*1649. united cordially in his Majesty's service, as the only means to preserve them from utter extirpation in those Kingdoms; and that his Holiness will in some degree assist his Majesty with the loan of monies, in such proportion as may agree with his own occasions.

3. That your Majesty will incline his Holiness to mediate, and use your own authority and mediation, with the Princes of Italy, and other Catholick Princes, to assist his Majesty of Great-Britain with the loan of money; his Majesty, if he had money, having men enough at his devotion, in a short time, with God's blessing, to master England.

4. That your Majesty will use your authority with Owen Roe ô Neil, if he be not already joined with the Marquis of Ormond, that he entirely dispose himself to his Majesty's service, and unite himself with his Majesty's forces in that Kingdom; his Majesty being resolved to gratify him in that degree his service shall merit.

24 *Dec.*

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*The Lord* Cottington *and Sir* Edward Hyde *to his* Majesty.

*May it please your Majesty,*

We have not troubled your Majesty with any particular address since our coming to Madrid; but have transmitted an account of all material passages to the Lord Jermyn, and to your Secretaries attending you; forbearing to give your Majesty the immediate trouble, except in cases of most importance. We have since received your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th of November, concerning the liberty of the Ports of this Kingdom; which, as it was in our former instructions, so upon the occasion of a letter to us from Cape St. Vincent from Prince Rupert (of which we gave your Majesty an account) we had before mentioned at our first meeting with Don Lewis de Haro; and since, at our first private audience we moved it to the King himself; who told us that Don Lewis de Haro should speak with us about it; and visiting Don Lewis de Haro the next day, and giving him occasion to speak of it, he would not be understood to speak to us as from the King, or to give us his answer, which he professed he did not; but said, he would speak only to us as a friend, and desired us to consider, whether it were a matter of so great service to our Master at this present, as the publick allowing that liberty would be of prejudice to his Catholick Majesty, at a time that the same was denied by France and Holland (for if they would grant but the like, we should find no scruple of it here), so exposing him to the fury of the Rebels, who all men knew had now power enough to do him mischief; however, he said, as we were not to understand this to be the answer of his Majesty, so if we thought fit for the present to press it, he doubted not but the King, who meant to do greater offices to your Majesty than that, would likewise give us a good answer therein too. We told him your Majesty had a greater regard to the service of his Catholick Majesty than, by any unseasonable demonstration of his affection in such a particular (though of great concernment to your Majesty), to desire that he should put his own affairs in danger; therefore, we only desired him to think of it, whether, without prejudice to his Catholick Majesty,

some

ſome favour might not be ſhewed to thoſe who were employed by your Ma- *A.D.* 1650.
jeſty; which he ſaid he would do. And we do intend to deſire ſuch private letters to the Governors, that, if any of your ſhips put into thoſe Ports they may be treated civilly, and be ſecure from any affronts. At that private audience with his Majeſty (when his Majeſty was alone with us in the room, all the Grandees withdrawing as ſoon as we approached the King), we gave him an account of the ſtate of your affairs in your ſeveral Dominions, and preſented him a paper containing ſuch deſires on your Majeſty's behalf as we thought then ſeaſonable to offer; to the which as ſoon as we ſhall receive an anſwer, we ſhall preſent it to your Majeſty. The King ſpake with very great affection to your Majeſty; and lamented his own condition, which, he ſaid, he thought we knew to be much in diſorder, and ſuch as would hinder him from making ſuch expreſſions of his affection to you, as from his heart he deſired; yet as bad as it was, he would do what was in his power; that if there could be a peace with France (which he deſired your Majeſty would uſe your intereſt to mediate) you ſhould find all the compliance from him you could expect. He aſked us very many queſtions concerning your Majeſty's perſon, of your age, your ſtature, your complexion, and colour of your hair, of the place you now are in, of the extent and ſtrength of it, of the number of the people, and whether the place were ſecure from ſurpriſe or ſudden invaſion. Then he aſked us many queſtions of England, Ireland and of Scotland, with very great ſharpneſs of judgment and much vivacity; and concluded with a very paſſionate kind mention of his late Majeſty, and great profeſſion of affection to your Majeſty, and very gracious to us, aſſuring us we ſhould be very welcome to him whenever we deſired acceſs. The truth is, they were at our firſt coming very ſhy and apprehenſive of us; having been informed that we came with propoſitions to engage this Crown otherwiſe than is agreeable to the preſent ſtate and temper of it; which made us proceed with the more warineſs; ſo that we hope the old ſhyneſs does by degrees wear away, and that we ſhall in the end find the Council, as well as the King, very ſenſible of your Majeſty's condition, and willing to help it.

It were to no purpoſe to trouble your Majeſty with the relation of our own ſtreights and diſtreſſes, which we are inevitably to fall into, having in our view no probability of getting bread for a month longer; and what credit we ſhall be able to find here is a very melancholick conſideration. God preſerve your Majeſty!

*3d January.*

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

## *The Lord* Cottington *and Sir* Edward Hyde *to his* Majesty.

*Sir,*

Beſides the account which we have preſented to your Majeſty in this other letter, we think it agreeable to your Majeſty's commands and our duty to inform your Majeſty of ſome other particulars, under the ſecurity of your own cipher; preſuming your Majeſty will vouchſafe to decipher it with your own royal hand. The King here hath promiſed us to uſe his whole intereſt and ſolicitation with the Pope; that by his authority

*A.D.* 1650. all your Catholick Subjects of your three Kingdoms may be entirely united in your Majesty's service; and likewise that the Pope may assist your Majesty with the loan of money, and invite and importune the Princes of Italy to do the like, in which this King will employ also his utmost mediation. His Majesty hath likewise promised us to write effectually to Owen ô Neil, to apply all his endeavours to serve your Majesty, and to join cordially with whomsoever your Majesty shall trust in the conduct of your affairs. The great necessities of this Crown, as well as the natural slowness of the Court, hinders us from proceeding with that speediness we desire; yet we do hope that we shall shortly procure a sum of money (though but a small one) towards the supply of your Majesty's present occasions and expences of your journey; which as it will be a great secret here, if we prevail, so we doubt not but your Majesty for many reasons will make it so with you; and if there be any alterations in your Majesty's resolutions, that you will give us such intimations, that we may find some convenient way of making returns to your Majesty, which is not a very easy work.

*3d Jan.* 1650.

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

## *Mr.* Robert Meynell *to the Lord* Cottington.

*My much honoured Lord,*

I HAVE your's which bore date December the third. I much wonder mine did not expect your Honour; for they were addressed as your Honour commanded, to Sir Benjamin Wright. I hope you have met with them ere this. Things are now, all honour to God! in a much better posture than ever. I gave his Majesty an account yesterday in cipher; the substance of which I present to your Honour now.

I was with Cardinal Capponi the 9th of this; he told me there would be a Consistory the day following, and that he would use his utmost endeavour to incline his Holiness to some positive resolves concerning the King my Master's business. Upon the 11th I repaired to him again to know what was done; he told me merrily, that the Pope was excellently disposed to favour my Master and his affairs; and that he was resolved to have the matter seriously debated and determined before himself. To that purpose his Holiness gave Capponi order to cite the other Cardinals, Pancirolle, Spada, and Caraffa, to appear before his Holiness the 15th of this; which consequently they did; Capponi having prepared both the matter, as he told me, and them apart. I was yesterday to see what was done in this Congregation at Cardinal Capponi's house, where many Persons of Quality were expecting audience; but he keeping his bed, by reason of the ill disposition of the weather, gave order to publish that he gave no audience then; notwithstanding, his Master *de Camerâ* commanded me to stay; and not long after conducted me to the Cardinal's bed side. He received me with joy; and when his Gentlemen were withdrawn, he commanded me to pull my chair close to his bed side, and said, we have now had a Congregation before his Holiness; and, God be thanked, his Holiness is better and better disposed to comply with the King of England, and his affairs. We debated many great matters concerning him and them. I hope another meeting will determine

mine much to the King of England's advantage: I have great hope that all will ſucceed very well. Thus he. After congratulation and thanks for this good news, I told him, I had a letter from your Honour; which gave me notice of your ſafe arrival at Madrid; and that you expected that letter to have met you, which ſhould authorize the Nuntio there to treat with your Honour; but that depending on this Congregation to decide, he told me you might expect a poſitive anſwer within a poſt or two. This good language cheers me the more, becauſe the Cardinal hath been always wary how he let any word of comfort fall, more than the promiſe of his own endeavour, leaſt the effect ſhould come ſhort of my expectation; and becauſe he is not ſubject to give the leaſt hopes but upon very pregnant grounds. In earneſt, Cardinal Capponi is not only a true and zealous friend to our King and Country; but a Father in affection to the King's ſervice. I have deſired his Majeſty to give the Cardinal two or three lines under his own hand in acknowledgment of theſe great civilities. I cry, all that is done is by the Cardinal's induſtry and prudence, and that it ſhall be looked upon as his ſole act. It is certain he aims at temporal and eternal glory by the enterprize; he knows full well that what is now only ſpoken in privacy, will at length be preached upon the tops of Houſes. I may tell your Honour without oſtentation, that I hope to effect as much for the King my Maſter's advantage in theſe circumſtances I am in, and by the aſſiſtance of my powerful advocate Cardinal Capponi, as if his Majeſty had a more pompous ſervant here. *A.D.* 1650.

My Lord, your Honour will give me leave to tell you what perhaps you may know before; but being that I am not ſatisfied that you know it, I hold myſelf in duty bound to give your Honour this information, that your Honour may perceive how the Spaniſh and our Engliſh Jeſuits' pulſes have beat, in what temper ſoever they are now. Your Honour may pleaſe to remember that when his Majeſty of happy memory was in the Iſle of Wight, there was ſome negotiation, by the then King's conſent, between the Catholicks in general and the Parliament, divers queries, and reſolutions of thoſe queries, ſome propoſitions &c. which were cenſured here at Rome; but after, the cenſure was mitigated upon this occaſion, Ô Neil employed one Abbot Crelly, an Iriſh Ciſtercian Monk, to Paris to the Queen; he came over with the Earl of Antrim and others, and was deſpatched in poſt haſte to Rome; where, by Rinucini's commendation, and favour of the Oneiliſts, he obtained an audience of the Pope. The ſum of his deſires was, that his Holineſs would contrive ſome way to ſecure the Parliament of England of the Catholicks' fidelity to them and their Government; and to that end, it would be neceſſary to recall the former cenſure. The Pope would not meddle poſitively in the matter; but it was ſuggeſted, and connived at here, that the then Spaniſh Ambaſſador at Rome, Cardinal Albernotzi, ſhould write to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador in England, to interpoſe the King of Spain's name and authority to that purpoſe. There were none of the Engliſh, either Clergy or Regulars, privy to this negotiation; but only the Society. Abbot Crelly haſtes back through France into England with this order; and there, lying private at the Spaniſh Houſe, treated with the Parliament by Proxies. What intent he and they had, I leave it to your Honour's prudence to judge; but that this was and is *de facto* true, I have from a hand above all exception, who had it immediately from the mouth of the laſt Gene-

*A.D.* 1650. ral of the Jeſuits Caraffa, and mediately from Cardinal Albernotzi. This Abbot Crelly is now lately come to Rome; he lives *incognito* among the Oneiliſts at St. Iſidor's. The loyal Iriſh ſay, he is a cunning fellow and a boldface. I have given Cardinal Capponi notice of him and his condition. He is not now eſteemed here, nor looked upon. This information may perhaps be uſeful to your Honour. It is preſently now intimated to me that the Congregation about our King and his Iriſh affairs, is to meet the latter end of this week before his Holineſs; if ſo, I hope your Honour may expect ſomewhat poſitive by the next poſt; but when, it is uncertain; for there is no conſtant poſt from hence to Spain.

I HAD a letter from your Servant Mr. Progers, bearing date from Jerſey November the 15th, which acknowledges the receipt of mine. Beſides many civil expreſſions, I am referred to your Honour from the King for continual orders and inſtructions, Mr. Progers, as he ſays, not daring to take upon him the manage of ſo weighty a buſineſs. It may much prejudice the King's affairs, if they know here that I have that dependance on your Honour, and would give them a fit hint to make what delays they pleaſe. Let me have your commands and inſtructions in this caſe; and, in all events, your letters, if they find the ordinary way to Rome, they cannot eſcape me. I hope theſe will ſerve to preſent my duty to Sir Edward Hyde.

MY Lord, I have one word to ſay, and I have done. Your Honour knows my proviſion for ſubſiſtence. I am loath to complain without great cauſe. It does not trouble me to ſuffer for and with my King; yet, if a conſtant ſupply for neceſſaries be not allowed me, your prudence will tell you, what I ſhall be forced to. If a quick expence of my life would notably advantage my King's affairs, I could be at the charge with eaſe; but to die, living and lingering, will be unſupportable to,

*My Lord,*

*Your Honour's moſt humble*

*and moſt obedient Servant,*

*Rome, January 18th,* 1650.

ROBERT MEYNELL.

*An Original.*

## INSTRUCTIONS *for our right truſty and right well-beloved Counſellor,* FRANCIS *Lord* COTTINGTON, *our High Treaſurer of* England; *and our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellor, Sir* EDWARD HYDE, *Knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, our Ambaſſadors Extraordinary with our good Brother the King of* SPAIN.

CHARLES R.

1. IT is evident, that the full ſettlement of the affairs of Germany, according to the treaty of Munſter will produce a certain and a preſent peace to the Empire, and to all the Princes and States thereof; and that ſuch a peace muſt neceſſarily be advantageous to us and our affairs. It is likewiſe evident, that one of the chiefeſt difficulties and impediments of ſuch a peace and ſettlement, is the not reſtitution of Franken-

dale

dale to our Couſin the Prince Elector Palatine by our ſaid good Brother the Catholick King. The ſuſpenſion thereof keeps all the Electors and Princes in ſuch apprehenſion, that they are forced to continue their armies ſtill on foot, and doth give cauſe to the French King to demand of the Emperor to have ſome other town put into his hand, and to our ſaid Couſin the Elector Palatine to demand another town by way of caution until the ſaid town of Frankendale be reſtored; which is likely to be Binfield, a town belonging to the Archduke Leopold; ſo that the accommodation of this buſineſs of Frankendale, will, in all probability, ſecure the peace of the Empire, ſatisfy the Emperor and Archduke, and be of great conſequence to us. *A.D.* 1650.

2. In regard of our preſent concernments, and of the many treaties entered into, and frequent endeavours of our Grandfather, King James, and of our late Father, of bleſſed memory, to obtain reſtitution of the Palatinate to the Prince Elector and his Father, we judge it proper or rather neceſſary for us to interpoſe in this particular of Frankendale; and you are accordingly to move our ſaid good Brother the Catholick King, in our name, to give order for the preſent reſtitution of the ſaid town of Frankendale unto our ſaid Couſin the Prince Elector Palatine, and to uſe ſuch reaſons and motives to induce him thereunto as you ſhall think fit and proper for this occaſion.

3. Because we do not well know what thoſe reaſons are that prevail with the King of Spain to detain the ſaid Town from our ſaid Couſin the Elector before named, and therefore have reaſon to believe, that we ſhall not obtain the preſent reſtitution thereof to him; you ſhall therefore in the ſecond place deſire, as a particular favour of the Catholick King to us, that the Town of Frankendale be by him put into our hands, to be maintained by ſuch Garriſon and Governor as we ſhall think fit to place there; 'till that either the ſaid Catholick King may be induced to ſurrender it to the Elector, or that a peace be concluded between the two Crowns of Spain and France.

4. And to aſſure the Catholick King, that the ſaid Town of Frankendale ſhall not by this means come into the Elector's hands ſooner than he intends; nor into the hands of the French at all, we ſhall not only engage ourſelf upon the honour and in the word of a Prince; but likewiſe, by the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Lorrain, give ſuch real caution as may be ſatisfactory in that caſe: And ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of the ſaid Duke of Lorrain, to raiſe ſuch Garriſon as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence and maintenance of the place. But of theſe particulars you are not to make uſe unleſs caution be inſiſted upon, and that it be objected that we are not able to raiſe a Garriſon to keep the Town.

5. If the King of Spain will be induced to depoſit the Town in our hands, we will endeavour to obtain the conſent of the Emperor, of our ſaid Couſin the Prince Elector, and of all others that have intereſt therein; and beſides the obligation he ſhall thereby put upon us, he ſhall much contribute to the peace of Germany, to the ſatisfaction of the Electoral Family, and of all perſons intereſted, without any prejudice, as we conceive, to his own affairs; but this conſent you ſhall not mention, unleſs it be likewiſe inſiſted upon by the King of Spain and his Miniſters.

*A.D.* 1650. 6. You ſhall proceed to a preſent concluſion of this whole matter in the Court of Spain, if it be poſſible; and obtain the Catholick King's grant, together with an eſtabliſhment of the way of ſurrender to us. But in caſe that cannot be, in regard of the caution to be taken, and other circumſtances depending upon perſons in Germany or the Low Countries, you ſhall then endeavour preſently to obtain powers for the Archduke Leopold and the Spaniſh Miniſters at Bruſſels to conclude the thing with our Couſin the Duke of Buckingham there, as ſoon as the levies ſhall be ready to furniſh us forces for a Garriſon in Frankendale.

7. We leave all the ways of negotiating this important buſineſs to your care and dexterity, giving you power to make uſe of ſuch means and expedients as you ſhall think neceſſary, and to engage us in ſuch manner, and to ſuch conditions, as you ſhall think fit; deſiring you to uſe all expedition herein, and to give us from time to time an account of your proceeding, and of the difficulties and obſtructions you meet with, and your opinion of ſuch expedients as we may make uſe of to facilitate your negotiation, with ſuch further advertiſements as you ſhall think neceſſary in this behalf.

Given at our Court in Jerſey the 25th day of January 1649, in the firſt year of our reign.

Rob. Long.

*An Original.* †

## *Sir* Edward Hyde *to the Marquis of* Ormond.

*My Lord,*

IT hath been an unſpeakable affliction to me ſince I came into this Kingdom, to find it more ſevered from any kind of intelligence with Ireland, than I could poſſibly have imagined; ſo that we know nothing of that unhappy Country but what we receive through France; and when I was there I thought no place knew leſs of Ireland than that. When it pleaſed the King firſt to deſign my Lord Treaſurer and myſelf to this ſervice, we gave your Lordſhip an account of it; and beſought your Excellency's advice and direction (which we are to obſerve) how we might by any ſervice here contribute towards the improving your Lordſhip's condition there; and ſince our coming hither we have made ſome attempts by the way of Bilboe and St. Sebaſtian's to kiſs your Lordſhip's hands; but we doubt theſe letters are miſcarried. If we had been deſpatched hither as ſoon as the reſolution was taken. I believe we might have done the King ſome very good ſervice with reference to his affairs of that Kingdom under your Lordſhip's charge; for really, this Crown hath very good affection to our Maſter, and a high deteſtation of the villany againſt his bleſſed Father. But the King's long ſtay in France, and the great ſucceſſes of the Rebels in Ireland ſince, begot ſome apprehenſions in this people, and a warineſs how they too boldly provoke thoſe powerful Devils, leaſt France ſhould reap the benefit of it. Yet truly, our reception here hath been very full of honour, and the King's carriage

† *By another Paper on the ſame ſubject it appears that this ſcheme was projected by the Duke of Lorrain; and by ſubſequent Papers, that it was rendered abortive by the ſucceeding breaches of the peace of Munſter; though the Spaniard at firſt ſeemed not averſe to the delivering up Frankendale, in the manner here ſuggeſted, if an expedient could have been hit upon for his doing it, without appearing to countenance that peace. However, it was afterwards given into the Elector's own hands, upon the King of Spain's receiving an equivalent from the Emperor.*

to

to us as full of grace and favour, and in our private audiences full of affection to our Maſter. And I believe, if we may underſtand from your Lordſhip any way of advancing his Majeſty's ſervice in that Kingdom, we ſhall give you a good account of it. If a peace can be made between the two Crowns, which is very paſſionately deſired here, and towards which we are uſing our utmoſt diligence in France, I doubt not our new Maſters of England will find they have murdered more than one King by the ſenſe all others will have of it. If your Lordſhip can find any opportunity to convey your commands into any Port of this Kingdom, it would from thence come ſafely and ſpeedily to us; and if Mr. Fanſhaw be ſtill with you, he hath a cipher with me, which your Lordſhip might vouchſafe to uſe upon any occaſion. *A.D.* 1650.

I KNOW not how this letter may get to your Lordſhip, and out of that apprehenſion and want of a cipher, forbear ſaying very much, neceſſary for you to know, though I hope to convey it very ſafely to the hands of an excellent Lady, by whom I have lately received a ſingular evidence of your Lordſhip's favour towards me, which hath very much revived me; and I hope the ſame worthy perſon will employ her intereſt in your Lordſhip to perſuade you to believe, that how unuſeful ſoever and impertinent I am, and am like always to be to your ſervice, you cannot have a more entire poſſeſſion of any heart; for truly, my Lord, I have no other ambition than to ſerve his Majeſty under your Lordſhip's government and order; to which I do abſolutely reſign all my poor faculties, and ſo I beſeech you take me into your protection as,

*My Lord,*

*Your Excellency's moſt humble*

*and moſt obedient Servant,*

*Madrid*, 31 *Jan.* 1650.

EDWARD HYDE.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL.

*Sir,*

. . . . . .

I CANNOT but very much commend the courſe you have taken in your negotiation; and you will have no cauſe to fear any failing on his Majeſty's part; who will undoubtedly make good that favour and protection he hath promiſed to his Catholick Subjects, if by their means, and for their ſake, he ſhall find that aſſiſtance and ſupport he may reaſonably expect; and it muſt be your care to improve, as ſoon as is poſſible, the good inclinations you find in his Holineſs towards his Majeſty, that he may find a real benefit accrue to his affairs from thence. For you know, that whatever ſervice is now done to the King our Maſter, tends not only to the reſtoration of his Majeſty and vindication of the Crown; but to the redemption of all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdoms; and from that conſideration, beſides the King's particular goodneſs to them, the Catholicks will have reaſon to aſſure themſelves of all the advantages they can reaſonably propoſe to themſelves. If the Court at Rome have any contracted charity and compaſſion for the Catholicks of his Majeſty's Dominions, and

*A.D.* 1650. the preſervation of the Religion in thoſe Countries (which infallibly will be thence rooted out, if the Crown be not ſupported), they will believe it very agreeable to their own honour and intereſt to give the King all the aſſiſtance they can, by not only diſpoſing and uniting all his Catholick Subjects to do their duty, but by inclining all Catholick Princes to wed his Majeſty's quarrel as their own joint intereſt and concernment, as indeed it is; for this pleaſant doctrine of liberty and parity will find a way into the affections of the rabble into what Church ſoever they have been received. This Court hath a juſt ſenſe of it, and good inclinations to give the King all the aſſiſtance the unhappy conjuncture of their own affairs will permit; and to that purpoſe his Catholick Majeſty hath writ to Rome, and directed his Ambaſſador, the Duke of Infantado, there, to do all good offices for our Maſter, and to countenance and aſſiſt any perſons employed by him in their pretences; and I believe ſome ſignification will be given to the Cardinal Capponi, how well this Court interprets the favours he hath done to you.

I AM very glad you are fallen into ſo good an acquaintance with Father Rowe, whom I judge to be, by what I have heard of him, not only well affected to his Majeſty's ſervice, but a very prudent and diſcreet perſon. And I am very ſorry that that buſineſs of the appeal hath lain ſo long diſcountenanced, which really hath been a very great prejudice to the King. And if that Nuntio, whom our Maſter hath not thought in any degree tender of him, ſhall be able to obſtruct the good intentions of his Holineſs, his Majeſty will be much diſcouraged from expecting what he would be glad to find. For God's ſake, in all diſcourſes and counſels which you hold with thoſe who ſolicit the buſineſs of Ireland, infuſe into them the full conſideration, that the entire recovery of the Kingdom of Ireland to his Majeſty's devotion and obedience, is but the leſſer part of the work in hand. If it be not done in that manner as it may be the immediate way to reduce England too, it will produce but a ſhort and narrow happineſs to itſelf; therefore, let nothing be thought an advantage to the one, that will bring a viſible prejudice to the other. I ſay this to you, becauſe I found by ſome of your friends at Paris, one of which hath been ſince with you at Rome, that nothing would ſatisfy them with reference to Ireland, except the Marquis of Ormond were removed from thence; which the King will never conſent to, and which indeed would give as great offence to the King's party, as any thing that can be imagined. And the Engliſh Catholicks and Iriſh too are very ſhort-ſighted in their own concernments, if they do not propoſe to themſelves a firm and entire union with the royal party. And I hope you find Father Rowe of that opinion; to whom I pray remember my ſervice, and aſſure him I will be very ready to ſerve him on all occaſions. At my coming from Antwerp I writ a letter to Father Iſidore a S^to^. Joſeph, Procurator General of the diſcalceated Carmelites at Rome. I wiſh you could find ſome means dextrouſly to find whether any ſuch letter came to his hands; without appearing to enquire after it, as if you looked after an anſwer.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I WISH you all happineſs and am,

*Sir,*

*Madrid, 13 Feb.* 1650.

*Your very affectionate Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*The*

*A.D.* 1650.

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*Our good Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

WE intend now out of the Queen's and your Lordſhip's letters to form matter for another audience with the King, and to preſs a particular anſwer to what we have already propoſed. We are very glad the Venetian Ambaſſador is appointed to give the Queen an account of whatſoever paſſes towards the treaty; well knowing her Majeſty will take all opportunities to advance it; and how much ſoever the Cardinal inclines to the overtures which come that way, we believe this Court is as willing to receive an account of it from us as from any other Miniſters, and had rather the peace were made by the interpoſition of our Maſter and Miſtreſs, than by any other mediation whatſoever. And the Venetian Ambaſſador here (whoſe civilities to us we have often entreated your Lordſhip to acknowledge, and that her Majeſty will vouchſafe to do it on our behalf to that Miniſter there), ſeems exceedingly to deſire and to depend upon the Queen's power in that negotiation, and told us that Contareni would from time to time wait on her Majeſty to that purpoſe; ſo that it may be, that communication which is now promiſed by the Cardinal, may have it's original from hence.

THERE is no doubt but that this people do look upon the commitment of the Prince of Conde, and thoſe other great Perſons, as a matter of moment, and like enough to produce ſome alterations in that Kingdom, whoſe united ſtrength hath been ſo grievous to them; yet we cannot diſcover that it hath at all changed their inclinations to peace, or given them prouder hearts and expectations in the particulars which muſt conſtitute it; and no queſtion, they do very earneſtly (and they have great reaſon for it) deſire to be freed from that war; having much elſe to do, which they cannot ſo well manage whilſt that laſts.

YOUR Lordſhip may be confident that nothing ſhall be omitted on our parts which may further that great work, which, as your Lordſhip ſays, imports us all ſo much; though it be a huge diſcountenance to us, and may make us thought here Perſons of very ſmall ſignification, that the Cardinal, in a matter that aroſe from himſelf and which we had mentioned by his deſire, ſhould not think fit to return an anſwer by us, but remit himſelf to that which the Venetian Ambaſſador had to make; who for ought we know, could know nothing of the particular offered by us; but we ſhall put as good a face upon it as we can.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

WE wiſh your Lordſhip all happineſs, and are,

*My good Lord,*

*Madrid, 25th of Febr.*

*Your Lordſhip's, &c.*

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*A.D.* 1650.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Dr.* GEORGE MORLEY.

*My dear Doctor,*

I AM exceedingly troubled that J. B. † hath kept no better quarter with thoſe honeſt men upon whoſe friendſhip he ought to value himſelf, more than upon their flattery, who have ſo often cozened him. It is to me a ſtrange thing to ſee a man, fundamentally honeſt, (for ſo he is) chooſe to give himſelf up to people whom he knows not to be ſo; and one of ſo excellent an underſtanding ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by vain and ſhallow men. Methinks, he ſhould remember how much he hath been deceived already by theſe men, whom he would have every body truſt; and he fancies expedients to himſelf, which in truth are not in nature, and cenſures thoſe who are not of his mind. But I ſay the leſs to you, becauſe I am to anſwer a letter of his, which will give me occaſion to ſay enough to himſelf. The truth is, I love him with all my heart, as I have great reaſon to do; and that makes me the more diſcern, and the more concerned in, his infirmities; above all, it troubles me that he ſhould be ſo tranſported (which I thought to be very diſtant from his nature) as to do the honeſt Secretary (who ſure is a perſon of as much integrity of heart as lives) ill offices with the Queen, as to join with another, whom he knows to be not only a very falſe diſhoneſt man, but the greateſt enemy himſelf hath in the world, and one that will omit no opportunity to deſtroy him.

I AM of your opinion, that perſons publickly ſent to the King from any party ought to be civilly treated, if they carry themſelves with that modeſty perſons ſo employed ought to do; but truly, I have known few of them ſent on thoſe errands behave themſelves with any tolerable modeſty; but, on the contrary, with ſo much inſolence and liberty, that it was very hard for honeſt men to bear; nor did ever any Ambaſſadors from free Princes dare to demean themſelves in that faſhion. How did the Scots Commiſſioners behave themſelves at the Hague? What liberty did they take to reproach the perſons of every Counſellor about the King, and in their Sermons to preach againſt us? and therefore, I am very willing to believe, that Captain you mention (who I think was one of thoſe who was put about the King when he was priſoner) gives great provocation, and draws on himſelf the ill uſage you mention; though it may be men may be more paſſionate upon the occaſion than were to be wiſhed; and it is no wonder, if free ſpirited men are ſomewhat tranſported to ſee thoſe who have done all the miſchief they could, and who gave not over till they could do no more, come now into the Court and domineer upon the ſame ſeditious principles, and expect more careſſes than they, who have merited as much as virtue and conſtancy can do. What honeſt heart was not ſcandalized to ſee Colonel Maſſie come to Court as a Convert, and at the ſame time his declarations publiſhed, and by himſelf preſented to many, in juſtification of all that he had done during the Rebellion, and profeſſing that he was of the ſame opinions and reſolutions ſtill; and yet very many of the Court complaining, that this

† *Sir John Berkeley.*

uſeful

useful Patriot was not enough respected? Believe it, Sir, this wretched, unworthy, ungenerous prudence (as they call it) makes us contemptible to all men, and therefore it may make us very angry too. *A.D.* 1650.

I KNOW not what to say to the affairs of Ireland, of which I understand no more than what I know by your letters, and the printed papers from London and Paris; for I have not in all this time been able to settle any correspondence from hence with that Kingdom, or to draw one letter from my Lord Lieutenant, though I have writ many, which it may be never came to his hands. I am as confident that he hath failed nothing on his part that became a wise and honest General, as I can be of any man living; so that I can only say that God Almighty is very angry with us, and discerns some presumption in us, and want of confidence in him, that he disappoints all our counsels and expectations which seem to be favoured most by our own reason. But the other negotiation from Scotland is yet wilder; and seems to me to leave no place or room for counsel, wise men and fools being equally judges what is to be done; there being nothing like difficulty in the whole consideration. If these men of Edinburgh had been less plain dealing men, and sent the King word that they had been so converted in their consciences with the sense of their rebellion, and satisfied that their Covenant had begot that rebellion, and the Presbytery that Covenant, that they were now resolved to renounce all those, and to renew the good oaths of Allegiance throughout the Kingdom, and to wage a war against his Rebels, under the conduct of the Marquis of Montrose, and therefore besought his Majesty to countenance and protect them with his own presence, and by his own authority to suppress all such passions and animosities which might arise amongst their great men upon their memory of past contentions; here might have been matter of sad consideration and counsel, upon what security these men ought to be trusted, and upon what conditions his Majesty might accept this invitation; whether the Castles should not be first put into such hands as the King thought fit; and whether half a dozen of those who had never kept their promises, and were engaged in the ill which had been done, should not be put in custody, and left to the justice of the law. In these and many other such particular considerations wise and honest men, according to the severity or softness of their constitutions, might have differed in their opinions, and the whole would have been very well weighed. But when they deal so frankly and honestly with him, and tell him that he is to expect the same usage from them his Father had, that they will swear over again to be as bad as ever, and that every body else that will keep them company shall swear the same; that they will destroy every honest man of his three Kingdoms, and that he shall join with them to destroy them; that he shall renounce his Kingdom of Ireland and extirpate all the Catholicks in all his Dominions: These conditions are so plain, that he hath nothing to do but to consider, whether all they can do for him be worth this price; and whether it be a King's condition, or the condition of a Gentleman, that he is like to obtain by satisfying them, and if he thinks it be, it is pity but he should embrace it. There is nothing new can be said to the King in this argument; he well understands every proposition, and the consequence that attends it; and that all this struggling to be allowed for a Parliament (which if they meant honestly were not worth the insisting on) is to revive that in England again. For if the King's death did not determine it in one Kingdom, it did not in the other; the reason

A.D. 1650. and ground of the law being the ſame in both; and then, his Majeſty will be in a brave condition, if that be once current doctrine. And yet after all this, and all this being in view, and none of it being to be avoided but by reſolving firſt to ſwear, and at the ſame time purpoſing not to perform; you tell me, all the King's party in England (which by the way I cannot believe) would have him ſatisfy the Scots; ſo that the King himſelf hath a very hard part to act. He muſt conſult with God Almighty, and his conſcience, and his reaſon; he needs no Counſel, being ſufficiently informed, but courage and reſolution to do according to his own judgment; and let the world ſee that in ſuch a caſe as this, he is guided by his own virtue, and not by any combination in Counſel, which ought not to prevail with him, if there were no ſingle perſon of his opinion. If the world ſaw this temper in him, and I hope it will ſee it, for he is of an excellent underſtanding and virtuous diſpoſition, men will return into their wits again; and even your Presbyterians (ſuch of them as will ever be good for any thing) look on him with reverence, and ſerve him heartily. I am ſure you ſpeak merrily, when you talk of my being at the treaty; and would be very ſorry to ſee your friend, who is ſent by his Maſter into one Kingdom to do him ſervice, run away into another unſent for, and without leave, upon the preſumption that he is wiſe enough to do good there. No, Doctor; I know, and ſo do you, how unfit the world is pleaſed to take me for theſe meetings, and how they have branded me for an enemy to peace, and a breaker of treaties (when they may as juſtly accuſe me for the murder of the King); and no doubt, thoſe infuſions, as they had reaſon, made the King believe the willinger that I would ſerve him at this diſtance for ſome time, better than nearer. If any of my opinions are fit for his ſervice, his Majeſty knows them all; and will as ſoon guide his own judgment by them, as if I were with him. I muſt confeſs, I have not had any diſcouragement or diſheartening from the power or ſucceſs of the enemy. I thank God, I was provided for any diſtreſſes that could befall upon that account; but the King's party hath put me to it; not only their exceeding ſevere and inconvenient cenſuring what is done, when they cannot know the reaſons of it, which whoſoever is truſted in Counſels will find grievous; but their inconſtancy to their grounds, and employing all their time and all their wit to find excuſes how to decline their doing that which their reaſon and conſcience tells them ought to be done. And when I ſee this ſhaking (to call it no worſe) in men, whoſe judgments I infinitely prefer before my own, and of whoſe integrities I have a very great eſteem (for there are ſome of thoſe in that company), I begin even to ſuſpect myſelf, and am not ſorry that the King hath ſent me hither, and that I am out of the hearing of that nonſenſe, which really gives more ſharp pain to a man no wiſer than I am, than the ſtone, toothach or gout can do. If men in truth did believe our conditions as hopeleſs and deſperate as they pretend (and make that deſpair the ground of their Counſels), they would keep ſuch a habit and faultleſſneſs of mind about them, as would make any condition ſupportable; and not betake themſelves to ſuch expedients, as by their own account promiſe nothing like ſecurity, and, if they fail, muſt expoſe them to all the infamy imaginable, and deprive them of the comfort in the little good they had performed before. For my own part, my coming hither was no deſign of my own (whatever other men pleaſe to ſay or think), as the King well knows; but his Majeſty's command, and I hope it will not be unuſeful to him; and my return muſt be

be by his direction too, which I doubt not will be when he ſhall think it convenient for his ſervice; for I do not take myſelf to be farther from his care and favour by this diſtance: And they who have the charity to think well of me, will continue the ſame kindneſs to me, 'till I make myſelf unworthy of it; which I ſhould be, if I had the madneſs to believe that my preſence could prevent any miſchief that can fall out in this treaty. God and the King's virtues, I hope, will preſerve him; and my Lord Montroſe infuſe a better ſpirit into his Countrymen, and make the beſt treaty with them. *A.D.* 1650.

I NEED not tell you my opinion of your deſign of drawing an opinion from the ſeveral Presbyteries in France and Holland upon the four points you mention; becauſe, before this, you know the ſucceſs, if the King hath countenanced it by any propoſitions from him; which I hope he hath not, and which I ſhould have diſſuaded, if I had been with him; and upon that ground am the willinger to tell you my thoughts of the no uſe or benefit, and of the probable inconveniences which may reſult from that kind of traffick; that you may conſider it upon the like occaſions. (1.) They dare deliver no opinions upon matters of that concernment, or meet together for the diſcuſſing, upon the deſire of any foreign Prince, without the expreſs order and leave of the State. (2.) Not to ſpeak of the condeſcenſion, and too much countenancing thoſe people by aſking their judgment in caſes of conſcience, as if you were unreſolved, and took them to be competent conſiderers, and the things themſelves of that difficulty, as to be capable of reaſonable doubts; believe it, if they could be drawn to return any anſwers or advice, it ſhould be ſuch as would give you a deadly wound. For whatever ingenuity ſome few particular men may be endued with, their congregations muſt drive on the main deſign of Presbytery, and not only do nothing that may bring prejudice to it, but advance it all they can, and by all the arts they can; and they would neither anſwer your two firſt propoſitions affirmatively, nor the two laſt, negatively; but will ſay to the firſt, (1.) That though they will not ſay, that in no caſe or upon any neceſſity a King may not employ an excommunicate perſon in his ſervice, yet, that it is much fitter to put thoſe in great truſt, who are within the obedience and protection of the Church; and that it cannot but be a great grief and affliction to the faithful, to ſee an excommunicated perſon preferred to ſuch a truſt, ſince if he were of piety and virtue worthy of it, it is not to be doubted that the Church would take off it's cenſures, and that it muſt be of dangerous conſequence, if an excommunicate perſon be truſted with ſuch a power as may make him ſuperior to his judges. (2.) That though there be no queſtion but a Proteſtant King may in his war make uſe of the ſervice of his Catholick Subjects, or of ſuch who have been formerly Rebels, yet that there may be ſome particular ſervices in that war, which may not probably be ſo well advanced by the one or the other, but fit to be entruſted only to Proteſtants; of which the great Council of Princes are fitteſt to judge, who can beſt underſtand all circumſtances. (3.) They may not ſay, that Presbyterian Government is of neceſſity to be impoſed upon all Churches; but they believe, where it may be ſettled, it is the moſt powerful means of advancing God's true Religion. (4.) They will not ſay that Epiſcopacy is *in ſe* and *ex ſuâ naturâ* abſolutely unlawful; but ſince experience hath informed us, that much inconvenience hath befallen Religion by the exceſs in that Government, it were to be wiſhed, that where it may be eaſily done, it

*A.D.* 1650. were utterly aboliſhed, and the Presbyterian Government, which comes neareſt to the Primitive Epiſcopacy, ſettled in it's place. If the Presbyteries return this anſwer to the King (as a better than this they never will), do not you believe you have loſt ground, and can you repair it by writing againſt them, and ſaying they did not anſwer your queſtions logically? Take heed of aſking queſtions of men who have no mind to anſwer to your advantage; they will be ſure to do you hurt. But I like well enough your and Doctor Coſins's writing to any of them; and they will be more ingenious in their anſwers to you than to the King's demands. I am heartily glad you will be at the treaty; for I am confident you will do much good there; and I pray, let me have as particular account of all paſſages as you can. You will ſtay as long, and be as much as you can, with the poor woman at Antwerp, and cheriſh the ſpirits of that Company. † I hope they will be able to make ſome ſhift till I can ſend them ſome ſupply; which though I am not yet able to do, I ſhall hereafter, and infallibly pay what they ſhall be able to borrow. I hope a report which was ſent me from Jerſey of my Brother's turning Catholick, cannot be true, becauſe I hear nothing like it from thence; if it ſhould be ſo, it would trouble me unmeaſurably, and put thoughts and apprehenſions into me that will diſquiet me. Why ſhould not Antwerp be as good a place for you to live in as Utrecht?

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I MUST tell you, the Country anſwers not my expectation for pleaſure or plenty; and the people [*are*] generally more incurious than is eaſy to be believed, and much leſs reſpective of learning, and conſequently worſe ſupplied with learned men, than I imagined. Yet they are careful in writing their own hiſtories, which I am ſtudying diligently, and out of them inform myſelf more of the ſtate of England than I could do by my own Chronicles; and if I had money, I could ſupply myſelf here with more materials concerning our own Country, than out of our own records; I mean of the antienteſt times.

18 *March.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* JOHN BERKELEY. *

*My dear Jack,*

* * * * * * * * * * *

I HAVE forgotten who it was, I was in doubt would cozen us; but ſure I believe it was ſuch a one who was like enough to do it; and it is ſtrange you ſhould believe our condition ſo deſperate, that we are not cozenable. If Cromwell ſhould ſend to the King to rely upon him, and put himſelf into his hands, and promiſe that he will thereupon make him a glorious King, a man may reaſonably doubt he would cozen him, becauſe he did cozen his Father; and it is no wonder, if men are ſhy in truſting thoſe who have not the reputation of being honeſt; and we can never be ſo low but we may again be deceived. When all is loſt we may be cozened of our

† *Lady Hyde and the Chancellor's Family.*
* *In anſwer to his of 3d Dec. See above.*

innocence,

innocence, and miſled into a partnerſhip of miſchief; therefore, let us not think that we ought not to ſtand at guard, how undone ſoever we are. *A.D.* 1650.

I DO heartily wiſh that the King would entirely truſt thoſe with the conducting his affairs, who have the courage and the confidence to believe they could carry them through; provided that it was firſt evident that they would make him pay no greater a price than he thought his recovery worth, or than themſelves at firſt intended; that there were ſome foundations laid which ſhould be kept, ſome *nil ultrà*, beyond which he is not to paſs; for it is a melancholy thing to be bounded with nothing but the infiniteneſs and illimitedneſs of an enemy's demand. You and I differ in opinions; in which as you have the advantage over me in point of judgment, and diſcerning overſights, ſo I have the advantage over you in the knowledge of matters of fact; which could not then be ſo well, and I believe are not yet, known to you. And, believe me, I cannot call to mind any of thoſe expedients which, taken in time, would have preſerved us, and you ſay would not be allowed 'till they were ineffectual. It may be, you may think thoſe pills only bitter, which other honeſt men may take to be abſolute poiſon, and ſo have a better opinion of their operation than there is reaſon for. I am perſuaded, never any unfortunate Prince in the world ever truſted (during the ebb and declenſion of his power) Counſellors in the managery of his great affairs, who had fewer private thoughts, or had hearts more entirely devoted to his ſervice, than thoſe who were moſt relied on by our late bleſſed Maſter; who are now with that freedom expoſed to all kind of cenſure, and by thoſe moſt who infallibly and demonſtrably were the authors of moſt inconveniencies: and I am perſuaded they do not more deſire to ſee the greateſt malefactors brought to juſtice, than to have their own counſels and actions fully examined and cenſured; and that they will hardly be quiet with the one, without the other. I do believe thoſe friends of mine at Jerſey have none but very honeſt opinions, and, for [*any thing*] I know, very juſtifiable, though it may be, through paſſion and other circumſtances in debate, they may ſometimes expreſs thoſe opinions in another faſhion, and in another dreſs of words, than in truth they intend. It ſeems not ſo reaſonable, if any man ſays, that it was happy for Crown and Kingdom that Duke Hamilton did not prevail in England; for ſure, it is not eaſy to be believed that Crown and Kingdom could be in a worſe condition at preſent, than they are, if he had prevailed; and therefore there is no great happineſs in the point. But an honeſt man may ſay, that if he had prevailed, and done all which he and his army had ſworn they would, and which they were engaged to do, we have no reaſon to believe, that Crown and Kingdom would have been in a much better condition than they are now; nor have I heard this otherwiſe anſwered than that he meant not to do what he had ſworn; and therefore, I am one of thoſe (which I hope you will pardon and interpret well) who do not wiſh to ſee them engaged again upon the ſame terms, no more than I underſtand the confidence of them who believe, they might have been ſo engaged, when the very engagement and all in it are declared treaſon and traitors by them who have the power in their hands. And I confeſs, I do believe if my Lord Montroſe be let alone, he will in time incline them to a better engagement. You ſeem to think that a man who rejects one expedient is bound to propoſe another for action; which, under your pardon, I think is not juſt; for there may be viſible miſchief in one, and the condition ſo low that no other can be propoſed,

*A.D.* 1650. but to ſit ſtill and expect ſome advantages by the enemy's diſtractions, or ſome other way than yet appears; and methinks, it ſhould make ſome impreſſion in men's minds, that by ſo ſtrange and prodigious an overthrow of the laſt Scotch engagement, it may be, not to be paralleled in all the circumſtances, God Almighty does not favour combinations entered into with ſuch perjury, and reſolutions of perjury at the time of taking the oaths. I know, I ſhall be thought too ſcrupulous, if not ſuperſtitious; but I cannot forbear to deſire you, who are an honeſt man, to remember, that though God hath ſuffered us to be undone by the perjury and diſſimulation of ill men, he will never ſuffer us to reverſe thoſe his judgments by our perjury, and following the ſame courſes. I would expect from you a particular aſſignation, that at ſuch a time, ſuch a propoſition was made to the King which he ought to have conſented to; and by refuſing it, he had this miſchief befallen him. You have ſeen all the Scots preſented to the King; do you yet ſay, his Majeſty ought to have accepted it? When we parted, you were of another opinion, that the King could anſwer no otherwiſe than he did. How comes this alteration then? If you will conclude by private men's ſuggeſtions, that they mean better than they ſay, you muſt not cenſure others who cannot have that charity. You ſay, you will deal freely with me (as if you apprehended me to be of another opinion), that we ſhall never be undeceived until our eyes be opened, ſo as to be able to ſee that we ought to give one hand to the Catholick and the other to the Preſbyterians, and join with them both to the deſtruction of our common enemy. 'Faith, aſk yourſelf ſadly, do you know one ſober man of the King's party who is not of that opinion with you? Hath there been any avowed propoſition made by that party, which doth not directly imply the deſtruction both of Catholick and King's party? Muſt he not, to gain the men of Edinburgh, plainly renounce the peace of Ireland, and conſequently all his reaſonable hope of that Kingdom? For God's ſake, ſpeak clearly to me, that I may know what hath tranſported ſo good an underſtanding as thou haſt, and even corrupted ſo excellent a nature. Oh! J. my friendſhip is ſo much concerned in any thing that falls on you, or from you, that I cannot expreſs the affliction I ſuffer, to find it poſſible that thoſe men are like to have much credit with you; which you will be heartily ſorry for, when it is too late, and to prevail ſo far upon you, as to make you unkind, if not unjuſt to men of worthier conſtitutions. Keep but your natural temper in weighing the whole, and do not out of melancholick be tranſported to this ſide, becauſe the proſpect is not pleaſant on the other hand, and I will not wiſh a better judge in this whole matter; and believe that honeſt men, who are of a different opinion from you, if they ſtand at an equal diſtance with you, do ſee ſomewhat which you do not, or in another light, which makes that difference. Nothing but my unalterable kindneſs to you could make me ſtuff a letter with this diſcourſe to you; and therefore I will not doubt your pardon, nor the continuation of your friendſhip to,

*Dear Jack,*

*Your moſt affectionate*

18 *March* 1650. *humble Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

*Sir*

*A.D.* 1650.

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS.

*Dear Mr. Secretary,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

I HOPE you are ſatisfied as to the firſt part of your third letter, wherein you ſtill charge me with real unkindneſs to you, and deceiving your entire confidence in my care of you. They are very heavy charges, Mr. Secretary, and ſuch as if I am guilty of, I muſt hereafter renounce the friendſhip of any honeſt man; that is, make myſelf very unworthy of it. And if you ſhall make the world believe I am guilty of it, as, if you do believe it yourſelf, you have great reaſon to complain of it, how innocent ſoever, I know I muſt ſuffer very much in my reputation. For I value myſelf upon the reputation I have of friendſhip with Secretary Nicholas; and if I have by ſo diſhoneſt a carriage made myſelf unworthy of it, other men have reaſon to avoid any further commerce with me. Therefore, I muſt conjure you in juſtice, and for my reformation, (for, ſeriouſly, if I could upon the ſtricteſt revolving of my words or actions or thoughts diſcover any fault againſt you, I would heartily aſk your pardon) let me know wherein you are deceived by me; what I ſaid to you of the King's reſolutions and purpoſes, which his Majeſty did not ſay to you himſelf, or what I ſaid of others, which you have not found true. Did I ever promiſe you a pleaſant and comfortable life in that diſtracted and disjointed company, and in that perplexity of affairs? Did I not always tell you (and I am ſure I told the King ſo more than once), that if I were to adviſe you with the ſpirit of a private friend, I muſt wiſh you to ſit ſtill, and enjoy your own eaſe and quiet, the ſame way you had done for the two or three laſt years, retired from any publick charge or engagement; and that, by entering into the publick managery (as the affections of perſons and the ſtate of affairs then ſtood), you muſt expect many uneaſineſſes and vexations, and ſuch as a generous and honeſt heart would find difficulty enough to wreſtle with. But then, as I could not but for the King's ſake and the publick, wiſh and adviſe his Majeſty ſhould have you near him, and in his greateſt truſts, ſo, if his Majeſty did require your ſervice in that kind, I knew not how you could upon your own principles refuſe to wait on him. It may be, I did perſuade your ſtay at St. Germain's, and diſſuade your ſudden going from thence, when you had once or twice ſuch a thought; which I confeſs I did out of the apprehenſion that your remove might beget prejudice to the King, out of the interpretation people could make of it: And I beſeech you, give me leave to believe yet, that the trouble of mind which you have ſuffered by any thing you have done (though I doubt not you have had vexation enough) is very much inferior to what you would have ſuffered, if you had not done it; ſo great a difference there is in the peace of the heart when a man hath done all on his part, and when he hath fallen ſhort of it. But "my fault was "not in ſetting you ſuch a taſk" (to which all your own judgment and reaſon conſented, nor did I ever conceal a thought of mine from you in any thing that concerned that matter), "but in not keeping you company, in "declining a trouble myſelf to which I would expoſe you." Alas! you know my employment was deſigned and agreed on and publiſhed long before

*A.D.*1650. our meeting at St. Germain's, and at a time when there was no thought of our meeting there, nor ſo much thought as I wiſht of drawing you or any other, with whoſe company I would have been delighted, into the communication and partnerſhip in Counſels. "But this was a deſign and contrive-"ment of my own." Truly, if it were ſo, I ſhould never deny it, or be aſhamed of it; for a ſervant to deſire to change the preſent condition of his ſervice, and to ſerve his Maſter in another place (though a man's own conveniency and eaſe were ingredients into that deſire) hath been in no time thought a crime, or not a very juſtifiable deſign. But I told you that whole ſtory truly; and no man better knows how far I was from that contrivance than the King himſelf does; and I muſt look upon my ſervice here as as abſolute an act of obedience to his Majeſty's command as ever I performed to him, or to his Father; and a way into which my own fancy and invention would never have led me. "Well; I was at leaſt too well pleaſed "with it, and might with duty enough have declined it; to which I was "obliged out of the conſcience of being of ſome uſe to him in his Counſels "about his perſon, and of notorious inſufficiency for this other employ-"ment; ſo that my being engaged in that would look rather like a retiring "from the whole ſervice, than betaking myſelf to a new part in it." I do not deny, that when the King had commanded me, the more I thought of it, with reference to my own quiet and content, the more I liked it, and grew leſs ſorry that the King was pleaſed to think fit that I ſhould be for ſome time at a diſtance from his Perſon and Counſels; but I do aſſure you, if I had thought myſelf of any importance to his ſervice by my attendance, and of no uſe or ſignification at this diſtance, I would at leaſt have preſented thoſe conſiderations to his Majeſty, and my humble advice and deſire that I might have continued as I was. But in truth, as I will not ſo far accuſe the King's judgment (ſince he hath vouchſafed to think me capable of this truſt), as to believe myſelf utterly incompetent for it, and indeed I hope I may be able to do him ſome ſervice here, and I am not ſo indocible but I may learn what is neceſſary thereunto; ſo I was fully ſatisfied in my judgment, that I might very well be ſpared there, and that, being for ſome time abſent, I might return more capable of ſerving his Majeſty. If you remember the time when I was appointed for this journey, it was when the King's Council lay under as great a weight of irreverence and contempt as can be imagined; which was brought upon it by ſuch a concurrence of friends and enemies, that there appeared no ſo probable way of reſtoring the Counſels to ſome reputation as by a temporary change of the Counſellors; which could never have been compaſſed to that degree as moſt men deſired, if I had not conſented and ſubmitted to the King's deſire of ſending me into Spain: from whence, if our journey had been as ſoon undertaken as it was reſolved, I might very well have returned to his Majeſty before there could have been any uſe of my ſervice, and we had then done more in this Court in a month's time than we can now in ſix; ſo great alterations are ſince in the affairs of this Court as well as in thoſe of our Maſter. You do not know, Mr. Secretary, the difficulties I had to contend with, and ſuch as were more incumbent to me than to any other perſon, and ſuch as well might make an honeſt man willing to ſhift the ſcene of his action. You will ſay, "I have withdrawn myſelf from thoſe troubles, which I deſired to "expoſe you to." I wiſh with all my heart you could meet with no diſcouragements. I am ſure you will be free from many which I encountered

every

every day. I know you are liable to ſome of the ſame prejudices and jea- *A.D.* 1650.
louſies with me, and that there are a ſort of people equally incenſed againſt us both; but their opinions made very little impreſſion in me. I will deal clearly with you; nothing ever ſtuck cloſe with me but what came from the King's own party in England; and when I found myſelf ſtruck at by ſome letters from thence (and from thoſe truly whom the King hath great reaſon to value above me), as an enemy to moderate Counſels, and a breaker of treaties, (which imputation ſome of your friends faſtened upon me ſince the treaty of Uxbridge, where God knows I did or ſaid nothing but what I would have ſaid and done, if I had been to expire the next minute), I began to think myſelf of leſs uſe to the King's ſervice than I had before done; for I have been always of opinion, that the King's Reſtoration depends exceedingly upon the reputation of his Miniſters; and let a man be never ſo honeſt and wiſe, if he hath the misfortune to lie under a great weight of envy and prejudice, he will bring little advantage to his Maſter. Not that I think ſuch perſons ought to be caſt off, but they ſhall do well in diſcretion to yield a little to the torrent; and if they preſerve their integrity, God Almighty will at laſt reward it with ſuch a proportion of credit and reputation as is neceſſary. In this point you have the advantage of me, and (though you muſt give me leave to believe myſelf as honeſt as you are) are very much better thought of than I am; there being very few of the King's party, who do not deſire you ſhould be with the King, and in his neareſt truſts, and very many who would have me away; yet I do not make queſtion but, by the grace of God, I ſhall outlive all that prejudice, and that I ſhall in the end be found to have as few private ends, and to have dedicated myſelf as entirely to the publick, as any poor Gentleman that ſuffers in this good cauſe. And I do believe, I ſhall be able to ſerve the King the more effectually by this abſence, and hope that his Majeſty looks upon me ſtill as doing his buſineſs, and executing his commands. And this ſhall ſerve for an anſwer to the firſt four lines of your third letter — now to the reſt. †

* * * * * * * * * * * *

18 *March.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Sir* TOBY MATHEW.

*Sir,*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

THE Favourite here is a right worthy perſon, and hath the moſt generous ſenſe of our Maſter's condition and misfortunes that I have met in any man; and (though he hath not that kind of air which our Favourites and great Courtiers uſed to have) a civility moſt proper and applicable to buſineſs, without any other pomp of words than is neceſſary to let you ſee that he means very well. But above all [*he is*] preciſely careful that we find here no other inſtances and ſigns of the lowneſs of the Crown we ſerve, than thoſe we brought with us. His nature (by what I hear or can obſerve) ſeems to me to flow moſt to friendſhip and acts of kindneſs, and

† *The Remainder is in Cipher.*

*A.D.* 1650. leſs inclined to animoſity and uncharitableneſs than hard-hearted men think neceſſary to give luſtre to the other. But, without doubt, any other affection or paſſion than what he is poſſeſſed of, would make his province more uneaſy; there being the ſame peeviſhneſs and frowardneſs, and cenſoriouſneſs in the hearts here, which we have ſeen prepare the way for higher diſtempers in other places.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

You are not by this time only able to ſend us word what is reſolved and done at Breda, but what we are like to do at Madrid; ſince by thoſe concluſions it may be reaſonably gueſſed, what the end of our negotiation is like to be. Many are of opinion that my Lord of Montroſe would be an excellent Commiſſioner to manage the treaty; and that he would manage it better upon the place, than it can be done in Breda. I hope they who do not think it ſafe to expect a miracle for the King's reſtoration and vindication, will not work one for his deſtruction; it being no leſs a miracle that he ſhould truſt my Lord of Argyle, and that party, than that the men of Weſtminſter ſhould be converted and proclaim him King to rule over them. We are in ſome pain, 'till we know the iſſue of that conſultation.

I confess, Owen ô Neil hath dealt ſomewhat frowardly with the King, to die after he had done him all the miſchief he could, and before he did him any good. Yet, if God Almighty hath made thoſe Rebels victorious in the field, that he may deſtroy them himſelf by diſeaſes in garriſons, and ſo reduce thoſe towns by his ſword to the King, which the ſwords of thoſe he truſted could not keep for him, it will be an inſtance of thoſe miracles, which he muſt vouchſafe to exerciſe before we ſhall bring ourſelves to confidence in him. And if Fairfax and Cromwell ſhall in earneſt argue the validity of the engagement by the rules of that law, which they have made only current, there may at laſt an Umpire be called in, who hath the beſt capacity to determine the buſineſs.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

And now, Sir, let me tell you in your ear (as one whom I dare truſt with my want of judgment), that after my travels through the Low Countries, and I think the length of France, and little leſs than 400 miles in this King's Dominions, England is a very convenient place, and the people were once as good company as any of their Neighbours; and if they can be yet reduced to half the honeſty they had, if you pleaſe, I will meet you there; and if we ever come again willingly out of it, let us be baniſhed London. But I will take no peremptory reſolution 'till I know how far I may depend upon your concurrence, and that you will join with,

*Sir,*

*Your very affectionate*

*humble Servant.*

*Madrid*, 18 *March* 1650.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

A.D. 1650.

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Lord* JERMYN.

*Our very good Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

HERE have, ſince our laſt from your Lordſhip, arrived two expreſſes from Paris to the Venetian Ambaſſador; the firſt, with letters of the 27th of the laſt, which came hither with great expedition, and the laſt, with others of the 2d of this month; by which we find that your Lordſhip had no notice of theſe deſpatches; neither can we diſcover that Contareni hath been yet with the Queen; which by his appointment he ſhould have been ſome days before the date of your laſt letter: So that it is very probable, what deſire ſoever they ſeem to have of the Queen's interpoſition, they do in truth more deſire to have the whole and entire managery of the buſineſs to themſelves; and we ſhall therefore forbear meddling further in it, except we receive immediate commands from the Queen (who can beſt judge when the King's mediation will be ſeaſonable and effectual), or are called upon here to do ſome aſſiſtance towards it. We pray, that the King may have a good ſucceſs of the treaty at Breda; but, in our judgment, if the Scots had meant to have declined the utmoſt rigour of their demands, they would both from the Committee and the Kirk [*have*] made their addreſs to his Majeſty in another dialect, their laſt letters being as extravagant in all particulars as any which they have formerly ſent to his Majeſty or his Father. But we hope the Marquis of Montroſe will advance this treaty better than all the devotion of the Preſbyterians, and that the King will never do any thing to leſſen the power and truſt he hath committed to him, who ſure muſt be thought worthier of it than any perſon of that other party; and is more like to unite that Kingdom for the uſeful ſervice of his Majeſty than any of thoſe who would have him and the King's party left out of the bargain.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

WE have at preſent nothing more for enlargement, and ſo kiſs your hand, as

*Your Lordſhip's*

*Madrid, this 18th of March* 1650.

*very affectionate humble Servants.*

*A rough Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to her* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

SINCE my Lord Treaſurer [*and I*] preſented our humble duties jointly to your Majeſty on the 25th of the laſt month. I have received the particular favour and honour your Majeſty did vouchſafe me on the 31ſt of January, which I ſhall carefully preſerve as a precious monument of your grace and goodneſs towards me; and which will be an unanſwerable reproach to me, if I ſhall ever commit a fault in my devotion to your Majeſty.

*A.D.* 1650. We have this evening had an audience with the King, and informed him of his Majeſty's purpoſe to go to Breda, to meet ſome Commiſſioners of his ſubjects of Scotland, for the better uniting that nation to his ſervice; and likewiſe of the neceſſity he is at preſent in with reference to the wants his armies in Ireland ſuſtain; and therefore, have beſought him to aſſiſt his Majeſty with ſuch a preſent ſupply as his own affairs will permit; and to that purpoſe preſented ſuch a paper to his Majeſty, with thoſe reaſons, as we believe moſt like to prevail with him. He received us very graciouſly, and promiſed we ſhould ſpeedily have an anſwer; and that we might be confident, he would do the utmoſt for his Majeſty his own condition would ſuffer. We hope, we ſhall ſhortly know what his utmoſt is; yet I remember your Majeſty told me at Paris, that I would find this people full of delay; which I have had too much reaſon, and too frequently, to remember; though, in truth, I do believe this King, and all his principal Miniſters, are in their hearts well and compaſſionately inclined to his Majeſty, and would expreſs it handſomely, if they did not think France would get by it.

I PRAY God ſend the King a good iſſue of this treaty at Breda; and that he may not throw off ſervants of unqueſtionable faith and integrity, of whom he is poſſeſſed, in expectation of great ſervices from thoſe who have done all the miſchief to his Majeſty and his Father, and to your Majeſty, and do not appear to repent any thing they have done, and ſo are the more like to act over the ſame part again. Above all, I hope he will make no ſuch conceſſions as may by degrees produce a reſurrection of that accurſed Parliament in England; which it is plain is the drift of the Scots, and makes them to be ſo ſolicitous to be acknowledged a Parliament, preſuming the other will follow. I am ſo ambitious that your Majeſty ſhould know my heart in all things, that I could not conceal my preſent fears, though they may be liable to cenſure; yet, proceeding from entire devotion to your Majeſty, I am confident will never render me unworthy your Majeſty's protection as,

*Madam,*

*Your Majeſty's moſt obliged,*

*Madrid, 18th March* 1650. *and moſt humble Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Counteſs of* MORTON.

. . . . . .

I DO exceedingly wonder what the King means by ſaying that I made him give way to your Miſtreſs's † Religion, except it be that I could not tell him which way he could avoid it. Sure, I ſhall not [believe] (though I ſhould ſtay many years Ambaſſador in this Court) be ſuſpected of over much kindneſs to that Religion; and in that particular of your Miſtreſs, I think I did more than any other body, and adviſed to have had ſomewhat done when, it may be, it was ſeaſonable enough; but I confeſs when I ſpake with the Queen, and ſaw her paſſion and reſolution in it, I could not adviſe the King what he could do to remedy it; and then the leſs was

† *The Princeſs Henrietta.*

ſpoken

ſpoken of it for the preſent, I thought the beſt, 'till he might be able to do ſomewhat, which at preſent he could not. And I pray you, tell me what the King could poſſibly have done in that buſineſs, having no place whither he could have carried his Siſter or means to ſupport her, if the Queen had been willing to have delivered her to him. For my part, I ſhall be very glad to be called to the ſtricteſt account for what I did in that buſineſs; and I am ſure I did no more than I told you of at that time. *A.D.* 1650.

I AM ſorry it ſhould be in any body's power to make ill impreſſions in the Queen of Secretary Nicholas or my Lord Hopton, who will be found very honeſt men, and will be generally eſteemed ſo, when all thoſe informers have done their worſt. In the mean time, this curſed liberty of informing what is ſaid at Council, when the circumſtances and manner of ſpeaking cannot be underſtood, will drive all honeſt men from the King's ſervice. The Queen may be ſure, no perſon of honour and honeſty, as thoſe two are, can have undutiful hearts towards her, what ſudden expreſſion in words ſoever may fall from them; and it may be the ſkill of ſome people to make that to be underſtood to be ſpoken of the Queen, which in truth was ſpoken of ſomebody elſe; and the time will come, when the Queen will much more abhor theſe people who have troubled her with thoſe informations, than thoſe whom they have informed againſt; who will live to do her ſervice when the others are doing her all the miſchief they can; which, believe me, they will do heartily, whenever they find they are not like to gain more by her, and may gain notably by declaring themſelves againſt her.

. . . . . .

I PRAY God, this treaty may prove proſperous to the King; the Scots, methinks, deal with him like honeſt men, and tell him plainly that they will never do him good; and yet we are ſo mad as to believe that they will do better than they promiſe. For ſure, nobody would have the King do all that they propoſe; but they are ſo ſenſeleſs as to hope to be too hard for them after they have ſworn to be as ill as they. It is an excellent expedient to draw God's bleſſing upon us, to have no other excuſe for taking an oath, than that they reſolve not to keep it at the ſame time they take it; for, without doubt, none of your Court can wiſh the Covenant ſhould be kept, which obliges the Takers never to ſuffer the Queen more to ſet foot in England, and to deſtroy all thoſe who have ſerved the King honeſtly; yet they are content every body ſhould take it. Oh! my Lady, we are making haſte out of Chriſtianity, and forgetting there is another Court to appear in when we are out of this; but keep yourſelf to your foundations of virtue and innocence, and you ſhall live to ſee exemplary judgments upon this projecting, reſtleſs, vain people, who are undoing the little good they have done by running to thoſe, who, if they had not ſeen this giddineſs and inconſtancy in them, would long ſince have frankly committed themſelves to their conduct and diſpoſal. But I have long thought our nation will be either utterly extinguiſhed under this great judgment, or be reſtored and preſerved by ſuch an extraordinary way, as we ſhall not be able to aſſume any part of it to our own wits and dexterity; for methinks, God Almighty exceedingly diſcountenances all the deſigns which our natural reaſon is apt to flatter us with.

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*A.D.* 1650. I NEED ſay nothing to you of yourſelf; your own diſcretion and obſervation, and experience will, by the grace of God, diſpoſe you to what will be always beſt for you; only remember, that you are now in a new condition, † and have ſo abſolute a dominion over yourſelf, that you owe, upon the matter, an account of yourſelf to nobody, which is more than you could ever ſay ſince you were born 'till now. Think this alteration worthy your ſaddeſt thoughts, and pray to God Almighty to protect and direct you; and if you do that in earneſt (as I know you will) he will make that part of your life which is to come, much pleaſanter and happier than that which is paſt.

18 *March* 1650.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *Sir* JOHN BERKELEY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Mr. Chancellor,*

I HAVE written, I muſt confeſs, but thrice to you ſince you went from St. Germain's; once from hence and twice from Jerſey; the laſt of which was by Tom Cooke, whoſe packet and goods were (as he ſays) all loſt; and I have received one ſhort inſignificant letter from you by the way; and yet, according to your ſingular and accuſtomed juſtice, you mingle heaven and earth together in your complaints againſt me, and the reſt of your ſervants, and are all this while ſo overweening, as you imagine we ſhould eſteem thoſe invectives favours. I ſhould pity my Lord Treaſurer, who hath, I doubt not, been often open to theſe kind of ſhowers, but that his Lordſhip's prudence is never taken unprovided for all weathers. But to be a little more, though not throughout, ſerious with you. His Majeſty is now within three days of Breda, where he is to meet the Scots' Commiſſioners, who are likewiſe on their way, notwithſtanding all the moſt induſtrious artifice that hath been uſed to divert them; but truly, I think, in vain; for there is no great danger of an agreement, which in my poor opinion halts on both the feet; for they are reſolved to inſiſt upon things unreaſonable, and we are not in a diſpoſition to grant them reaſonable. You will reply as gravely to me as you are wont (and as Tully ſays Piſo did to him, *crudelitatem ſibi non placere*), we muſt not make ſhipwreck of a good conſcience. He were a bold Gentleman that durſt ſay or think otherwiſe; and yet I will adventure to ſay in your ear, that we muſt not pretend conſcience where there is none; as Papiſts do infallibility, and Puritans the Spirit; and as they do, when they are by rational arguments beaten out of all their ſtrengths, retire to faſtneſſes, where no man can come at them; but rather make a conſcience not to ſuffer a glorious and flouriſhing Church and State for ever to periſh, rather than it ſhould be recovered by thoſe, againſt whom we have paſſionately engaged ourſelves, and are reſolved not to believe there is any publick advantage to be made, where we cannot find our private accounts. It can never ſink into my head, that a cabal of Herbert, Wyndham, Elliot, Progers, Loving, or thoſe that are lately in all appearance joined with them, Gerard, Nicholas, Hopton &c. are men of

† *She was lately become a Widow.*

more

more tender conſciences than other men. I am confident, whoſoever ſhall *A.D.* 1650.
ſeriouſly conſider the late behaviour of the former, and how far the latter have been acceſſary to them, will be very partial, if they think them ſo. If you aſk me, how it comes to paſs that thoſe that you left ſo divided are become ſo united, I will tell you my thoughts; which are, that it is to oppoſe the joining with the Scots in the firſt place (and this is common to them all); in the next place, another conſideration hath united many of them, but not all; which is to oppoſe an imaginary power the Queen hath with the King; and I believe this to be the ſtrongeſt link; and the jeſt is Lord Jermyn cannot conſent that the world ſhould be undeceived in this ſuppoſed power; which alone in my opinion would break the cabal. I expect you ſhould ſay to me, as my Lord Falkland ſaid to young Vane, "I am not of your plot or party." I am ſure you would not be of their's, if you knew but what I do.

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I HAVE made an eſſay to give room to freſh gameſters by obtaining his Majeſty's grant to go Ambaſſador into Turkey. I am over that difficulty; but a much greater remains; which is to get the Merchants' concurrence, ſo far as to contribute to the neceſſary preſent of £ 1000. If you will give me your advice which way this is to be obtained, you will much oblige [*me*]. I believe my Lord Treaſurer is better informed of this matter than any other. I beſeech you to preſent my moſt humble duty to his Lordſhip, and deſire he would be pleaſed to favour me with his advice. If I could get that retreat, I ſhould envy no man, and I hope be envied by no man. I have ſcribbled even to the tiring of you, and yet have not ſaid half of what I have to ſay. I will refer it now for the next occaſion, being called away. I am perſuaded that I am much tenderer to my friends than they are to me, eſpecially to you: You will not ſtick to deny it; but I will prove it hereafter.

*I am*

PRAY burn this. *Your humble, faithful*

*and obedient Servant,*

*Paris, March 22d.* 1649.

JOHN BERKELEY.

*An Original.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL.

*Sir,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

I PERCEIVE the Court where you are, moves as ſlowly towards any concluſions, or the execution of thoſe concluſions, as this wherein we live; which hath much more excuſe for their delay, being exceedingly perplexed with their own affairs; whereas with you they are ſo abſolute Maſters of themſelves, that they can wiſh well and do good turns together. And I confeſs it ſeems ſtrange to me that, having ſo good inclinations as you ſay they have, they ſhould not make haſte to adminiſter to a patient whom they ſee languiſhing to that degree, that in all probability [*he*] muſt

*A.D.* 1650. in a ſhort time either periſh irrecoverably, or recover his ſtrength by ſome other means: And in truth (as you ſay), methinks, the union and reconciliation in Ireland ſhould have ſome good effect upon them, and provoke them to find ſome frank expedient to make the King beholding to them. I hope they are not at all ſtartled with the King's going into Holland, or treating with the Scots; which is upon very good reaſon, and to unite that nation under the conduct of my Lord Montroſe. And you may aſſure them confidently (his Majeſty having given us ample ſatisfaction to that purpoſe) that the King is not at all changed from the reſolutions he had when you left him. But I ſay ſtill, that it does exceedingly concern the Catholicks of his Majeſty's Dominions, that they who take care of them, and deſire to improve their condition, do make haſte to oblige the King in ſuch a manner, that he may owe a good ſhare of his Reſtoration to them; gratitude being a great engagement upon Princes. And in good earneſt, I can ſee no reaſon why you ſhould not hope by the generoſity of that excellent Cardinal (who takes ſo noble a care of the nation), to infuſe it into his Holineſs, that it would be a very gracious and a decent action ſpeedily and privately to tranſmit ſuch a preſent to the King for his own perſonal ſupport, as charity and compaſſion might naturally incline a Chriſtian Prince to do to another ſo robbed and ſpoiled as our Maſter is; who without doubt would never forget the obligation. It is now time to preſs them to particulars, and that we might know what they will do for the King, as well as what they expect from him; in which we ſhould be very well able to ſatisfy the Nuntio here, if there were any door open to let us in to him; but then, we ſhall expect that he be as well qualified to make propoſitions to us, as to receive them from us. But if this ſummer be ſuffered to paſs without the King's receiving ſome fruit of the Pope's affections, or finding ſome good influence from thence upon his affairs, I ſhall exceedingly apprehend he will receive little benefit that way. You ſee I have ſomewhat ſtill of my old impatience about me, which I am not afraid to communicate to you, preſuming you will interpret it fairly.

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I SHALL trouble you no further at preſent, but wiſhing you all happineſs do reſt,

*Sir,*

*Madrid, 25th March* 1650.

*Your very affectionate Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

### *Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL *to the Lord* COTTINGTON.

*My Lord,*

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

WHAT accounts I gave your Lordſhip in my former, were only ſuch as I had from his Holineſs himſelf, and, from time to time, from Cardinal Capponi. 'Tis true, I did write as though there had been ſome pregnant hopes that his Holineſs was likely to be drawn to do much in favour of his Majeſty; and indeed Cardinal Capponi pleaſed to tell me, that his Holineſs was very fervent in the buſineſs. But it ſeems he is now much cooled;

cooled; which I expoſtulated with Cardinal Capponi the 4th of this; and he replied, that the Pope's affection was the ſame, and as good as ever; but there was an intrinſical impediment which ſtopped its paſſing into act. I told the Cardinal, that I was confident that there would be no fault on his Majeſty's behalf, and that I ſuppoſed the obſtacle only apparent, not real. I deſired to know, what was pretended; and promiſed to endeavour either to take it away, or ſatisfy the difficulty. In a word, the Cardinal ſaid, they would be glad to know the iſſue of the treaty at Breda. Now you ſee, my Lord, where the ſhoe pinches. I added, that his Majeſty expected reſolutions from hence, by which he might the better order his treaty at Breda; and that I ſhould rather have wiſhed, that that treaty might have depended on reſolutions from hence, than they here ſhould make their reſolutions an effect of the treaty at Breda. I preſſed the Cardinal [*at*] the ſame time, as often before, for a letter to authorize the Nuncio at Madrid, &c. and deſired to know whether there were any hopes to obtain it, or not. To this he ſaid, that it was not quite out of hope; but that the Pope had difficulty, in regard that faculty was denied him, from the then Pope, in the ſame caſe, when he was Nuncio in Spain. Under favour, my Lord, I wonder why this favour is not granted; being it is that which they would be at, when they ever ſhall intend to do nothing for us; for then they might dance in a net, play at faſt and looſe, be off and on when they pleaſed, and never want a ſtarting-hole; being to treat at that diſtance, it will be eaſy, when they have a mind, to carp at any word, to renew the difficulty as oft as they will, or pretext new ones; which ſtill muſt be ſolved from Spain, with the gaining, or rather loſing of time, without end. However, I ſhall willingly obey your commands, and urge ſtill for it, ſo long as there is hope. *A.D.* 1650.

My Lord, Mr. Fitton, is come to Rome; and willed me to tender his duty to your Honour, and withal to excuſe his not writing, being he hath nothing to write. He ſays, he hath neither commiſſion nor inſtructions, and therefore will not meddle leaſt he ſhould be laughed at, and be able to effect nothing. My Lord, I gave your Honour and Sir Edward Hyde a little intimation of the nature of this Court; and I ſuppoſe your own prudence will give you fuller and clearer notions of it. The way to deal here muſt be poſitive. There is nothing can engage this Court but intereſt ſpiritual or temporal. They may be brought to part with the latter, ſo as they be ſecure of the former. The ſecurity muſt be poſitive. For example, we will do this for Catholicks, if you will do this for us; and this muſt be in poſitive inſtructions confirmed by the hand and ſeal of our Maſter. If this be judged unfit to be done, there will be no great likelihood of effecting ought of moment here. And if this be done, then will they be neceſſitated here to comply, or elſe the whole world will cry ſhame of them. I could ſay much more; they have lately been burnt in the hand, as they ſay, with our non-performance of what we pretended; your Honour will eaſily underſtand me.

My Lord, pardon this boldneſs and freedom; for I humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Honour's prudent judgment. I take God to witneſs, I ſhall, and have done my utmoſt to ſerve his Majeſty, and do value the promotion of his ſervice next to Heaven. I ſhall never repine who ſerves him ſo he be

*A.D.* 1650. ſerved; which will be the greateſt comfort this world can afford, my Lord,

*Your Excellency's moſt faithful*
*and obedient Servant,*

*Rome, April 13th.* 1650. ROBERT MEYNELL.

*An Original.*

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *to Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL.

*Sir,*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I AM ſorry to find by your laſt of the 13th of April, that thoſe affections which at firſt appeared ſo warm to you, are now grown ſo cold; which you muſt give me leave to think proceeds not from the treaty at Breda, which cannot reaſonably beget any ſuch declenſion; and on the contrary might as you ſay have proceeded with much greater advantage to his Majeſty, if he had been able to value himſelf upon Catholick intereſt and aſſiſtance. But I have heard from ſeveral hands of the great application made by, and the countenance given to, ſome Iriſh agents, upon a ſtrange fancy that the intereſt of the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom ſhall be preſerved and ſupported by a ſubmiſſion to, and a union with, Cromwell and the Independent Party. And from this ground I doubt the alteration you diſcern proceeds; in which I muſt confeſs I have been deceived; for though I know many Catholicks, upon their acquaintance and converſation with particular men, have promiſed themſelves great matters in one Kingdom and the other by ſuch a conjunction; yet the grounds they conclude upon are ſo extravagant and impoſſible to diſcerning men, that I did not believe any of that traffick would have found credit in the Court of Rome. And I cannot but hope, that, after all theſe pauſes (how unfortunate ſoever they have yet been to the King) there will be a great deal of difference put in the eſtimation of all good and wiſe men, between the ſecurity which the Catholicks may enjoy under the protection of the King, which out of the goodneſs and virtue of his own nature his Majeſty would give them, and the counterfeit civility which is promiſed to them on the other ſide by thoſe who cannot make good what they promiſe to them, if they in truth deſired it, and would not if they could.

YOU ſay, they there do expect poſitive concluſions under the hand and ſeal of the King, what he will do for the Catholicks. It is very like they will do ſo, before they engage themſelves in any frank real aſſiſtance for his Majeſty; but as they may give themſelves very good preparatory ſatisfaction by what you can ſay to them of his Majeſty's gracious purpoſes and intention, in which point they might have received further evidence before this time, if they would have vouchſafed to open the door to have let it in to them; ſo, no queſtion the King will expect as general an intimation, what aſſiſtance and favour he ſhall receive upon the performing his part, before he expoſes his hand and ſeal in the point; which all men, who underſtand the condition of his Majeſty's affairs, in this conjuncture of time, will think but reaſonable; and not that he ſhould particularly expreſs his good and gracious purpoſes to be laid in the ballance with what ſhall be treacherouſly

offered

offered by Cromwell, and as extravagantly believed and profecuted by Abbot Crelly, who hath valued himſelf always upon his conſtant oppoſition to the King's ſervice, and of all thoſe who have intended it. Neither do I underſtand what burning in the hand there hath lately been by any non-performance of what hath been promiſed, or ſo much as intended on his Majeſty's behalf. *A.D.* 1650.

INDEED when I propoſed the liberty to confer freely here with the Nuncio, it was upon an opinion, that there were very good inclinations there to ſerve the King, and a readineſs to receive ſatisfaction from him; and in that caſe I had reaſon to believe I ſhould have ſaid that which would have been very acceptable, nor could the King think of a better way to convey what he thought and reſolved to do for his Catholick Subjects; and therefore I cannot but join with you in the wonder at that reſervedneſs; and muſt conclude that they are therefore the leſs deſirous to know the King's mind towards them, becauſe they are not reſolved to gratify him in ſuch a way as his Majeſty muſt neceſſarily expect. And if that be the caſe, I would not have you preſs further for any liberty or direction to be ſent to the Nuncio; for if the purpoſe be not that there ſhould be all frankneſs and clearneſs uſed in ſuch conference, and that the Nuncio ſhould have as much liberty to ſpeak, as to hear, to offer and propoſe, as to receive and accept, there will be no good effect of the liberty given; and I ſhall content myſelf with having been once in my life able as well as willing to have offered and agreed to ſuch propoſitions and concluſions for the benefit and advantage of his Majeſty's Catholick Subjects, as would heretofore have ſatisfied the utmoſt of their wiſhes; and may be hereafter valued at a high price, when they cannot be enjoyed. I can ſay no more to you, 'till I hear again and at large from you upon this whole matter; and if this independent project gain credit I have done; and ſhall pray, that that which may be now thought of advantage to the Catholick Religion do not in the end prove the utter deſtruction and extirpation of all the good Catholicks in his Majeſty's Dominions; and if they are reſerved for that heavy judgment, it will be ſome aggravation to the ſenſe of it, that their friends contributed to it no leſs than their enemies.

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I PRAY let me hear ſpeedily and at large from you, and be confident I am, *&c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, corrected by Sir Edward Hyde.*

## *The Honourable Mr.* PATRICK CAREY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*My Lord,*

HAD my Siſters been the only reporters of your Lordſhip's propenſion towards our Family, I ſhould not have ſo far relied upon it, but thought that they, loving it themſelves, deſired that perſons of your quality ſhould do ſo too, and eaſily believed their deſires. But beſides them, my Lord, all elſe (who had the happineſs of knowing you) aſſured me that you were ſo noble, as not only to conſerve freſh the memory of my Brother Falkland, but alſo to extend your affection and favour to thoſe who had any relation unto him; a thing becoming much your generoſity, and anſwering

*A.D.* 1650. to the rareneſs of your other qualities. This relation given me by many, contradicted by none, made me bluſh leſs in my becoming a trouble unto your Lordſhip, and aſſured me that I ſhould either be quickly favoured, or ſuddenly denied: two things, my Lord, that equally would oblige me, I being now in a ſtate to prefer almoſt a deſpatching *no*, before a lingering grant. I have been brought up in a tedious Court, and inured to patience; it is not therefore out of want of it, that I am ſo haſty; but (were I never ſo willing) I cannot attend my fortune more than ſome three; or, when moſt, four months. All temporal good luck after that time will come too late to be enjoyed by me. My Siſter's letter will, I believe, in ſome part, let you ſee my pretenſions; but that you may look them through, I will tell you my ſtory, and beg your pardon for my tediouſneſs. I do thus, to make myſelf leſs a ſtranger to you, to entertain you with a kind of Romance, and that out of it you may gather what kind of employment I am fitteſt for (if for any), and what kind of favour to aſk there for me. Being made, in ſecret, of my Mother's Religion (for I knew no other diſtinction then, between the Catholick and Proteſtant one, but that my Mother was of that, my Father of this), that I might continue in it, and be taught what it was, I was ſtolen into France; and after a ſtay there of three years, tranſported into Italy; where I lived twelve. My Brother took my flight in ſuch ill part, that never after did I hear from him, though Mr. Creſſy ſays that before his death he had ſome intentions of uſing me better. My very nothing of portion he detained in his hands, and left me to a ſtrange likelihood of ſtarving. Whilſt the Queen had wherewithal, I had a ſmall but ſufficient penſion underhand from her Majeſty; afterwards, I was better provided by the laſt Pope; who, upon her Majeſty's recommendation, conferred upon me an Abbey and a Priory *in commendam*; and beſides, ſome penſions on other benefices; wherewith I ſubſiſted well, and from the pity became the wiſh of many Engliſh travellers, as one that was diſengaged from thoſe tumults, and had a being, beſides better hopes. Cardinal Barberini had aſſured me of his efficacious favour; and I began to feel that he was in earneſt, when the wars with Parma broke out; which ſo took up his thoughts, that in time of vacancies I was forgot, and Military Officers' kindred remembered only. The peace killed the Pope; and his ſucceſſor, ſeeking to be contrary to him in all things, began to ſhew an averſion from ſtrangers. In his Reign, firſt, I loſt a penſion of above forty pounds a year paid me by Cardinal Barberini (who was then in perſecution, and I thought it unworthy to exact ought from him who had given me all); then an inundation in Sicily ſpoiled my Priory ſo, that, as fruitleſs, I made it away. Then a Canon died in Cambray, who paid me a penſion of 25 pounds yearly; and ſince that time (the ſpace of upon 5 years) I have received nothing; and now am at law with his ſucceſſor, in great likelihood of loſing my ſuit. Laſtly, the wars broke out in Naples; and ſuch havock was made of my Abbey, that, in a great deſpair, I renounced it; where 300 Banditti had made their neſt not only in the troubles, but almoſt ever ſince. From this Pope all the while I had extraordinary fair words; but ſeeing he meant only to talk, I writ to Court, to crave leave to come away; for having been placed there by her Majeſty, I held it my duty not to quit the place without her licence. Sir John Winter, in her name, anſwered to two inſtances that I made, that I ſhould ſtay ſtill, aſſuring me, that, if ever the times were better, with the firſt I ſhould prove her Majeſty gracious; and

that

that this Pope was not immortal: yet, that I might depart, when I could subsiſt there no more. This too ſhe was pleaſed to make known unto me by Sir Kenelm Digby. In compliance to this order, I ran out both in purſe and credit; then ſeeing no hopes of good by my ſtay, I thought it beſt to return. I had many deſigns. In my Father's time the office of Secretary to the Crown in Ireland had been given me. The Queen had promiſed to recommend me earneſtly to my Lord of Ormond; and Catholicks were now by the articles of peace made capable of bearing offices in that Kingdom. I hoped to get my right by favour, but at Paris heard of the Marquis's, and my hopes defeat. I had a great deſire then to have kiſſed their Majeſties and your hands; but the failing of a Merchant forced me to paſs over into England immediately. There I received the remnant of my little due; and, fearful of the leaſt charge I might bring on my friends, one hour after they had deſpatched me, I left London, and came hither. Here I deſired to take ſome employment, whereby to make a ſubſiſtence of my ſtock, though in a way of life extremely new to me, who had been bred up in the Schools, and in a long robe. But firſt, I thought to have got the arrearages of my penſion, and it extinguiſhed; which in all would have come to 350 pounds more than I had already. But that buſineſs is not yet ended; and my monies brought to a ſufficiency only for the months I named. Into the Arch-Duke's family I had thoughts of putting myſelf, but ſervants there receive no pay. Employment from the King is to be had not at his but one's own expences; and I want means. A friend in Rome labours hard to get me a Canonry, now vacant, of £ 200. a year; whereby I might live, and yet not be obliged to take orders (a thing I am leſs willing to do ſince my poor Nephew Falkland's death,) or to bind myſelf. But if he obtain it not, I cannot expect for a ſecond trial, unleſs I gain my proceſs, a thing moſt unlikely. Now, my Lord, caſting about where I might find a helper, I began to hope that by reaſon of your Lordſhip's preſent employment, I might have ſome ſuccour from that Court, at leaſt by an expreſs effectual order from thence to be provided for by the Miniſters of State here; or an hot recommendation to the leſs powerful Arch-Duke. If your Lordſhip gets it not very earneſt and ſuddenly, I believe it will find me uncapable to make uſe of it, and reap the benefit. I have a laſt refuge (perchance, the happieſt), but I dare not recur unto it, till I have tried all other ways; for I diſtruſt my own forces; if though I ſettle on it, I ſhall not need other aſſiſtance from any, than that of prayers. Thus, my Lord, moſt ingenuouſly have I opened my mind, and deſigns; confiding in the friendſhip which paſſed betwixt yourſelf and my poor Brother. The ſum of my deſires is, that, if you can ſuddenly, you be pleaſed to interpoſe your authority in that Court for my good, in that manner you ſhall think moſt convenient, and likelieſt to ſucceed; and if you conceive not ready hopes, to put me out of mine. If I obtain ought, I ſhall moſt willingly employ it [*in*] your ſervice; if nothing, I ſhall thank you in my prayers; the only thing I then ſhall have left me to exerciſe my office in; for, my Lord, I am

*Your Lordſhip's*

*moſt devoted faithful Servant,*

*Bruſſels, the 18th March 1650.*

J. PATRICK CAREY,

*An Original.*

*A.D.* 1650.

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Honourable Mr.* PATRICK CAREY.

*Sir*,

YOUR's of the 18th of the laſt month came not to my hands 'till about the 18th of this; nor hath it been poſſible for me to return an anſwer ſooner to you, this Court taking leſs care to maintain quick correſpondence with the other parts of the world, than I think any other place doth that is near ſo much concerned in that kind of traffick. Amongſt my many faults and infirmities, you will not, I preſume, hear diſſembling, or ſpeaking otherwiſe than I think, laid to my charge; and therefore, you may very juſtly believe me, when I tell you, that ſince the unſpeakable loſs of your excellent Brother, I have rarely felt ſo great a pleaſure as the firſt ſight of your name to a letter gave me. And you will not wonder that many parts of it, beſides the kindneſs throughout to me, preſented to the life that converſation to me I was once more bleſſed with, than moſt other men. When I had the honour to ſee your Siſters at Cambray, I carried great joy with me into France, with the confidence I ſhould poſſeſs you there; and you will pardon me if I proteſt to you, that when I heard you were gone from Paris, and had left me no poſſibility of finding you, the affliction was ſo great, that I improved it by thinking you unkind to me; flattering myſelf (as men who have received great obligations are apt to create new titles to favours), that I had ſome right and claim to your kindneſs. And I had this excuſe for my paſſion, that I had ſome reaſon to believe, that it might have proved of ſome uſe to you, to have received ſome advertiſements from me before your going into England, concerning your own fortune; to which I was not an abſolute ſtranger; knowing as much of your Brother's heart as any man. And you cannot doubt a perſon of that incomparable virtue, who would not have done an unjuſt thing to have procured the peace of his country, which he deſired with the greateſt paſſion imaginable, would have proved an unkind Brother. I know his purpoſes were very contrary; and though he had been much afflicted with your leaving him (which yet he imputed to others, not to your own inclination at that time), yet he was comforted in your being ſtill in a condition capable of his care; and if he had lived, you had heard from him very effectually.

IF I do not find myſelf like to do you ſervice, which I do deſire equally with any good fortune that can befall me, and flatter myſelf with ſome hope that I may live to do it; be confident, I ſhall not detain you with any vain expectations; though I am not willing to be concluded by what I ſhall now ſay upon ſo ſhort thoughts in a buſineſs I am ſo exceedingly concerned [*in*]; but do deſire you to expect a ſecond letter from me, which I preſume may come to your hands before your time prefixed be expired. When I have informed you that this Court in glory and ſplendor is not anſwerable to the fame it hath; that the complaints, murmurings and real want of money is not inferior to any I have known, whilſt the face of a Court was preſerved; that there is a multitude of pretenders to recompence for great ſervices done, and none ſent away ſatisfied; that there is an univerſal ſtop of all penſions which have been granted formerly, ſo that they who have thoſe grants, have only liberty to complain, and to ſpend their time in a fruitleſs ſolicitation;

that

that all the letters from Flanders contain nothing but importunity for monies, and thoſe from hence excuſes for not ſending any; and laſtly, that the delay in deſpatches of all kinds in this Court is ſo intolerable that no ſpirit can ſubmit to it; you will not think my value of you the leſs, in that I do not give you encouragement to expect any ſupply from this Crown by penſion, or any thing of that nature; at leaſt from ſo inconſiderable interpoſition as mine would prove; for though I find more civilities here than could be confidently preſumed, from the ill condition of the Maſter I ſerve, and the ſtrength and power of his enemies, I cannot pretend to any notable intereſt. Yet, after all this, I muſt beſeech you for ſome time to ſuſpend the engaging yourſelf in any ſuch courſe, from which you cannot retire, and to which you may ſubmit when you pleaſe. *A.D.* 1650.

. . . . . .

I BESEECH you ſend me word what inclination you have to ſpend a little more time in the Court of Rome; and what will ſupport that inclination; and truly, if I cannot make myſelf of any uſe to you, I ſhall the leſs value any good fortune that can be reſerved for me; which ſhall be always as much at your diſpoſal as it can be at the diſpoſal of

*Sir,*

*Your moſt affectionate*

*Madrid, 26th April* 1650. *and moſt humble Servant.*

*P.S.* THOUGH I know you need no recommendation to his Majeſty or to any about him, the King himſelf retaining a very kind memory of your Brother, yet I have writ to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who is a very honeſt worthy man, to do you all ſervice; which I know he will do with great affection.

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.* †

*Sir* JOHN BERKELEY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Mr. Chancellor,*

YOUR's of the 18th of March came to me at Paris the 9th of April, as I was ready to take poſt to come hither; where my buſineſs hath been partly to offer to his Majeſty the Queen's ſenſe and deſires that the treaty might take effect, ſo as the Covenant and breach of treaty with Ireland be not preſſed and inſiſted on by the Scots; and partly, to deſpatch ſome affairs of my own, which I will communicate to you hereafter. I did believe, that the boldneſs I took to differ from you in opinion might poſſibly move you a little; but I did not believe, that motion would have cauſed ſo

† *Mr. Carey, as appears by ſubſequent letters between the Chancellor and him, not thought neceſſary to be publiſhed, afterwards took the Habit at Doway; which he threw off within the year, his Conſtitution not being able to bear the kind of diet which the rules enjoined. He then went to England, in hopes of obtaining a Penſion from his Relations there, who were moſt of them in good circumſtances. Being diſappointed of this alſo, he deſired Sir Edward Hyde's intereſt to procure him ſome military poſt in the Spaniſh ſervice. His friend earneſtly diſſuades him, by very good arguments, from this, and adviſes him to lie by a little while, in expectation of ſome favourable change. After this, it does not appear what became of him.*

*A.D.* 1650. much warmth as you have expreſſed in your letters to ſome of my friends and me, upon that occaſion. There is a raging diſeaſe amongſt us of ſainting each others proſelytes, and condemning thoſe mutually that differ in opinion with us. *Nunquam veritas malè audiit, ut non in eodem foro cauſam diceret innocentia.* But I know you are ſo free from this infirmity, as I ſhall not doubt of preſerving my opinion and wonted freedom with you; as well knowing that it is as impoſſible for you to ceaſe loving me, as it is for me not to continue to love and honour you, though our ſenſes in particular things diſagree, as they do at this preſent; wherein (by the way) I have the mark of univerſality on my ſide, very few now concurring with you. And truſt me, they are not all Saints neither. When I ſaid that I was glad that we were cozenable, I meant that we had little to loſe, and ſuppoſed that we were not natural fools, and therefore concluded that we could not probably loſe much with thoſe whom we treated. To confute this, you tell me that you are better acquainted with matters of fact, and inſtance in the treaty between his late Majeſty and Cromwell. It is true, that you underſtand by many more matters of fact better than I do; but (by your leave) I underſtand ſome, and particularly that you mention better than you do, or poſſibly could do; and wiſh the world underſtood as much as I do, and ſhould concur in the deſire of ſome of my friends to publiſh what came therein to my knowledge, did not I fear that an impartial narrative would argue myſelf of vanity, and impute great errors to others of whoſe reputation I am tender. But I believe, I ſhall ere long overcome theſe conſiderations; in the mean time, let me inform you that his Majeſty never truſted Cromwell, but deſired, that through the differences between the Parliament and the army, and between the inferior and ſuperior officers of the army, Cromwell ſhould have been forced to have truſted his Majeſty. It is true, that Cromwell profeſſed great matters in general; and ſpecified thoſe generals in the propoſals, beyond which he ſaid he could not paſs, leaſt he ſhould confirm the jealouſies that had been fomented by the Preſbyterians, and diſaffected in the army; *viz.* that he had deteſted his party totally, and made a private agreement with the King. That theſe profeſſions of his were ſincere, no man, that I know, did ever affirm; but it was moſt certain, that if the King had conſented to the propoſals, he had either made an agreement with the army, or diſcovered their villany by their not performing what they undertook in caſe of his conſent; and then, his Majeſty ought to have made his eſcape two or three months before he left Hampton Court. If you aſk me, why his Majeſty did not do it then, ſince he granted ten times as much afterwards in the Iſle of Wight; I can make you no other reply, but that he was ſo far from being unbounded, as he was tied by imaginary bonds, that he could never unlooſe until it was too late; which I take ſtill to have been often his caſe; and I think I could eaſily make it appear. At preſent (ſince you deſire it), I will inſtance in ſome particulars more; and ſhall deſire from you to be informed, whether that, when the Lord Northumberland came to Oxford, or at the treaty at Uxbridge, or when his Majeſty was at Newcaſtle, or at the beginning of the laſt treaty at the Iſle of Wight, [*if*] his Majeſty had granted what he did in the end, it had not been effectual. I, and many thouſands more are perſuaded it would; and yet the moſt powerful reaſon I ever heard was, that ſuch conceſſions were abſolutely unlawful in themſelves, that afterwards were not thought ſo, nor indeed were not ſo in their own nature. I might aſk you likewiſe, if the

King

King had granted at Oxford to the Lord Muſkerry, what was afterwards (though of the lateſt) granted by my Lord of Ormond, to the Iriſh Catholicks, whether there had not been an agreement of vaſt importance made? But you will ſay, this is to expoſe the living and the dead to cenſure, and wiſh that his Majeſty would entruſt others with the conduct of his affairs. It is ſomething of the lateſt now; but a private free letter to you is not in my opinion to be judged a cenſure of thoſe that I muſt confeſs have been unjuſtly many times cenſured; and yet never any conductors (how innocent ſoever) were generally treated ſo gently by thoſe who have been rendered miſerable, I do not ſay by, but during, their conduct. You partly know how little ambition I had to be one of the conductors, by my anſwer to your queſtion at St. Germain's, whether I deſired to be ſworn of the Council. Indeed, I will never be gratified with that honour, nor accept it for my own ſake; and ſhall be ſorry to ſee the publick have need of ſuch weak inſtruments. And yet I am perſuaded, that if there had been a true examination, I ſhould not have been left as naked as I was born, whilſt others that merited no more, accumulated many honours and advantages. And truly, I believe (however it went with me), that never any gave more opportunities to his friends to do him good, and fewer to his enemies to do him bad offices than myſelf; and therefore I ſhall never wave the day of trial you mention, but wiſh that all our actions were as apparent as they will be at our laſt. For what concerns the change of my friends, I aſſure you I have not done it, nor been in arrears with them in all civil and real demonſtrations. I muſt acknowledge I have more frequent and free communication with one than I was wont to have; but it was by order of both their Majeſties, and (if I much miſtake not) by your advice to them; and thoſe other friends whom I believe you intend, paſſed by me, and kept worſe company, and contracted leſs avowable familiarities; for which nevertheleſs I do not condemn them, but leave them to their Chriſtian liberty, and will ſerve them to the beſt of my power; and when I have told you I will not change either my nature, or honeſty, for no man's living, I will conclude this argument. *A.D.* 1650.

*Breda, May 7th,* 1650.

*An Original.*

## *The Lord* COTTINGTON *to Father* BAPTHORPE.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

YOU ſay, that Court is too clear-ſighted to be taken with words or promiſes; and that what his Majeſty offers he muſt preſently perform; which you know is abſolutely impoſſible; as if his Majeſty were never ſo deſirous to repeal any laws that are prejudicial to Catholicks, it is not in his power to do it 'till he return into his Kingdoms, and can obſerve thoſe formalities which are neceſſary; yet very reaſonable ſecurity may be given for the future performance of it. That which the King will be ready and willing to do, is to give his conſent for the repeal of all the penal laws and ſtatutes which have been made in the prejudice of Catholicks; and to put them into the ſame condition of his other ſubjects. Now you can judge, whether this frank offer of the King's be like to prevail with the Pope to uſe

A.D. 1650. his authority in the uniting his Majeſty's Catholick Subjects to his ſervice, and to the inclining Catholick Princes to aid him with money, and ſuch other aſſiſtance as may be neceſſary. If you find (and the diſcovery may be very eaſy) that this will give ſatisfaction, and produce that fruit, I mean produce it ſo far as to incline his Holineſs to it, it ſhall be propoſed in any way, and with any circumſtances you ſhall adviſe. Otherwiſe, his Majeſty will believe, that, whatever he intends hereafter to do out of his own goodneſs, [that] it will not be fit for him to publiſh any ſuch purpoſe. And to this point, I pray write freely to me, and at large; but above all, whether it be poſſible that any overtures from the Independents, made either through the Iriſh or Engliſh Catholicks, can obtain any credit at Rome; for in that caſe nothing that I can ſay, or the King can offer, is like to be conſiderable.

I WISH you all happineſs, and am,

*Sir,*

*Madrid*, 18 *June* 1650.

*Your's &c.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

* * * \

who died with him, and who came as his Interpreter, and ſeemed by his boldneſs and confidence to be a joint Commiſſioner with him, uſing ſuch monſtrous and uncleanly liberty throughout their journey, even when they viſited Nunneries, that is not fit for chaſte ears; and to that degree that the conductor was compelled to threaten them with chaſtiſement. Yet the Friar, upon the finding a Breviary and Beads about him, and ſome evidence that he went often to maſs in the journey, is buried in *Sagrado*, though with the great murmuring of the people, and ſome threats that he ſhall be yet taken up and thrown into the field. The fellow himſelf was the next night put upright in a deep hole made in the yard of the houſe where he died, the *Poſada* ever ſince remaining without gueſts. The two ſervants which remain, whereof one went for a very ſilly Secretary, are kept cloſe in an Alcalde's houſe without ſuffering any reſort to them under the notion of preſerving them from violence; of which there cannot be the leaſt reaſonable apprehenſion; but, it may be, for the better ſecurity of Don Alonſo de Cardenas. There was found about the perſon of the man when he was dead upon his left ſide next his ſkin and neareſt his heart a plate of ſilver, which is now in his Majeſty's keeping, and a model whereof we herein ſend your Majeſty. We here take it to be ſome combination entered into at that time; it may be the Hieroglyphick may be better underſtood nearer England, though it wants not ſeveral comments here. *A.D.* 1650.

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21 *June* 1650.

*A Draught, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to the Counteſs of* MORTON.

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I PRAY God preſerve the Queen from greater trouble of mind than ſhe yet feels, nothing can fall out worſe than I expect; and if it ſhould prove better, they will ſtill live to be aſhamed, who gave the advice at Breda which was founded ſo irrationally, and can ſucceed only by miracle; but we muſt all make the beſt of it now it is done, and pray to God Almighty to give ſuch a temper of mind and courage upon this great alteration, that we may neither be inclined to any thing that is not right by any example or conceſſion that is made, nor ſhaken in our affection or duty to the King, for any thing which the neceſſity of his condition extorts from him. For whoever imagines that any miſtake in the King in the publick policy, or in particular diſobligations, can excuſe his declining in point of duty, much leſs warrant his doing any thing unjuſt, had never his innocence founded on the right foundation of conſcience and religion; and in this conſideration every man ought to exerciſe himſelf betime, that he may have a ſtock of reſolution ready againſt any temptation that may happen.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

THIS odd accident here of killing the fellow the Rebels ſent hither, conſidering the madneſs of thoſe Devils at Weſtminſter, who will ſtrike thoſe who are next to them where they are angry, makes me well content, that my wife and children are out of their reach, though I fear they are in a very

*A.D.* 1650. ill caſe through want, which comes earlier upon them, by ſome failings in other men, than I expected; and ſeriouſly, I am as far from a preſent power of relieving them as ever I was in my life, having never in my life known ſo abſolute a want of money as I have done ſince I came hither; yet I believe it will mend here hereafter, and that I ſhall be able before Michaelmas to help them, and that in the mean time they will not ſtarve.

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GOD preſerve you and give you the happineſs is wiſhed you in the prayers of

*Your's &c.*

21 *June* 1650.

*A Copy, endorſed by himſelf.*

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *and Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to her* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE give your Majeſty very humble thanks for the honour you vouchſafed us on the 8th of this laſt month; which is the only clear evidence we have received of the King's having concluded with the Scots, we having not the leaſt intelligence from any perſon near his Majeſty ſince the end of the treaty, nor underſtanding any particulars which were tranſacted in it, otherwiſe than the Lord Goring informs us was diſcourſed at Paris before he came from thence; which does much perplex us in point of credit and reputation here, and keeps us from deſiring audience from this King, though the buſineſs requires it, 'till we may be able to give ſome account to his Catholick Majeſty of our Maſter's reſolutions, of which there are various reports here to his prejudice. Few will believe, that your Majeſty ever adviſed or concurred in the point of the Covenant; nor in truth can the Scots have any other ground for preſſing the King in it, than to expoſe him to diſhonour; and from ſome promiſe in this point, to oblige him to ſome other conceſſions which depend upon thoſe principles; ſince no man among themſelves who pretended to ordinary truth and honeſty, though he hath heretofore taken it, will now take it in the ſame form, it being founded upon matter of fact, which, as it was never in itſelf true, ſo now cannot be pretended to be ſo. And yet, if they ſhould publickly alter it, their brethren of England will think themſelves free from the obligation. Upon ſo much juggling and nonſenſe does that godly combination depend.

How his Majeſty intends to diſpoſe of his own perſon, we know not; and if he be inclined for Scotland, we preſume this monſtrous proceeding with the brave Marquis of Montroſe, who without doubt was a perſon of as great honour and as exemplar integrity and loyalty as ever that nation bred, will make his Majeſty as jealous for his own ſecurity as the weight of ſuch an argument requires him to be; and we hope he hath many aſſurances in this treaty which we cannot apprehend, ſince he ſeems to recede ſo far from his former reſolutions.

GOD

GOD preſerve your Majeſty, and keep up your ſpirits in this time in which your vivacity is ſo neceſſary to all his Majeſty's hopes, and diſpoſe your gracious protection towards, *A.D.* 1650.

*Madam*,

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt obedient and moſt obliged*

12 *July* 1650. *humble Servants*:

*A Draught, by Sir Edward Hyde.*

*Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to Mr.* ROBERT MEYNELL.

*Sir*,

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I AM very glad you have dealt ſo clearly with the King, that he may not flatter himſelf with unreaſonable hopes; though I muſt confeſs I am ſtrangely perplexed that thoſe hopes ſhould now fail his Majeſty; when that man who could heretofore have undertaken that his Majeſty ſhould have done half which he is now willing to do, would have been thought very well of by all ſober Catholicks. And truly, I hope that the reaſons which prevail now at Rome (though, if they were true in point of fact [*they*] ought not to produce thoſe concluſions) will not be found of weight enough to continue thoſe reſolutions. If the news we hear from many hands and by ſeveral ways be true, there hath been lately ſome good ſucceſs in Ireland, which renders the condition of that Kingdom far from deſperate; and whatever Abbot Crelly informs of the temper of that nation, the perſons of greateſt honour and intereſt there do hold their allegiance to their King to be ſo fundamental a part of their religion, as that they will not be drawn from it under any pretences, or by any authority whatſoever. And truly, for his Majeſty's running the Preſbyterian way with the Scots, ſince what he does therein is ſo well known to proceed from the neceſſity of his fortune, and not from the inclination of his nature, it ſhould be a good argument to the Catholicks to act ſuch a part towards his Majeſty's reſtoration, that he might owe it at leaſt to the joint activity of both parties; and that the inſolent and impetuous Preſbyterians might have no pretence to work upon the King's gracious diſpoſition by convincing him, how totally he is deſerted by the Catholicks. And if the care and compaſſion towards the poor Catholicks of his Majeſty's three Kingdoms be not entirely ſwallowed up in a fantaſtick opinion of planting and propagating the Catholick Religion out of theſe confuſions (which is a ſubtle Chimera which may extirpate thoſe that are alive, never plant others in their place), this conſideration would produce kinder thoughts and purpoſes towards the King. Indeed, the exception to the Counſellors, that they are of the ſame ſtrain with thoſe who were about his Majeſty's Father and Grandfather makes me apprehend that which I feared when I ſpoke with you, and you ſeemed not at all to apprehend; that the pure intereſt of the Catholicks of England would not be thought argument enough to draw on a general Catholick aſſiſtance; and, that they who have pretended only to deſire a toleration for the liberty of their own conſcience, will not be now content to give any to the conſciences of other men. If a charity and kindneſs to Catholicks, and a wil-

*A.D.* 1650. lingneſs to live with them in a mutual enjoying of what is neceſſary to the opinions of either, were thought ſufficient, I believe there would be no juſt cauſe of complaint of the King's Counſellors; but if all are to be accounted their enemies, who do not concur with them in all their opinions, and are Catholicks themſelves in their ſenſe, I believe they are not to look for any ſuch ſecurity. For any breaches of promiſes which have been made to them, except they aſſign the particulars, I know not what to anſwer; but as no rupture with Spain can have any reaſonable relation to what is now in propoſition, ſo I believe all ſuggeſtions of that kind are mere excuſes to avoid a friendſhip which they have no mind to make, and which I hope hereafter may be thought of more ſignification. For any liberty to the Nuntio, I think the good Cardinal gave you the true reaſon againſt it, that thereby we might expect ſome aſſiſtance; and therefore, as to that particular, I ſhall refer you to what my Lord Treaſurer writ laſt to you in anſwer to your's of the 13th of April, to which I long to ſee your anſwer; though I expect little of comfort in it. We muſt all expect God's good time, who will bring that to paſs which he knows beſt for his ſervice. My Lord Treaſurer commends him very kindly to you, and is, as I am,

*Sir,*

*Your very affectionate*

15 *July* 1650. *Friend to ſerve you.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed by himſelf.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the Prince of* ORANGE.

*Dear Brother,*

I SHALL at this time ſay little to you of the ſtate of my affairs in this Country; becauſe Oudart, whom I mean ſhortly to ſend to you, ſhall come inſtructed to give you a full account of them. In the mean time this bearer, Mr. Seymour, will inform you of all things. A mixt party of my Father's old friends, and of the Preſbyterians, are now ready to riſe for me in the Weſt of England; the Marquis of Hertford and his Son the Lord Beauchamp are the chief; and all the conſiderable Preſbyterians join with them. They deſire to be aſſiſted with two thouſand men from abroad, to be landed at a place called Torbay in Devonſhire, between Dartmouth and Exeter; or, at ſuch other place as they ſhall adviſe; and with ſome quantity of ammunition and arms, for which they will return money. I am aſſured from thence, that money ſhall be returned into Holland to Alderman Bunce for my uſe; and I have herewith ſent him order to pay 50,000 Gilders to ſuch perſon as you ſhall appoint, to be employed, for the charge of levying and tranſporting the ſaid 2000 men; earneſtly entreating you to aſſiſt me with your favour herein as the thing that moſt concerns me in this world. For all the aſſiſtance of the Scots will be vain without ſuch a concurrence as this; and the truth is, they ſeek themſelves and their own intereſts too much to be a ſolid aid, or to be totally relied upon. This bearer will give you a full account of the ſtate of this buſineſs, and contrive a way of correſpondence between them and you, or ſuch as you ſhall appoint; and

and so recommending it to your favour, and acknowledging all your former kindness, I remain *A.D.* 1650.

*Dear Brother,*

*Your most affectionate Brother.*

*A rough Draught, by Secretary Long.* †

## *General* CROMWELL *to Lieutenant General* LESLEY.

*Sir,*

I RECEIVED your's of the 13th instant, with the paper, you mentioned therein, inclosed; which I caused to be read in the presence of as many officers as could be well gotten together on a sudden; to which your trumpet can witness. We return you this answer, by which I hope in the Lord, it will appear that we continue the same we have professed ourselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to our own souls; it being no part of our business to hinder them from worshipping God in that way they are satisfied in their conscience by the word of God they ought, though different from us; but shall therein be ready to perform that obligation lies upon us by the Covenant. But, that under pretence of the Covenant, mistaken and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof, a King should be taken by you to be imposed upon us, and this called the cause of God and of the Kingdom, and this done to the satisfaction of God's people in both nations, as is alledged, together with the disowning of malignants, although he who is the head of them, in whom all their hope and comfort lies, be received; who at this very instant hath a Popish party fighting for and under him in Ireland; hath Prince Rupert, ([*who*] hath had his hands dipped in the blood of many innocent men in England) now in the head of our ships stolen from us upon a malignant account; hath the French and Irish ships daily making depredations upon our coasts, and strong combinations by the malignants in England to raise arms in our bowels, by virtue of his commissions, he having of late issued very many to that purpose; and how the interest you pretend you have received him upon, and the malignant interest in the ends and consequence concentring in the man, can be severed, we cannot discern. And how we should believe, that whilst known and most notorious malignants fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, should not be espousing a malignant party, quarrels or interest, but be mere fighting upon the former grounds and principles, and in the defence of the cause of God and of the Kingdom, as have been these twelve years past, as you say, for the security and satisfaction of the people of God in both nations; or the opposing of which should render us enemies to the godly with you, we cannot understand; especially considering that all malignants take their confidence and encouragements from the late transactions of your Kirk and State with your King. For as we have already said, so we tell you again, it is but satisfying security to those that employ us, and are con-

† *Without a date, but appears, by the circumstance of it's being in Mr. Long's hand, to have been written either during the King's stay at Jersey, or from Breda, during the treaty there, or from Scotland. If from the last, (which from some expressions in it seems most probable) it must have been immediately after the King's arrival there, because Mr. Long was soon sent away from thence by the Scots. And upon the King's arrival at Paris, after the battle of Worcester, Mr. Long was dismissed from his Majesty's service.*

*A.D.* 1650. cerned in that we ſeek; which we conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned ſubmiſſions from a perſon who could no otherwiſe tell how to accompliſh his malignant ends, and therefore counſelled to his compliance by them who aſſiſted his Father, and have hitherto acted him in his moſt evil and deſperate deſigns, and are now again ſet on foot; againſt which how you will be able, in the way you are in, to ſecure us or yourſelves, is (for as much as concerns ourſelves) our duty to look after. If the ſtate of your quarrel be thus, upon which, as ye ſay, ye reſolve to fight our army, you will have opportunity to do that; elſe, what means our abode here? and if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and ourſelves to him who knows the heart and tries the reins, with whom are all our ways, who is able to do for us and you above what we know; which we deſire may be in much mercy to his poor people, and to the glory of his own great name. And having performed your deſire in making your paper ſo publick as is before expreſt, I deſire you to do the like by letting State, Kirk, and the Army, have the knowledge thereof; to which end I have ſent you incloſed two copies, and reſt

*Your humble Servant,*

*From the Camp at Pentland Hills.*

O. CROMWELL.

FOR the Right Honourable David Leſley, Lieutenant General of the Scots' army.

*A Copy,* † *by Mr. Nicholas.*

*The Titular Biſhops of* RAPHOE, KILLALA, *and* FERNES *to the Marquis of* CLANRICARDE.

*Our very good Lord,*

AFTER ſigning the other, going with this, we underſtood the Lord Biſhop of Clonfert and Doctor Kelly had publiſhed an excommunication *major* againſt all Catholicks diſobeying a Declaration made in the late Congregation made at Jameſtown, againſt the continuance of the King's authority in the perſon of the Lord Marquis of Ormond, for the reaſons contained in the body of the ſame. This his Lordſhip and Doctor Kelly did by authority from us; though for preventing the enemy's advance into this Province, we ſent after them a command to ſuſpend for a time ſuch publication (as may appear by this incloſed), which came not timely to his Lordſhip's hands. But it ſeemeth, God would have that arrow fly, (we hope) to his own glory and the preſervation of all intereſts. What we have done concerning the Lord Lieutenant, was forced from us for preſerving of religion, kingly authority, and the nation almoſt loſt under his Government; and all acted by us to that purpoſe is warranted by the laws of God and nature; for a plain mariner (to prevent the loſs of lives and all) may take the helm out of the pilot's hand, when he is ſteering the ſhip to a rock. We hope your Lordſhip hath ſo much of piety and the fear of God, as you will ſhew yourſelf obedient to the Church, and not become involved in our excommunication, agreed upon after long deliberation, and fulminated

† *Without a date, but muſt have been written in Auguſt* 1650. *it being an anſwer to the Declaration of the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, diſclaiming all connexion with the malignant party; which Declaration is dated Auguſt* 13. 1650. *It is printed in Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical diſcourſes; and a copy of it, together with the approbation of the Committee of Eſtates, occurs among theſe MSS.*

by

by all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, and Clergy of Ireland, and not oppoſed by any one man of piety, learning and authority in the whole Kingdom. Remember, we have the keys of Heaven, and that from our tribunals the deadly ſentence of *anathema* and excommunication falls upon thoſe ſeparated from the charity and grace of God, and that we are therefore the judges appointed by God of excommunications and matters of conſcience; and be pleaſed to know that Cæſars themſelves are within, and not above, the Church. The world alſo ſhall be judge that this our ſentence is no way to pull down kingly authority, but to keep up and preſerve the ſame. If you will be found an obedient child of holy Church, joining with our ſentence to thoſe armies of Ulſter and Connaght under your command, we will join all other forces we can procure, to the end religion, the King's right and liege people may live, and be not utterly deſtroyed. If you oppoſe our ſaid ſentence (which God avert!) we will do our beſt to defend the authority and power of God entruſted to us; and even ſo we remain *A.D.* 1650.

*Your Excellency's*

*Gallway*, 15 *Sept.* 1650.

*affectionate Servants.*

OUR very good Lord, we deſire your Excellency's anſwer to thoſe letters by the bearer.

JOAN. RAPHENS.
FRAN. ALADENSIS.
NICO. FERNENSIS.

*An Original.*

*The Marquis of* ORMOND *to the Marquis of* CLANRICARDE.

*My Lord,*

THOUGH the ſuſpenſion of the excommunication may take away the occaſion that might be readily laid hold on by many of the army to retire from trouble and danger, yet your Lordſhip truly obſerves, that all the uſe I can hope for from it, is to gain time to ſettle my reſolution; for both they and I have proceeded too far, and too ſharply to truſt [*each*] other's profeſſions, in caſe we could be brought to enter into any new ones. Whether I have not good grounds to ſuſpect their's, and to aſk by what Gods they will ſwear next, I ſhall leave to any man's judgment that ſhall ſee their paſt oaths and proteſtations; as I ſhall boldly challenge them to inſtance wherein I have failed them in any the leaſt particular, wherein I was engaged to them. I ſhould very gladly draw that way, but for the dangers and impediments mentioned in my former letters; and to be clear with your Lordſhip, as I have always been, I am loath to leave the little footing I have here to ſecure myſelf within ſo tickliſh a time, leaſt being ſhut out every where, I conclude my ſtory like a ſtraggling free-booter; but yet, if the forces I have ſent for, come, and that I can make my retreat hither ſecure in caſe all other ways fail, I will come to where we ſhall agree. I doubt not but your Lordſhip's reaſon tells you that I hold myſelf no longer obliged from ſeeking and making uſe of all honourable ways to ſecure myſelf; which yet I ſhall not put in practice, as to my remove out of the Kingdom, without giving your Lordſhip as

*A.D.* 1650. long warning as the condition I ſhall be in when I take that reſolution, will allow.

*Your Lordſhip's*

*faithful humble Servant,*

*Clare, 20th of Sept.* 1650.

*ſigned,* ORMONDE.

*A Copy.*

## *Sir* JOHN BERKELEY *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Dear Mr. Chancellor,*

SINCE I came laſt hither I ſent you a letter that I began at Breda and ended here; wherein I told you, that if I knew what part of intelligence your other correſpondents left untouched, I would ſupply it to the beſt of my underſtanding; but ſince it will coſt me but a little more pains, and you a little more patience, I will adventure to give you all that comes to my knowledge. The Scots' Commiſſioners held the King to hard terms eſpecially in matters of religion; but yet with reference to Scotland only; which underhand they let fall was only to temporize with the Clergy, who had the Nobility in contribution; and that as ſoon as they had vindicated his Majeſty's rights (which they could not hope to do, if the Clergy were not ſatisfied), they would endeavour to free themſelves from the capriciouſneſs of that impetuous order of men. But the conditions of Breda gave not ſatisfaction to the Clergy and their party in Scotland, and worſe were impoſed upon his Majeſty.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I BESEECH you to preſent my moſt humble duty and ſervice to my Lord Treaſurer, and to believe that I am for ever

*Your's*

*Paris, Oct.* 20. 1650.

J. B.

*An Original.*

## *General* CROMWELL *to the Committee of Eſtates of* Scotland, *at* Sterling, *or elſewhere.*

*My Lords,*

THE grounds and ends of the army's entring Scotland have been heretofore often and clearly made known unto you, and how much we have deſired the ſame might be accompliſhed without blood. But according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us, as we can truly ſay we had towards you; and we are perſuaded thoſe difficulties in which you have involved yourſelves by eſpouſing your King's intereſt, and taking into your boſom that perſon, in whom (notwithſtanding what hath or may be ſaid to the contrary) that which is really malignancy, and all malignants do center; againſt whoſe family the Lord hath ſo eminently witneſſed for blood-guiltineſs, not to be done away with ſuch hypocritical and formal ſhews of repentance as are expreſſed in his late declaration; and your ſtrange prejudices againſt us, as

men

men of heretical opinions (which through the great goodneſs of God to us have been unjuſtly charged upon us), have occaſioned your rejecting of thoſe overtures which with a Chriſtian affection were offered to you before any blood was ſpilt, or your people had ſuffered damage by us. The daily ſenſe we have of the calamity of war lying upon the poor people of this nation, and the ſad conſequences of blood and famine likely to come upon them; the advantage given to the malignant, profane and Popiſh party by this war, and that reality of affection which we have ſo often profeſſed to you, and concerning the truth of which we have ſo ſolemnly appealed, doth again conſtrain us to ſend unto you to let you know, that if the contending for that perſon be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your country, the blood of your people, the love of men of the ſame faith with you, and, which is above all, the honour of that God we ſerve; then give the State of England that ſatisfaction and ſecurity for their peaceable and quiet living by you, that may in juſtice be demanded from a nation giving ſo juſt a ground to aſk the ſame from thoſe, who have (as you) taken their enemy into their boſom, while he was in hoſtility againſt them. And it will be made good to you, that you may have a laſting and durable peace with them, and the wiſh of a bleſſing upon you in all religious and civil things. If this be refuſed by you, we are perſuaded that God, who hath once borne his teſtimony, will do it again on the behalf of us his poor ſervants, who do appeal to him whether theſe deſires flow from ſincerity of heart, or not. I reſt

*A.D.* 1650.

*Your Lordſhips humble Servant,*

O. CROMWELL.

*Lithgow, 9 of Octob.* 1650.

*A Copy, by Mr. Nicholas.*

*General* CROMWELL *to Colonel* STRACHAN.

*Sir,*

I HAVE conſidered of the letter and the queries; and having adviſed with ſome Chriſtian friends about the ſame, think fit to return an anſwer, as followeth.

WE bear unto the godly of Scotland the ſame Chriſtian affection we have all along profeſſed in our papers; being ready, through the Grace of God, upon all occaſions to give ſuch proof and teſtimony thereof as the divine providence ſhall miniſter opportunity to us to do.

THAT nothing would be more acceptable to us to ſee, than the Lord removing offences, and inclining the hearts of his people in Scotland to meet us with the ſame affection.

THAT we do verily apprehend with much comfort, that there is ſome ſtirring of your bowels by the Lord, giving ſome hope of his good pleaſure tending hereunto; which we are moſt willing to comply with, and not to be wanting in any thing on our part which may further the ſame.

AND having ſeen the heads of two remonſtrances, the one of the miniſters of Glaſcow, and the other of the officers and gentlemen of the Weſt, we do from thence hope that the Lord hath cleared unto you ſome things which were formerly hidden, and which we hope may lead to a better underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, we cannot but take notice, that from ſome ex-

A.D. 1650. preſſions in the ſame papers, we have too much cauſe to note that there is ſtill ſo great a difference betwixt us, as we are looked upon and accounted as enemies.

And although we hope that the ſix queries ſent by you to us to be anſwered, were intended to clear doubts and remove the remaining obſtructions, which we ſhall be moſt ready to do; yet, conſidering the many miſconſtructions which may ariſe from the cleareſt pen (where men are not all of one mind), and the difficulties at this diſtance to reſolve doubts and rectify miſtakes, we conceive our anſwer in writing may not ſo effectually reach that end, as a friendly and Chriſtian conference by equal perſons.

And we doubt not, we can with ingenuity and clearneſs give a ſatisfactory account of thoſe general things held forth in the letter ſent by us to the Committee of Eſtates, and in our former declarations and papers; which we ſhall be ready to do by a friendly debate, when and where our anſwer to theſe particulars may probably tend to the better and more clear underſtanding betwixt the godly party of both nations.

To ſpeak plainly in a few words; if thoſe who ſincerely love and fear the Lord amongſt you, are ſenſible that matters have been and are carried by your State ſo as that therewith God is not well pleaſed, but the intereſt of his people hazarded in Scotland and England to malignants, to Papiſts, and to the profane. We can (through grace) be willing to lay our bones in the duſt for your ſakes; and can, as heretofore we have, ſtill continue to ſay, that, not to impoſe upon you in religious or civil intereſts, not dominion nor any worldly advantage; but ſecuring ourſelves were the motives and ſatisfactions to our conſciences in this undertaking; which we believe by this time you may think we had cauſe to be ſenſible was more than endangered by the carriage of affairs with your King. And it is not ſucceſs and more viſible clearneſs to our conſciences ariſing out of the diſcoveries God hath made of the hypocriſies of men, which hath altered our principles or demands; but we take from thence humble encouragement to follow the Lord's providence in ſerving his cauſe and people, not doubting but he will give ſuch an iſſue to this buſineſs as will be to his glory and your comfort. I reſt

*Your affectionate*
*Friend and Servant,*
O. Cromwell.

*Edinburgh*, 25 *Oct.* 1650.

*A Copy, by Mr. Nicholas.*

*Remarks upon the foregoing.*

In the letter mention is made in the general, that amicable and Chriſtian ways were uſed both before and ſince your coming into Scotland to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. But it had been well to have inſtanced them in particular; and then a particular anſwer might have been expected. It is known, upon report of their marching towards this Kingdom, publick meſſengers were ſent declaring the peaceable intention of this nation, and to prevent their coming, to which no anſwer was returned; but the meſſengers were detained, and a declaration of their reſolutions to invade us was ſent from the borders; whereupon they immediately marched into this Kingdom

dom without waiting for an anſwer. And afterward, there came a ſhort paper promiſing ſafety to gentlemen and commons (however affected), upon condition of ſtaying within their houſes; wherein by conſequence not only Noblemen, but all the Miniſters of the land were ſecluded, though never ſo faithful. If theſe were amicable ways, it's left to their own conſcience to judge, when the Lord ſhall open their eyes to ſee how far they have been guilty of the ſhedding of the blood of many of the Lord's people, of whom it may with confidence be ſaid they were very precious in his ſight, and would much rather have chearfully ſuffered the ſame blood which they have ſpilt, to have been poured forth, than they would have adventured to invade England. A deſire of union of the Lord's people in both Kingdoms is profeſſed; both were engaged by a ſolemn Covenant, to endeavour an uniformity amongſt the Churches of Chriſt in theſe Kingdoms; and we are truly ſorry that we have it not to ſay for them, that they have continued therein, but have given way to a toleration of errors, deſpiſed the Government of Jeſus Chriſt, diſcountenanced his ſervants and people, and ſhewed more favour to many malignants when they could be induced to comply with their deſigns. Theſe things are mentioned for no other end, but that they may ſeriouſly conſider how far they have erred from the way of the Lord, and how unjuſtly they charge us as ſupporters of Babel, who from our hearts deſire to abominate, and in our place and calling endeavour to ſuppreſs, all the errors and corruptions of that whore. And if they were throughly awake to diſcern the times, they will find it is high time for them to lay to heart, and fear that there is too great footing given under the name of forbearance and toleration for ſpreading Popiſh doctrine and opinions, which come abroad to the world wrapped in the clothes of ſeeming truth, and yet being unmaſked are nothing elſe but the brats of the whore. It is acknowledged, that they ſeek not civil domination over us, nor the depreſſing our Kirk-Government. And if ſo, why do they trouble us? we have not troubled them; do they find themſelves in hazard by the King's coming amongſt us? Is an apprehended hazard a good ground to invade us? If ſo, what peace can there be amongſt nations? Ought they not to have patiently waited until that hazard had broken forth into a real and viſible wrong, by invading England? Had they done ſo, they had not ſhed the blood of the Saints. Some of their papers demand ſecurity from us; but what it is, we could never underſtand. Is it their plea againſt us, that there are corruptions amongſt us in reference to the King and malignants? Although we are not obliged to give an account to ſtrangers concerning what we do within this Kingdom, yet it hath been declared, that we neither own him nor his intereſt further than he owns and proſecutes the cauſe. And we are reſolved, with the Lord's aſſiſtance, to diſown him, until we ſee clear and convincing evidences of a real change in him. As for malignants, we think their coming in, or continuance in this Kingdom, is a real obſtruction and hindrance of bringing malignants to condign puniſhment; for ſo long as they remain in it, oppreſſing us, and taking away the lives and eſtates of our brethren, and treading down the Lord's ordinances, we cannot be wanting in taking opportunities, as the Lord ſhall offer in his providence, to remove them, though we ſhould periſh in the duty. And if they ſhall make any attempt on us, we think we are clearly called of the Lord to defend ourſelves, our religion and liberties, and that they are guilty of the miſery that ſhall befall this nation by famine or ſword. And when the Lord

*A.D.* 1650.

*A.D.*1650. hath performed his whole work in Zion, we truſt he will determine where the weight of blood-guiltineſs lies, and reckon with Zion's adverſaries, who ſaid, "We offend not, becauſe they have ſinned againſt the Lord the hope "of their Fathers, 50 *Jer.* 7." which is all the plea they have againſt us. We confeſs, we have many ways provoked the Lord, but we have neither invaded, nor troubled the peace of England.

*A Copy, by Mr. Nicholas.*

## *Colonel* WHALLEY *to Colonels* KERR *and* NEWTOWNE.

*Gentlemen,*

IT is not unknown to you, what amicable and Chriſtian ways, both before and ſince our coming into Scotland, and even after our never to be forgotten victory, my Lord General, and the officers about him, have taken to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. But hitherto (to our great grief) God hath permitted all to be ineffectual. Yet, knowing that God can change the hearts of men in a moment, it troubles me not to be further ſolicitous for the union of God's people in both nations, yea, even throughout the whole world; being that which above any thing in the earth we deſire. It is that which God hath commanded, that which he hath promiſed, and that which we pray for, that which with confidence we believe ſhall be, and that which indefatigably (I hope) we ſhall endeavour. Thoſe that are acquainted with the ſecrets of God, do clearly ſee that the quarrel is betwixt Chriſt and the Devil, betwixt Chriſt's ſeed and the Devil's; here it began, here it will end. The whore of Babylon hath received her deadly wound; let the Devil be her chirurgeon. Babylon is falling; let not God's people (to the loſs of their outward man) ſtay in it, much leſs labour to ſupport it. And this ye are doing, though ignorantly; and our prayers for you ſhall be, that the Lord would forgive you, in that you know not what you do, and that he would give you a clear ſight of the great work he is now in theſe latter days carrying on; and then I am ſure we ſhall not differ. I ſhall ſay no more, further than to let you know that the arms of our Chriſtian love are ſtill ſtretched out ready to embrace you, whenever God ſhall incline your hearts to come in to us; when you ſhall ſee, as already we have declared, we ſeek not for domination over you, we ſeek not to enſlave you, nor the depreſſing your Kirk Government; we ſeek not your goods nor eſtates; but to carry on the work of the Lord, which from our very ſouls we deſire you may have a joint ſhare in. But if, after all this, God ſhall ſtill ſuffer your eyes to be blinded ſo, as that ſeeing you will not ſee, and your hearts to be hardened ſo as to perſiſt in your gainſaying and oppoſing the way of the Lord, whatever further miſery befalls your nation, either through famine or ſword, I muſt plainly tell you, it will lie heavy upon you. And this, before any attempt be made upon you by the forces under my command, I thought myſelf obliged in Chriſtian duty to acquaint you with. So I reſt

*Your's in Chriſt,*

*Oct.* 26. 1650.

EDW. WHALLEY.

*A Copy, by Mr. Nicholas.* †

† *The three laſt are all written on the ſame paper.*

*The*

*A.D.* 1651.

*The Lord* COTTINGTON *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

OF the ſucceſs of this embaſſage, as alſo of the inclination and diſpoſition of this King and State towards you, Mr. Chancellor will ſufficiently inform your Majeſty; ſo as in this I ſhall not need to trouble you with any large relation.

MY great age and infirmities, together with the ſharpneſs of the weather, do withhold me from accompanying Mr. Chancellor in ſo very long a journey at this time. And therefore, to preſerve myſelf and my health the beſt I may, to employ both it and my life in your Majeſty's ſervice, I have reſolved to ſtay by the way in a town called Valladolid, and there to expect your Majeſty's commandments, which (God willing) ſhall be punctually obeyed. For ſeeing I ſhall not be permitted to repair unto your preſence, the place of my abode and attendance for your commandments is of little conſideration; and ſo I am enforced to make choice of ſome place, where I may beſt be ſheltered, and where a loaf of bread is beſt cheap; for ſuch is my wretched condition; yet ſeeing I am brought unto it for my loyalty to your Father and yourſelf, inſtead of grieve, I cannot but glory in it.

GOD Almighty preſerve your Royal Perſon, and give you all happineſs! as deſireth

*Your Majeſty's*

*moſt humble and obedient Servant,*

COTTINGTON.

*Madrid*, 1 *March* 1651.

*An Original.*

*The Marquis of* ORMOND *to Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*Sir,*

THOUGH the reiterations of aſſurance to have a place in your friendſhip and eſteem are amongſt the things I moſt deſire, yet I ſhall not ſuffer that paſſion to prevail to your trouble, nor miniſter any further occaſion for that ſubject; but ſhall repoſe myſelf upon the infallibility of the profeſſions you have been pleaſed to make: And henceforth without any thing that may be perverted to ceremony, fall into what I ſhall judge fit to be ſaid to you from me. I am not now, nor by this late negotiation betwixt the Iriſh and the duke of Lorrain, to learn how dextrouſly (as they think) the Iriſh Clergy and their inſtruments have very long endeavoured to bring that nation to a neceſſity of calling for a Roman Catholick Protector; from which office to abſolute Sovereignty the way is ſtraight and eaſy. Upon this they have been ſo intent, that they would not ſee that the oppoſition which was given them by thoſe of that nation that remained conſtant to the Engliſh Government, would laſt 'till the Rebels ſerving themſelves of the diſtraction occaſioned by the contention, there would remain little or nothing to be protected. In ſhort my fear is, the Engliſh Rebels have got the Kingdom. Againſt this there appears to me little conſolation, but what muſt be raiſed in a more hardened mind than mine, in the ruin of thoſe

*A.D.* 1651. that have ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced to deſtruction by thoſe that had nothing to loſe but their guilty lives.

THE judgment you make in favour of my Lord of Clanricarde is convincingly juſtified by very impartial deſpatches out of Ireland; but above all, by this; that together with thoſe that have authority from him, others are come with power from the Clergy and remaining towns, to aſſure the Duke of Lorrain, that if her Majeſty, the Duke of York and myſelf ſhall not give free way to the pawning of the Kingdom to him, they are able and ready to put all that is left of it into his hands. This, and whatever paſſed in Ireland in the treaty, I have told the Queen and his Highneſs. They have taken time to conſider of it, and to return their pleaſure to my Lord Taaffe, which he expects this day; though there hath not yet in my opinion ſo ſerious a conſultation been had as the nature of the thing requires. If any reſolution be taken before the poſt goes, I ſhall add it to this letter.

THERE is yet no reſolution taken touching the Iriſh buſineſs, though I begin here after a whole day's intermiſſion; but I am now called upon to know her Majeſty's final pleaſure, which yet I hope to ſend you.

*Sir,*

*I remain,*

*Your moſt affectionate*

*Paris, 30 June 1651.*

*humble Servant.*

AFTER a ſhort debate of the buſineſs, her Majeſty hath thought fit to give the Lord Taaffe a paper, whereof this is a copy which I ſend you. A letter ſhe ſends with it only of civility and reference to my Lord Taaffe.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

*An Original.*

*The titular Biſhop of* FERNES *to the Lord* TAAFFE.

*My Lord,*

VIEWING the ſubmiſſion ſent to you by Sir Nicholas Plunket, returned unſigned, I was much unſatisfied, you having promiſed in preſence of Sir Nicholas, Dr. Meare and me, to ſubſcribe it. I did not think a perſon of honour would break his word in a matter [*of*] piety and reſpect to the apoſtolical authority. Why did not the fear that cauſed your humiliation and prayer for abſolution from that excommunication (you have told me you had an abſolution), move you to ſecure the conſciences of your accomplices involved in the ſame cenſure? But it is, as the world abroad doth obſerve to our infamy, that our people and thoſe among them that hold themſelves for gallant men, have not the heart and reſolution to diſpute with the enemy for altars, liberties and eſtates. The mettle of our people is a ſtiffneſs in conteſting with ſacred and apoſtolick authority. Since this began, and that Ormond became the idol and was adored, we had nothing of God's bleſſing over us. God, for his mercies, bring us out of blindneſs

to

to light! Give me leave to ſay, I have not been civilly uſed by your Lord- *A.D.* 1651.
ſhip, and the other two, in not receiving the reſpect of an anſwer from you to my letter; and therefore I pray your Lordſhip return me mine own. It was ſaid to me by an intelligent man, you changed your reſolution of ſigning the ſubmiſſion upon the account of two Divines; thoſe are your Uncle Father George Dillon, and Father Cairon. I am of opinion, they dare not appear the authors of giving you their opinions ſo to do; they are now themſelves labouring a ſubmiſſion for your hand; but from me and others they keep it as ſecret, as if we ſhould envy them ſo much of virtue and goodneſs, as to have a hand in ſo good a work. For my part, I am glad they are come to this thought, and to the minding ſuch a ſubmiſſion; having ſo long tormented their brethren for adhering to that excommunication, and were againſt the ceſſation. If there was any other treaſon of thoſe poor Friars, or if there was any crime againſt the order, I did not hear of it. Your Lordſhip left a blank with your Uncle George to fill up with what ſubmiſſion would pleaſe him and Father Cairon; his Holineſs is not the liker to be ſatisfied therewith. Doubtleſs, your thought was, that the glory of the buſineſs ſhould reflect upon them, though you had acquainted me with this your reſolution. I ſhould not envy them, deſiring from my heart no other than that by a good ſubmiſſion (be thereof author who will) his Holineſs's benediction might be obtained. But I ſee your Lordſhip had a jealouſy of me; had you ſooner begun, I had been the happier, having by my conjunction with you in doing buſineſs, come under the jealouſies of conſiderable men of our nation, who loved me more than your Lordſhip did, when they in their lines cried upon me to ſeparate from your Lordſhip, for that the preſervation of Ireland would never proſper in your hand; and that you were ſuſpected by moſt of our countrymen for your great intimacy and friendſhip with thoſe that deſired our nation ſhould never have religion or their liberties. I have pleaded your defence; my letters to that City and Rome are full of this ſtuff, and that upon the principal they would find your Lordſhip honeſt and gallant. But ſeeing you put diſtruſt upon me, I conceive I have gotten thereby a fair opportunity to come no more under ſuſpicions and fears at Rome (where by my union with you I became more black and leſs reſpected), and may fairly have no more to do with a perſon that doth not truſt me. Nor will I conceal it; I am not pleaſed with the company you keep, nor may your Lordſhip converſe moſt friendly and dearly with thoſe that have dyed their hands in the blood of Prieſts and innocent Souls, and have the privilege to be no way ſuſpected by the Biſhops and Clergy of Ireland. I know what opinion thoſe that employed me have of your Lordſhip; who ſaid plainly, the teſtimony you have under their hands, was gotten from them againſt their own inclinations, by the means of the Lord Biſhop of Clogher, for ſome reaſons of ſtate he never told them. In caſe your Lordſhip did make uſe thereof to the detriment of the Church (which as yet I did not obſerve), I would ſay as much to any Prince or Prelate to take away your authority. As for me, ſeeing there is no neceſſity of our conjunction in affairs, I have no deſire to be very inward with any that hath his greateſt truſt (for ought appearing) in thoſe that have proved the authors of our undoing, and that will never be truſted by the Biſhops and Clergy of Ireland. All which I thought fitting to ſignify unto your Lord-

*A.D.* 1651. ſhip with the freedom of a prieſt, and out of no deſire to harm you in the leaſt thought; and even ſo I am

*Your Lordſhip's*

*affectionate Servant,*

*Bruſſels, 10th of Aug.* 1651.

NICO. FERNENSIS.

*A Copy.*

*The Lord* TAAFFE *to the titular Biſhop of* FERNES.

*My Lord,*

YOUR's of the 10th of Auguſt I received, wherein you expreſs your being much unſatisfied with my not ſigning the ſubmiſſion ſent unto me; which I acknowledge to have promiſed, but before it came to my hands I met Mr. Brown in Sir Nicholas Plunket's lodging, where debating of that matter, Mr. Brown poſitively proteſted againſt ſigning that paper as it was penned, but with ſome alteration (which I apprehended differed in the manner and not in ſubſtance) he would join with Sir Nicholas and me; whereupon I believing an impoſſibility of differing in a matter of that concernment, thought it more uſeful to leave a blank, than to want ſo neceſſary an advantage, as the concurrence and hand of one of the Commiſſioners; and if your Lordſhip were an indifferent judge of my actions, you would make that conſtruction of it. It is true, I deſired, and had, an abſolution from the excommunication; which a tenderneſs of conſcience, rather than a real belief of it's being valid, made me demand; but I never knew your Lordſhip's doctrine to be orthodox, in ſaying that abſolution may be had by a proxy, though not authorized to ſolicit it; nor could I ever learn that the ſame apprehenſion that poſſeſſed me, did in any kind trouble the minds of my accomplices, as your Lordſhip terms them. Your Lordſhip to your own, and not the infamy of our nation, taxes them for want of courage in all things, but conteſting with ſacred and apoſtolical authority. It is ſo barbarous and baſe a character, as nothing but the privilege of your calling could afford you confidence to pronounce it; but if the nation think you worthy to be called to queſtion, I am confident your ſuperiors will puniſh you.

As for your Lordſhip's expreſſion, that Ormond was the idol of the nation, I know no man that made him ſo more than yourſelf; whilſt there were any hopes of his ſucceſs, you both courted him and conſulted him; but I muſt confeſs, that when his diſaſters began to increaſe, your Lordſhip endeavoured to add unto them by fulminating a new excommunication againſt all ſuch as would adhere unto him, which occaſioned ſuch a diviſion, as had not my Lord of Ormond, in expectation of uniting the nation, quitted it, the Kingdom had been loſt; and not being ſatisfied only with this teſtimony of his affection, left the Government of the Kingdom in the hands of a Catholick, an act not to be exampled. Your Lordſhip ſays, you have not been civilly uſed by my Fellow Commiſſioners, and me, in not ſending an anſwer to your firſt. I am ſure, if we had, the return that the rudeneſs therein expreſſed merited, would have hindered you from practiſing the like; and for the returning of it, your Lordſhip ſhall pardon me, conceiving myſelf obliged to give my nation knowledge of the danger they run by ſubmitting to the Government of ſo withered and cankered a perſon as my

Lord

Lord of Clanricarde; who has not deſerved thoſe epitaphs from your Lord- *A.D.* 1651.
ſhip, he having in charity aſſiſted you, when you laſt parted that Kingdom. Indeed, your Lordſhip's gratitude is to be admired; and the manner of inviting us to make a ſubmiſſion is ſo remarkable, as it muſt not be ſmothered, you threatening, if we fail to perform it according to your ſenſe (never examining what authority we have for it), that you will not only withdraw your perſon and advice from us (a terrible loſs conſidering the advantage we gain by it), but likewiſe perſuade the Duke of Lorrain to deſiſt from ſuccouring a people ſo deſtined to God's vengeance. Your Lordſhip was informed, you ſay, that my Uncle George Dillon and Father Cairon changed my reſolution in not ſigning the ſubmiſſion; really, your intelligencer was bad, though I am confident had their opinions been contrary to my doing of it, they would not only inform me of it, but likewiſe juſtify it, though your Lordſhip ſays, they durſt not; and let me tell your Lordſhip, that, had I a ſcruple in any matter of religion or conſcience, I would ſooner aſk and ſubmit to their opinions, than to your Lordſhip's; yet not in temporal affairs, that being ſome part of your daily practice. As for the railing part of your letter, which concerns them, I refer that to their own anſwering. Your Lordſhip ſuppoſes, that I placed the blank in my Uncle George's hands, being ſuſpicious of you (guilty conſciences are apt to accuſe themſelves); but, in good faith, I had not the thought of ſuſpecting you, though I were often informed of your talking and acting ſeveral ways to my prejudice; yet I appeal to yourſelf, if I did not with all freedom acquaint you with all my proceedings, wherewith you ſeemingly appeared to be ſatisfied, and afforded me for ſome time your aſſiſtance; for which you ſay you came under the jealouſy of ſome conſiderable men of our nation. I know but few of them abroad that keep correſpondence with your Lordſhip; and thoſe you mention did not rebuke you for operating with me; but the fear of doing good made them ſolicit you to deſiſt, it being a work ſo little practiſed by them, as they eſteem it a fault in others.

You ſay, the preſervation of my nation cannot be hoped for by my endeavours. It is true, I want power, elſe I ſhould quickly falſify that aſſertion; but did every Iriſhman work with the ſame materials of Religion, loyalty, and moral honeſty, as I do, and have done, Ireland would flouriſh, and not be ſubject to thoſe horrid reproaches of your Lordſhip's. To free yourſelf from ſuſpicions and jealouſies at Rome (where, by your union with me, you are grown black), you ſay, you will have no more to do with me becauſe I do not truſt you; the reaſon is good; but I am perſuaded that when his Holineſs is informed of the ways you take of ingratiating yourſelf in his favour, he will not approve thereof; and believe it, you will not find his Holineſs ſo partial as to hear your ſtory, and not mine; to whom I have been and will be as obedient according to my capacity as any man.

You ſay, you are not pleaſed with the company I keep. I know not whom you mean; but did I know any guilty of thoſe crimes you mention, I would ſhun them; but that I am ſuſpected by the Biſhops and Clergy of Ireland I do not believe you, it being contrary to their profeſſions under their hands, when I came from them; and when the Commiſſioners came over, they ſent me authority in writing to negotiate in their names with any Catholick Prince for the aiding of Ireland, which is as great a mark of their truſt as your Lordſhip can have from them; and I am confident they are

men

*A.D.* 1651. men of greater honour and honesty than to give you a contrary information to what they so publickly profess to me; but, for my better satisfaction, will send them a copy of your Lordship's letter, whereby I may be advertised of their opinion of me.

As a sign of God's indignation against such as thought the excommunication invalid, your Lordship alledges the several defeats and disasters we had; but I am sorry those that adhered unto it were involved in our misfortunes to an equal if not a higher degree than the others; witness the loss of the Bishop of Clogher and his army, and the hanging of the Bishop of Ross.

I HAVE a long time desisted the giving this answer to your unprovoked malicious expressions; but fearing that by silence I might be judged guilty of what you accuse me of; and hearing that you dispersed copies of your letter to me, I thought fit to return you this, and as your Lordship with the freedom of a Priest (as you mention it) reproaches my nation and myself, so do I as warrantably assume the liberty of saying for our vindications what is here contained, from

*Your Lordship's*

*humble Servant,*

*Brussels, 22 Sept.* 1651.

TAAFFE.

*A Copy.*

*Copy of a Letter written from a Prisoner at* Chester *the* $\frac{17}{27}$ *September, and since reviewed and perfected by some on this side the sea, who were in the fight.*

I BELIEVE you have too soon heard our misfortunes at Worcester; and it is possible there are amongst you, that rather blame our proceedings, than pity us. But if they knew the state of our Master's affairs when he was in Scotland and here, they would say otherwise. It is most certain that Cromwell would not at any time be drawn to hazard a battle in Scotland, but upon such great advantages, as were no way reasonable to be given; which induced his Majesty (finding Cromwell to have passed the river Forth with most part of his forces, and engaged northward towards St. Johnston's, thereby giving us the advantage of four or five days time) to put in execution that which indeed was originally his design from the beginning of the campaign; namely, to march in person with his army into England; not doubting but this his generous enterprize would give great encouragement and opportunity to his friends to rise and free themselves from that yoke of tyranny which lay so heavy on them. Our army consisted of between ten and eleven thousand horse and foot (with sixteen leather guns), all absolutely under the command of his Majesty, who marched without any opposition, until he came to Appleby; where eleven or twelve troops of those horse which Harrison had left in England endeavoured to hinder our advancing, but were, without great difficulty, forced to retire; and so we went on with what diligence might be, and without any impeachment to Warrington; where we found their army consisting of about seven thousand men, united under Lambert and Harrison, possessed of the bridge which they had almost broken; from which the King in the head of his first

troops

troops did beat them, with loſs to them, and great hazard to his own per- *A.D.* 1651.
ſon; and having made up the bridge with planks, paſſed over his whole army, they retiring in ſuch diſorder that beſides their loſs upon the retreat, at leaſt three thouſand of their men did that night diſband. The King from thence continued his march to Worceſter, they not daring to give him ſo much as one alarm all the way. In Worceſter, beſides the garriſon, his Majeſty found five hundred horſe, which Lambert had the night before ſent in, which preſently upon the approach of the army, quitted the place, leaving there the earl of Shrewſbury, and divers priſoners of note which they had formerly taken. The City was neither fortified nor victualled, only an old broken wall, and a fort in a manner ſlighted. His Majeſty's intention was not to have ſtaid there, but to march on towards London; but the army was ſo wearied with their haſty and continued march of three and twenty days (whereof it reſted only one day at Penrith in Cumberland), that it was altogether impoſſible to advance, and no leſs neceſſary to reſt and refreſh them. After near a week's ſtay in Worceſter (in which time his Majeſty uſed all endeavours to get in Glouceſter, Hereford and ſome other places; and likewiſe provided for the better arming and clothing of his ſoldiers), Cromwell appeared with his army near Perrywood (about a mile from Worceſter); and having drawn his left wing towards the river of Severn, his Majeſty ſent out a party of a thouſand commanded foot and two hundred and fifty horſe; to have fallen upon them that night; but this deſign was betrayed by —— Gives a townſman of Worceſter (who was afterwards hanged); whereupon they drew off in the night to their body, leaving only ſome guards which were beaten away. During this abode at Worceſter, Major General Maſſie was ſent to try his credit about Glouceſter, and lay within a mile of Upton bridge, which was not ſo broken, but that the enemy's foot for want of the placing a Centinel got over upon a piece of timber (laid only for the convenience of foot paſſengers), after which a body of their horſe did alſo paſs the ford; ſome of their foot got into the church of Upton. Whereupon Maſſie having the alarm, came with ſome horſe, charged their cavalry, and beat them back over the river; then returning towards Upton, he found in the church thoſe foot who had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, who fired upon him, and there ſhot him through the left hand, upon divers places of his arms, and killed his horſe under him; after which he returned to Worceſter with his brigade. Upon Tueſday Sept. $\frac{12}{2}$. towards night (which was the day before the fight) his Majeſty had intelligence that fifteen hundred horſe were gone to Bewdly; and that a very ſtrong party of horſe and foot and cannon were gone to Upton; which made his Majeſty the next morning to call a Council of War on the top of the ſteeple at Worceſter, whence the country round about might beſt be diſcovered, there to adviſe upon ſome action, while the enemy was thus divided and part of their forces gone further off. The reſult of this conſultation was to divide the army into two parties; the one to go upon the one ſide of Perrywood, and the other on the other, reſerving a body to fall on and aſſiſt where need ſhould require. Whilſt this was going to be put in execution, his Majeſty diſcovered a body of the enemy's foot, about a thouſand, with carriages of poles and planks and ſome Cannon going towards the water's ſide (as was ſuppoſed, and proved afterwards true) with intention to make a bridge. And immediately after, eſpying ſome fire given at the bridge of Powick, he gave order to the general officers to put the army in poſture, and went himſelf in perſon out of the

*A.D.* 1651. town, where he found the parties already engaged near Powick, where the enemy were making two bridges of boats to paſs a part of their army over the two rivers Severn and Teyne, ſo to get to the other ſide of the town of Worceſter. The King leaving there two brigades of foot, making near two thouſand men, returned to put in execution his firſt deſign of falling on the enemy at Perrywood; and having led out the army, and engaged it himſelf, charging in the head thereof many ſeveral times in perſon with great courage and ſucceſs, returned towards Powick to command two brigades of foot to aſſiſt thoſe who were already engaged upon that paſs. After which his Majeſty went again towards the main body, which he already found diſordered, and with ſome difficulty made them ſtand a while; but upon the enemy's ſecond firing they were ſo diſperſed, that they rallied no more, but gave back violently and forced the King to make into the town. The enemy, taking this advantage, fell cloſe in with the rear of his Majeſty's horſe, and at the ſame time with their foot ſeized upon the mount, ſo that our horſe were able to ſtand no longer without the walls; and the King with much difficulty and danger got into the town at Sudbury gate, about the ſhutting in of the evening. The enemy's foot entered the town before their horſe; and our foot in diſorder threw down their arms, whereupon the enemy's foot fell to plunder; but the King's horſe which were left in the town diſputed it from ſtreet to ſtreet, and made great ſlaughter of the enemy by reaſon of their greedineſs after pillage; inſomuch that the ſtreets were full of dead bodies of horſes and men; 'till at laſt, overmaſtered with numbers, they were forced down to the Key, where many rendered themſelves priſoners; only Colonel Wogan about midnight broke through with fifty horſe and marched after the King, who was ſome hours before gone out at St. Martin's gate, and marched northward that night with a body of about ſix hundred horſe in diſorder near thirty miles; where the next morning finding the cloſe purſuit of the enemy, and the country altogether unſecure, he conſulted for his ſafety: And of his royal perſon I can give no farther account: but certainly a braver Prince never lived, having in the day of the fight hazarded his perſon much more than any officer of his army, riding from regiment to regiment, and leading them on upon ſervice with all the encouragement (calling every officer by his name) which the example and exhortation of a magnanimous General could afford; ſhewing ſo much ſteadineſs of mind and undaunted courage in ſuch continual danger, that had not God covered his head, and wonderfully preſerved his ſacred perſon, he muſt in all human reaſon needs have periſhed that day. Duke Hamilton was ſhot in the firſt charge, which he performed with great honour, at Perrywood, where the King in the head of thoſe troops brake through and forced back their horſe to their body of foot. The Duke, I hear, is ſince dead upon the cutting off of his leg at Worceſter. We hope God Almighty will preſerve his Majeſty's ſacred perſon, to be an inſtrument of his glory in the performance of great things hereafter, though it did not pleaſe the divine power at this time to give him the victory, which in all likelihood he had obtained, had not the enemy ſo exceedingly overpowered him in numbers, they being (as their own party gave out) no leſs than threeſcore thouſand; whereas his Majeſty's army was not in all eleven thouſand fighting men, but ſo well governed as the like hath not been ſeen; for in the whole march from Scotland to Worceſter they never took any thing but what they paid for; and the diſcipline was ſo ſevere and ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that divers

were

were ſhot to death only for going out of their ranks to gather a few apples in an orchard as they marched; and another did undergo the ſame puniſhment, only for taking a pint of beer without paying for it. It is a great comfort to us in this our calamity, that his Majeſty hath taken ſome private way (with only the Lord Wilmot) for his eſcape; for had he ſtayed with us, his perſon had inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy. On Thurſday night (which was the day after the battle) our Lieutenant Generals Middleton and Leſley left us, or loſt us willingly; but were afterwards taken, and with Sir William Fleming brought priſoners hither. The Earl of Derby, Earl Lauderdale, Sir David Cunningham and Mr. Lane are priſoners here in the Caſtle; and many others of quality are kept in private houſes. They have already condemned ſome; and what will become of us, I yet know not. *A.D.* 1651.

*Endorſed by Sir Edward Hyde,*
"Relation of the Buſineſs of Worceſter."

## *Mr.* WILLIAM ELLESDON† *to the Earl of* CLARENDON.

*Right honourable,*

HUMBLY conceiving that a compleat and perfect narration of the many and great dangers, and the as many and ſignal deliverances which his ſacred Majeſty met withal after that fatal rout at Worceſter, until his Majeſty's happy arrival at the port of ſafety which Almighty God, his gracious and merciful preſerver, had deſigned for him, cannot but be very acceptable to all good Chriſtians and loyal hearts, as being a work ſo much conducing to the glory of God, and the honour and renown of our moſt dread Sovereign; and withal obſerving too great a defectiveneſs in thoſe narratives upon this ſubject that I have hitherto ſeen, as to ſome of thoſe eminent deliverances which God was pleaſed mercifully to vouchſafe his Majeſty in the Weſt; to the intent that, if God ſhall ſtir up the heart of any learned and able hiſtorian to give a full and true account of thoſe remarkable paſſages of providence to the world, I may contribute my mite to ſuch a noble and deſirable undertaking; I have now (upon preſumption of your Lordſhip's favourable acceptance) taken upon me the boldneſs to preſent unto your Lordſhip a brief account of thoſe memorable paſſages in this kind, which myſelf (as having been an agent in them) had the honour and happineſs to be acquainted with; the which your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to take as followeth.

AFTER that his Majeſty was diſappointed of his hopes of embarking at Briſtol (of which your Lordſhip may inform yourſelf in that account which a perſon of quality hath given the world in his book ſtiled the Hiſtory of his ſacred Majeſty Charles the 2d, printed at London Anno 1660. Page 125.) his Majeſty deſired to be brought ſome miles weſtward, to the houſe of a worthy Gentleman, whom he knew to be a truſty friend; and accordingly, his Majeſty being conveyed to the houſe of Colonel Francis Wyndham of Trent in Somerſet, advice was had about preparation of a paſſage for his Majeſty in ſome weſtern port. In proſecution of which,

† *In the Hiſtory of the Rebellion the name is written* ELLISON. *It is thought fit to place this letter here, though it appears by the Superſcription to have been written after the Reſtoration.*

A.D. 1651. myſelf being looked upon as a perſon that might be confided in, and in a capacity of ſerving his Majeſty in order to his tranſportation (having not long before been inſtrumental in getting ſafe paſſage for Sir John, now Lord, Berkeley), upon or about the 18th of September 1651, the aforeſaid honourable and truly loyal Gentleman, Colonel Francis Wyndham, came to me at my houſe in Lyme (where I then lived, looking upon it as ſome protection to me in thoſe times to live in that town); when after ſome other diſcourſe had, and an engagement to ſecrecy paſſed betwixt us, he told me, that the King had ſent him to me, commanding me to procure him a veſſel in order to his tranſportation into ſome part of France.

Being overjoyed to hear that my Sovereign was ſo near me (as the Colonel had informed me he was,) and even raviſhed with content that an opportunity of expreſſing the loyalty of my heart to his moſt excellent Majeſty, ſo unexpectedly preſented itſelf, I anſwered, that I would with the utmoſt hazard of my perſon, and whatſoever elſe was dear unto me (as knowing myſelf by all obligations both ſacred and civil thereunto obliged) ſtrenuouſly endeavour the execution of his Majeſty's both juſt and reaſonable commands in this particular; being verily perſuaded, that either God would preſerve me from, or elſe ſupport me in and under, any ſufferings for ſo good a cauſe. Accordingly, I immediately ſent one to the Cuſtom-Houſe to make enquiry who had entered his veſſel as bound for France. News was brought me that one S. L. of Charmouth had lately entered his bark, and intended a ſpeedy voyage for St. Malo.

Not only myſelf, but alſo Colonel Wyndham was much affected with theſe tidings; I having firſt told him, that I had an intereſt in the Maſter (he being my tenant), and that he ever had the repute of being well affected to his Majeſty. Upon theſe encouragements, we (reſolving to loſe no time) rode to Charmouth by the ſea ſide, to confer with the Maſter; which way I the rather made choice of, that in our paſſage thither I might ſhew the Colonel what place I judged moſt convenient for his Majeſty to take boat in (in caſe we could work the maſter to a compliance), in order to his embarking. And indeed a more commodious place for ſuch a deſign could hardly be found, it lying upon the ſhore a quarter of a mile from any houſe, and from any horſe or foot path. The Colonel being fully ſatisfied of the conveniency of the place, we rode into the town, and immediately ſent for the Maſter; who being very happily at home, preſently repaired to us at the inn.

Friendly ſalutations and ſome endearing compliments being premiſed, (and a name that was not his own being by me in the hearing of the Maſter given to the Colonel in way of diſguiſe), I told him that the end of our ſending for him was to procure paſſage for a friend of mine and this Gentleman's, who had had a finger in the pye at Worceſter. The man being ſtartled at this propoſition (as apprehending more than ordinary danger in ſuch an undertaking), we were neceſſitated to uſe many arguments for the removal of his fears; which we ſo happily managed, that in a little time we ſaw the effect of them by his chearful undertaking the buſineſs. Wherefore, an ample reward being engaged for on our part, he promiſed ſpeedily to prepare his veſſel, and hale her out of the cob the Monday following, and about midnight to ſend his boat to the place appointed for the taking in of the paſſenger, and then immediately to put

off

off to ſea (in caſe the winds were favourable). Thus far we were agreed; and in all our diſcourſe, there was no enquiry made by the Maſter, nor any the leaſt intimation given by us, who this paſſenger might be, whoſe quality we purpoſely concealed, leaſt the hopes of gaining £ 1000. (the promiſed reward of the higheſt treaſon) might prove a temptation too ſtrong for the Maſter to grapple with. *A.D.* 1651.

HAVING thus far ſucceſsfully proceeded in our buſineſs, we returned to Lyme. And the next day (being Friday) Colonel Wyndham reſolved upon returning to his houſe at Trent with theſe hopeful tidings to his Majeſty. I bore him company part of his journey, and choſe the land road from Lyme to Charmouth, that upon the top of a hill, ſituate in our way betwixt theſe two towns, upon a ſecond view he might be the more perfectly acquainted with the way that leads from Charmouth to the place appointed for his Majeſty's taking boat; it being judged moſt convenient, upon ſeveral accounts, that the Colonel, and not myſelf, ſhould be his Majeſty's conductor thither. Here calling to mind that on Monday (the day appointed for his Majeſty's embarking) a fair was to be held at Lyme, and withal doubting leaſt upon that account (through the nearneſs of the place) our inn in Charmouth might be filled with other gueſts, we ſent down one Harry Peters, then a ſervant of the Colonel's (who yet was not with us there the day before) with inſtructions, by the earneſt of 5 ſhillings to ſecure the two beſt rooms in the inn againſt his Majeſty's coming; who told the hoſteſs (to take off all ſuſpicion) this fair tale; that there was a young man to come thither the next Monday that had ſtolen a Gentlewoman to marry her, and (fearing leaſt they ſhould be followed and hindered) that he deſired to have the houſe and ſtables at liberty to depart at whatſoever hour of the night he ſhould think fitteſt.

THIS meſſage being performed, the rooms made ſure of, and the ſervant returned, I then ſhewed the Colonel a country houſe of my Father's, diſtant both from Lyme and Charmouth about a mile and a half, which (for the privacy of it) we determined ſhould be the place whither his Majeſty, with the Lord Wilmot, who then waited on him, ſhould repair on Monday next; that I might then and there give his Majeſty a further account of what had paſſed in the interim betwixt myſelf and the Maſter.

AND now being abundantly ſatisfied and exhilarated in the review of the happy progreſs we had thus far made, with moſt affectionate embraces the noble Colonel and myſelf parted; he returning to his houſe to wait upon his Majeſty, and myſelf towards mine, vigorouſly to proſecute what yet remained on my part to be done with the Maſter in order to the compleating of this work thus happily begun; in the performance of which, that I might approve myſelf faithful, I the ſame day and the day following, and alſo on the Monday after, having diligently ſought out the Maſter, moved and preſſed him ſo earneſtly to the punctual performance of his paſſed promiſe, that he ſeemed diſcontented at my importunity as betraying in me a ſuſpicion of his fidelity. A little to allay his paſſion, I told him I was aſſured, that the Gentleman, my friend, would be at Charmouth on Monday, and that if he were not ready to tranſport him, it might prove an undoing both to my friend and me. Whereupon to vindicate himſelf, he told me that he had taken in his ballaſt, that he had victualled himſelf and haled out his veſſel to the cob's mouth, for fear of being beneaped, becauſe the tides at that time were at the loweſt.

*A.D.* 1651. BEING well satisfied with this answer, I left him (after that I had given him instructions how to prevent any jealousies that might arise in the breasts of the mariners, concerning the persons to be transported), and immediately went to the aforesaid country house of my Father's, whither when I was come (and perceived that I was the first comer) that I might also erect a blind before the tenant's eyes, I demanded of him, whether the London carrier had passed that day, or not? telling him withal, that I expected two or three friends, who promised to meet me there about the time of the carrier's passing that way.

HIS answer to me was but little to the purpose; but in half an hour after my arrival there, came the King, with Mrs. Julian Coningsby, a kinswoman of the Colonel's, who rode behind him, the Lord Wilmot, Colonel Wyndham, and his man Peters attending on him. After their coming in, I took the first opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with what had passed betwixt myself and the Master after Colonel Wyndham's departure from me. The result of all which was this; that the Master had assured me, that all things were in a readiness for the intended voyage, and that (according to the instructions given him) he had possessed the seamen with a belief that one of the passengers, *viz.* my Lord Wilmot, was a Merchant, by name Mr. Payne; and the other, meaning the King, was his servant: That the reason of Mr. Payne's taking ship at Charmouth at such an unseasonable hour, and not at Lyme, was because, that being a town corporate, he feared an arrest, his Factor in St. Malo having broken him in his estate by his unfaithfulness to him; and that therefore he was necessitated with this his servant speedily and privately to transport himself to St. Malo aforesaid, in order to the recovery of such goods of his as by his said Factor were detained from him; the sending of which goods at several times this servant of his could sufficiently testify and prove. This I the rather acquainted his Majesty and the Lord Wilmot with, that after their being shipped (the more to confirm the mariners) they might drop some discourses to this effect.

HIS Majesty having shewed his approbation of what I had done was graciously pleased as a testimony of his royal favour (which I have ever esteemed as a jewel of greatest worth), to bestow upon me a piece of gold, telling me that at present he had nothing to bestow upon me but that small piece; but that, if ever it should please God to restore him to his Kingdoms, he would readily grant me whatsoever favour I might in reason petition him for.

UPON this his Majesty, attended as is before expressed, rode towards Charmouth, commanding me to hasten to Lyme, and there to continue my care that all things might be performed according to his Majesty's expectation, and the Master's promise. Accordingly, I made haste home, found out the Master, acquainted him that my friend was now at Charmouth, and that I newly came from him. He replied, that he was glad of it, that he would presently repair to Charmouth, to speak with him, and to tell him when he would come ashore for him; which accordingly he did.

AND thus far all things succeeded according to our best wishes, both the wind and tide seeming to be at strife which of them should most comply with our desires. But after all these fair hopes, and the great likelihood we had all conceived of his Majesty's happy transportation, it pleased God Almighty, for the clearer manifestation of his infinitely glorious wisdom and powerful

powerful goodneſs in his Majeſty's preſervation, ſuddenly to blaſt this deſign, and to caſt his Majeſty upon new ſtreights and dangers. A.D. 1651.

For the Maſter, either through weakneſs of judgment, or elſe in deſign to prevent a diſcovery, had utterly forborne to acquaint his wife with his intentions to go to ſea until it was almoſt time for him to go aboard. Whereupon he no ſooner called for his cheſt, but his wife aſked him why he would go to ſea having no goods aboard? The Maſter now thought himſelf neceſſitated to tell her, Mr. Elleſdon had provided him a fraught, which would be much more worth to him than if his ſhip were full loaden with goods; he being to tranſport a Gentleman, a friend of his. His wife (having been at Lyme fair that day, and having heard the proclamation read, wherein £ 1000. was promiſed as a reward for the diſcovery of the King, and in which the danger of thoſe alſo was repreſented that ſhould conceal his Majeſty, or any of thoſe that were engaged with him at Worceſter, and apprehending that this Gentleman might be one of the party) forthwith locked the doors upon him, and, by the help of her two daughters, kept him in by force, telling him that ſhe and her children would not be undone for ever a landlord of them all; and threatened him that, if he did but offer to ſtir out of doors, ſhe would inſtantly go to Lyme, and give information both againſt him and his landlord to Captain Macy, who had then the command of a foot company there. Here the Maſter ſhewed his wiſdom not a little by his peaceable behaviour; for had he ſtriven in the leaſt, it is more than probable his Majeſty and his attendants had been ſuddenly ſeized upon in the inn.

But I muſt needs a while leave the Maſter a priſoner in his own houſe, his wife and daughters being now become his keepers, whilſt I render an account of the actings of Colonel Wyndham, who with his man Peters, at the time appointed, went to the place agreed upon to expect the landing of the boat; but no boat coming after ſeveral hours waiting, (becauſe he ſaw the tide was ſpent) he reſolves upon returning to the inn. In his way thither he diſcovers a man coming towards him, dogged at a ſmall diſtance by two or three women. This indeed was the Maſter of the veſſel, who by this time had obtained liberty (yet ſtill under the eyes of his over-jealous keepers) to walk towards the ſea ſide, with an intention to make known to thoſe that waited there for him the ſad tidings of this unexpected diſappointment, together with it's cauſes. The Colonel (when they met,) though he conceived it might be the Maſter, yet, being not certain of it, and ſeeing the women at his heels, paſſed him by without enquiring into the non-performance of his promiſe.

Your Lordſhip may eaſily gueſs that this fruſtration of hopes was matter of trouble as well as admiration to his Majeſty. The iſſue of it was, that Peters very early the Tueſday morning was ſent unto me to know the reaſon of it. He had no ſooner delivered his meſſage, but aſtoniſhment ſeized on me; and the foreſight of thoſe ſad conſequences which I feared might be the fruits of this diſaſter, wrought in me ſuch diſquietment of mind, that (for the time) I think I ſcarcely ſuſtained the like upon any occaſion in all my life before; my confidence of his Majeſty's ſafe departure adding not a little to the weight of that load of ſorrow, which afterwards lay ſo heavy upon me. The cauſe I plainly told him I was wholly ignorant of (except this were it, that in regard it was Fair-day the Maſter might not be able effectually to command his mariners out of the alehouſes to their work), but

*A.D.* 1651. promiſed ſpeedily to ſearch into it; and upon after-enquiry, I found it to be what I have before related.

But here (becauſe I apprehended that delays might prove inauſpicious) I preſently diſmiſſed the meſſenger with this my humble advice to his Majeſty, that his longer ſtay in Charmouth might endanger his diſcovery; which had certainly proved the iſſue of it, had not God, the King of Kings, graciouſly and even miraculouſly prevented it. For the hoſteſs of the houſe, little thinking what manner of gueſts the chambers before ſpoken of had been ſecured for, had at that time admitted to be her oſtler, one of Captain Macy's ſoldiers, a notorious knave; who obſerving and taking notice that the Colonel and his man went out ſo late at night towards the ſea ſide, and that the reſt of the company, during their abſence, were more private than travellers are wont to be, and perhaps inſpired and prompted by the Devil, ſtrongly ſuſpected one of theſe gueſts to be the King, under the diſguiſe of a woman's habit, and ceaſed not once and again to diſcover his jealouſies unto his miſtreſs.

But ſhe (though from the fellow's words, and the conſideration of ſome circumſtances which that night and ſome days before had occurred, ſhe had ſome thoughts that it might be ſo, yet) deteſting as much to lodge treaſon in her heart, as ſhe would have been proud of entertaining the King in her houſe, very paſſionately rebuked the oſtler for theſe his inſolencies, hoping by that means to put a ſtop to his (as ſhe judged) treaſonable projects.

Yet this her honeſt deſign wrought not the intended effect upon the heart of this her treacherous ſervant; for the ſame morning, whilſt Peters was with me at Lyme, he went to ſpeak with the then parſon of Charmouth intending to communicate his ſuſpicions to him; but found no opportunity to ſpeak with him, he being at that time engaged in prayer with his family.

Another remarkable paſſage we muſt of neceſſity here inſert, which was this. My Lord Wilmot's horſe wanting a ſhoe, in Peters's abſence, the oſtler led him to one Hammet's a ſmith, then living in Charmouth; who, viewing the remaining ſhoes, ſaid, this horſe hath but three ſhoes on, and they were ſet in three ſeveral counties, and one of them in Worceſterſhire; which ſpeech of his fully confirmed the oſtler in his former opinion.

By this time Harry Peters being returned from Lyme, and my Lord Wilmot's horſe ſhod, upon the advertiſement that was ſent him, his Majeſty immediately departed towards Bridport, a town eaſtward of Charmouth, and about five miles diſtant from it.

The oſtler, now that the birds had taken their flight, began to ſpread his net. For going a ſecond time to the parſon, he fully diſcovered his thoughts to him, and withal told him what the ſmith had ſaid concerning my Lord Wilmot's horſe. The parſon hereupon haſtens to the inn, and ſalutes the hoſteſs in this manner. "Why, how now, Margaret! you are a "maid of honour now." "What mean you by that, Mr. Parſon?" quoth ſhe. Said he, "Why, Charles Stewart lay the laſt night at your houſe, and "kiſſed you at his departure; ſo that now you can't but be a maid of ho-"nour." The woman began then to be very angry, and told him he was a ſcurvy-conditioned man to go about to bring her and her houſe into trouble: "But," ſaid ſhe, "if I thought it was the King" (as you ſay it was) "I would think the better of my lips all [*the*] days of my life; and "ſo, Mr. Parſon, get you out of my houſe, or elſe I'll get thoſe ſhall kick

"you

"you out." I have preſented this diſcourſe in the interlocutors' own words, by this means to make it more pleaſant to your Lordſhip. A.D. 1651.

BUT, to return to the main intendment of this my narrative; I ſhall (before we come in our thoughts to attend his Majeſty in his journey eaſtwards) humbly beg of your Lordſhip this favour, that your Lordſhip would here be pleaſed ſeriouſly to admire with myſelf the goodneſs of Almighty God in infatuating this oſtler, and the reſt of his Majeſty's enemies in theſe parts.

FIRST of all, the parſon (being not a little nettled at the rude and ſharp language the hoſteſs gave him) taking Hammet the ſmith along with him, he ſpeedily applied himſelf to the next juſtice of the peace, to inform him of the forementioned jealouſies, together with the reaſons of them; and earneſtly preſſed him to raiſe the county by his warrants in order to his Majeſty's apprehenſion. But he (as God was pleaſed to order it) thinking it very unlikely that the King ſhould be in theſe parts, notwithſtanding all the parſon's bawling, and the ſtrong probabilities upon which their conjectures ſeemed to be grounded, utterly rejected his counſel, fearing leaſt he ſhould make himſelf ridiculous to all the country by ſuch an undertaking.

AS for the oſtler, his imprudent managing his miſchievous intention diſcovered itſelf two ways; firſt, in his having recourſe to the parſon; whereas, with greater likelihood of ſucceſs, he might have taken the advice and aſſiſtance of his fellow-ſoldiers, three whereof, being very deſperate enemies to his Majeſty, were at that time inhabitants of Charmouth, and his neareſt neighbours. In the next place, his egregious folly was further manifeſted in his delaying to acquaint his Captain at Lyme with his ſuſpicions abovenamed until twelve of the clock that day; for had it not been for this neglect of his, his Majeſty's eſcape would have been (in reaſon's eye) impoſſible; his Captain Macy having no ſooner received the report of theſe ſurmiſes, and information on what horſes and in what equipage, and which way the perſons ſuſpected made their departure from Charmouth, but, having (in all likelihood) the promiſed reward of ſuch miſchievous diligence in his eye, he inſtantly reſolves to leave no means unattempted, that with the leaſt ſhadow of probability might conduce to his Majeſty's attachment.

IN purſuance of which reſolves he preſently mounts, and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, in a full career he rides towards Bridport, where, at his arrival, after a little enquiry made, he was given to underſtand, that ſome perſons, with whom the deſcription he had received moſt exactly ſuited, had dined at the George that day, but not long before his coming were departed towards Dorcheſter. This therefore was the next place to which he poſted (the wings of covetouſneſs and ambition more nimbly tranſporting his mind than it was poſſible his horſe could convey his body); which he no ſooner entered, but (as if he [*had*] been to execute ſome warrant for the apprehending the moſt notorious [*Fel*]on in the Kingdom) with the utmoſt haſte and diligence imaginable, he ſea[*rche*]d all the inns and alehouſes in the town. But God (who had given him no commiſſion to violate Majeſty) was graciouſly pleaſed to make this furious hunter to overrun the game he hunted for; wherefore diſmiſſing him from creating any further trouble to your Lordſhip (whoſe principles, I doubt, rather led him to the height of diſcontent at his ſuppoſed loſs, than to a Chriſtian obſervance of that divine hand of providence which was ſo eminently ſeen in the preſervation

*A.D.*1651. of that royal perſonage which he intended to make a prey of), let us now again return to his Majeſty:

WHO, in his paſſage from Charmouth, meeting with no interruption in his journey, ſoon reached Bridport; and turning in at the George, he (to the aſtoniſhment doubtleſs both of himſelf and his attendants) found himſelf ſurrounded by his enemies; there being at that time in the ſaid town divers foot companies drawn together, who were deſigned for an expedition againſt Jerſey. But being as yet unſuſpected (leaſt he might too late bewail the ſad effects of delay) after a ſhort repaſt (too ſhort indeed at any time but this, for ſo great and heroical a Prince), his Majeſty left this town, going on the way that leads to Dorcheſter; in which he had not rode paſt half a mile ere, by the finger of divine providence he was directed into a narrow lane on the left hand of Dorcheſter road, by which means (though they knew not whither they went) they were that evening ſafely conducted to Broadwindſor, a country pariſh ſome ſix miles north of Bridport.

THEY very fortunately lighted upon an inn where both the innholder and his wife were well known to Colonel Wyndham, they having formerly been ſervants unto ſome of his allies. The Colonel being confident he had an intereſt in them, upon the account of his former knowledge of them, and the relation they ſometimes had to ſome of his kindred, perſons of no mean quality, requeſted that he and his company might that night be lodged in the moſt convenient rooms for privacy their houſe would afford; telling them, that himſelf and his Brother Colonel Bullen Reymes (meaning my Lord Wilmot, who very much reſembled him) had tranſgreſſed their limits, the Royaliſts at that time being confined [*within*] five miles diſtance from their homes. This they readily condeſcended to; and thereupon led them into the uppermoſt chambers in their houſe.

YET here the face of danger was again diſcovered to them; for they had not been houſed much above half an hour before a company of troopers (to the number of 40) came thither, with an intention to quarter in this and other houſes adjacent; which accident might in all likelihood have proved fatal to his Majeſty (the ſoldiers every where about that time being proudly inquiſitive into the names, qualities, affairs and buſineſſes of ſtrangers,) had not God in his infinite mercy incapacitated them for ſuch like actings here, by cutting out work of another nature for them. For having a woman in their company, who not long after their coming thither fell in travail, and was delivered of a child; the officers and other inhabitants of the ſaid pariſh (having notice thereof) conteſted ſo long with them about freeing their pariſh from the burthen of it's maintenance, 'till ſleep and drowſineſs had rendered their heads unfit for any thing but their pillows; upon which whilſt they ſecurely ſlept, his Majeſty, together with his attendants, ariſing ſome hours before day, and taking the opportunity of that time of ſilence, retired themſelves undiſcovered unto Trent.

WHERE after his Majeſty had concealed himſelf about a week, he departed thence to one Mrs. Hyde's near Salisbury. What afterwards paſſed, I muſt needs leave to others that had the honour to know it; being myſelf unable to ſpin the thread of this hiſtory any longer.

THUS have I (right honourable), without the leaſt violation of truth's chaſtity, ma[*de*] a brief collection of thoſe never to be forgotten mirac[*les*] of providence, wrought by the hand of omnipotency for [*the*] conſervation of his moſt ſerene Majeſty in the midſt of the *many*] perils he was expoſed

to

to in the weſt of Dorſet, which [*ca*]me within my cognizance; which I humbly lay (ſuch as it is) at your Lordſhip's feet, being hereunto prompted upon the following conſiderations: Firſt, that I might preſent your honour with ſome new matter for your meditations; having frequently obſerved your Lordſhip to be much delighted both in moving, and alſo in hearing, diſcourſes upon this ſubject: Secondly, that your Lordſhip by recounting in the hearing of others, theſe *Dei Magnalia*, may quicken and excite them to a ſerious minding and due improvement of the infinite wiſdom, power, and goodneſs of the moſt high God (the great preſerver even of Kings) manifeſted in what hath been the ſubject matter of the precedent narrative: Laſtly, that I might leave in your Honour's hands ſome monument of my real gratitude for the many favours your Lordſhip hath been pleaſed to confer on me. But it is time for me to remember what the Poet ſaid to his Auguſtus; *A.D.* 1651.

——— *In publica commoda peccem*
*Si longo ſermone morer tua tempora.* ———

Leaſt therefore I ſhould offend through my unſeaſonable prolixity, having firſt, with all ſubmiſſion, craved your Lordſhip's pardon for this my great preſumption in tendering to your Lordſhip, whom the world juſtly eſteems ſo abſolute a Maſter of ſpeech, ſuch a rude and unpoliſhed ſtory, I ſhall only beg the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhips*

*moſt humbly devoted Servant,*

WILLIAM ELLESDON.

*An Original, endorſed thus by Lord Clarendon;*
"Mr. Elleſdon's relation of the King's eſcape
"from Lyme."

## *Sir* EDWARD HYDE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

MY heart was too full of ſadneſs and apprehenſion of the unſpeakable dangers your Majeſty was encompaſſed with, not to be fuller of joy upon the bleſſed news of your preſent ſecurity; and I ſhould have made haſte (through what difficulties ſoever) to have manifeſted that joy by caſting myſelf at your feet, if I could know it to be agreeable to your Majeſty's good pleaſure, or to your preſent ſervice. I preſume Sir H. De Vic hath informed your Majeſty of a particular which may concern your Majeſty in theſe parts, of which I uſed all poſſible diligence to give your Majeſty information ſooner, by my ſervant; who, by your Majeſty's march into England, was after a long voyage forced to return without doing his buſineſs. I ſuppoſe your Majeſty will ſpeedily deſpatch Sir H. De Vic hither with all powers neceſſary, and then my attendance here will be no longer of moment than your Majeſty enjoins it. God Almighty, who hath hitherto preſerved you, and, even miraculouſly, ſnatched your Majeſty from ſuch unuſual dangers as Kings have very rarely been involved in; and by ſubjecting you to thoſe hath inſtructed you in much convenient knowledge, which could

A.D. 1651. not have been purchaſed but at that price, will, I make no queſtion, conduct your Majeſty through all the other ſtreights you are to paſs, and infuſe thoſe princely and magnanimous thoughts and reſolutions into your royal heart, as are neceſſary for your great work; ſince your Majeſty's own fate and that of your three Kingdoms depends now purely upon your own virtue. I ſhall, with all humility and entire ſubmiſſion to your pleaſure, wait your Majeſty's commands; which ſhall be always moſt punctually and moſt chearfully obeyed by

*Your Majeſty's*

*Antwerp, 10th of Nov. St. nov.*

*moſt obedient and moſt obliged Servant.*

*A Copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorſed thus by himſelf*; "Mine to the King 10th Nov. "to welcome his Majeſty into ſafety; in-"cloſed to the Lord Gerard."

## APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## R. H. *to Sir* WALTER RALEIGH.

*Sir,*

YOUR Parliament at home being ended, I think you are now at more leiſure to hear what paſſes abroad in theſe parts. *A. D.* 1586.

IT is certain, and it may be you know that already, that the Queen Mother, and the King of Navarre have ſpoken together at Cogniac, within a dozen leagues of Rochelle. She told him, that he ſhould have any thing he would deſire, ſaving the free exerciſe of the Religion, which the King of France, her Son, would in no wiſe yield unto; whereupon for all that ſhe could do to retain him, he departed in a great choler, after that he had ſignified unto her, that as long as he and his friends lived, they would never remit any jot of their former liberty which they had before the revocation thereof by the laſt Edict. The wiſer ſort think there will be no peace until the Germans come into France; which in my judgment will not be until July or Auguſt.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I hear nothing from you, of the acceptation of my Dedication of that noble Hiſtory of the eight Decads of Peter Martyr, which will coſt me forty French Crowns, and five months travail, with that which is to come, before it be finiſhed; which will be about the beginning of March.

IF her Majeſty have of late advanced you, I would be glad to be acquainted with your Titles; and if there be any thing elſe that you would have mentioned in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, you ſhall do well to let me underſtand of it betimes.

YOUR Map anſwerable unto the Spaniſh Voyage of Antonio de Eſpeio, upon occaſion of buſineſs unlooked for, hath been hitherto deferred by Andrew Home, the Portugal, the prince of the Coſmographers of this age. But within this month you ſhall not fail of it, God willing, and that in better ſort for the longer ſtaying for it.

IF you proceed, which I long much to know, in your enterprize of Virginia, your beſt planting will be about the Bay of the Theſtepians, to which latitude Peter Martyr and Franciſcus Lopez de Gomara, the Spaniard, confeſs that one Gabot and the Engliſh did firſt diſcover; which the Spaniards hereafter cannot deny us, whenſoever we ſhall be at peace with them. And your voyage of Antonio de Eſpeio bringeth you to rich ſilver mines up in the Country, in the Latitude of 37½.

CHARLES Cheſter, which in all places ſpeaketh all the good he can deviſe of you, ſaith he is undone unleſs you help him in his deed of Gift for which he hath been ſo long a ſuitor.

YOU ſhall do very well, in my judgment, to ſend for Mr. Charles Thynne now out of hand; who having already ſpent two years here, hath gotten two languages, to wit, the French and the Italian, and very proper knowledge of Arithmetic, Geometry and Fortification; to which ſtudies I was the man that earneſtly perſuaded him in the beginning of his coming hither; as one that ſaw the excellency of his wit, and the great ſervice he might do his Country, being therewithal furniſhed, either in the enterprize of your Indies, or in any other place of warlike ſervice. But

*A.D.* 1586. if you will have him home, you muſt ſend him that twenty pound you promiſed for the young Gentleman is in ſome little debt. Thus, with deſiring pardon for my boldneſs, with my humble duty to yourſelf and good Mr. Stanhope, I take my leave.

R. H.

*Paris*, the 30th of *December*, 1586.

*An Original.*

## *The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES. †

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

IN the receipt of your letter, I have a double yet infinite joy, the firſt and chiefeſt, to find your opinion of the diſeaſe and diſtempers (that here we fear to be great) to be ſo paſſed over, as we may expect a comfortable concluſion of our Parliament: And this, Sir, from you, that can better than any man judge of their pulſe and diſpoſition, is an infinite ſatisfaction to your humble ſervant. The other is, to ſee myſelf ſo conſiderable with your Highneſs, as that you will uſe, to your trouble, that Royal and noble hand; the which I can never ſee but I muſt rejoice. Yet I confeſs when I ſhall again, and upon thoſe conditions you are pleaſed to promiſe it, I ſhall have the fulleſt contentment that ever my life hath given me. For then you will be delivered from thoſe ſnares that would bind your generous heart from thoſe performances that become you in your honour, wiſdom and ſafety. Sir, this bearer hath that to ſay unto you, that will confirm what I have ſo often repeated, of the affection this King and State hath not only to ally with you, but likewiſe to run a courſe and league, even to defend and offend, as we ſhall deſire. I leave the particulars to his relation. There hath been, through the art of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, ſuch reports here of the breaking of the Parliament, as Madame hath been touched with it, and hath with paſſion expreſſed it unto a Lady of truſt about her. I pray God, ſend your affairs ſo happy a reſolution, as this ſweet Princeſs may have ſome more certainty in her hopes, that I dare aſſure your Highneſs are not indifferent but paſſionate in this expectation; and it is not ſtrange; for ſo glorious doth your reputation daily grow, as no man can but as a wonder ſpeak of your Highneſs. I truſt that as our good God hath made the bloſſom of your days ſo fairly and eaſily to ſpring, [*he*] will ſend you a ſeaſon ſafely to ſet; I mean, all your affairs in ſo happy a condition, as nothing can or ſhall hinder the proſpering and ripening of this ſummer's action, which is that fruit we all expect, and pray for; but moſt eſpecially,

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble dutiful,*

*This 23d of March*, 162½, *our Style.*

*and ever devoted Servant and Slave,*

*An Original, indorſed by the Prince.* KENSINGTON.

## *The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

MYSELF not being in a very perfect condition of health, I ſent this bearer unto the Court to give a full and particular account unto Monſieur de la Vieuville of his employment into England. He hath alleged new reaſons for his return even in that buſineſs; and with ſo much haſte and paſſion deſires it, as I cannot but ſatisfy him; and likewiſe wiſh (if it may be found fit) they here may receive ſome

† *All the Letters which follow, with a few others of leſs conſequence, relative to the Negotiation of the French match, are paſted together in a book with this title prefixed to them, in the hand of King* Charles *the Firſt*; "Heere beginnes "the diſpaches concerning the Frenche mariage."

ſatiſ-

ſatisfaction in this point; eſpecially ſince they appear (and he, I am ſure, is) real to A. D. 1623.
ſerve the King and your Highneſs in all your ends.

SIR, your lines had the fortune you wiſhed them, to ſurprize me with that happy news they contained; my eyes never covered words that did rejoice my heart equal to thoſe ſweet expreſſions made by you; and I dare ſwear never was news ſo welcome as that of your liberty to Madame, whoſe bluſhing modeſt ſweet joy diſcovered her infinite contentment at that report. Sir, ſhe is as you can wiſh her, both in perſon and diſpoſition; the which is ſo paſſionately inclined to value you, as it joys (more than all earthly things) my life to ſee her ſo, hoping you ſhall receive the comfort of it. This bearer will inform your Highneſs of many particularities concerning her, more fit for diſcourſe than a letter; and my arm, by reaſon of my being let blood this morning, will not give me leave to ſay more unto your Highneſs than only this; that when I have in my veins a drop of blood that I would not bleed for your ſervice, I wiſh it may poiſon the whole frame it abides in; but, Sir, I threaten myſelf without danger, ſince nothing is ſo unpoſſible as my leaſt omiſſions to expreſs myſelf

*Your Highneſs's moſt dutiful*

*6th of April*, 1624. *and moſt obedient humble Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

THE truſt you have given to my relations is infinitely to my honour; and for that particular you do it, it will prove (I am more than confident) as much to your joy and happineſs; for both my eyes and judgment never conſidered a perſon of that wonderful lovelineſs that is the ſweet Lady your Miſtreſs; for I muſt now call her ſo; and it is a title ſhe is not a little proud of. I have of late made viſits unto her; the which for a long time I did forbear, until I ſaw your clear and thorough diſengagement, and likewiſe the reſolution your Highneſs hath now fixed upon. Every viſit makes me find her more worthy of you; her humour and wit being in all things ‡ (if I may be ſo ſaucy to have leave to ſay I underſtand your's) as I already ſee your ſatisfaction in her, and in that the greateſt bleſſing I can wiſh in this world unto myſelf. The Count de Soiſſons, ſeeing of late his own neglect, and the declared reſpect that Madame expreſſes in all circumſtances to your Highneſs, he is in much paſſion and deſpair, and witneſſes it by his negligent ſalutations unto me, the which were ſo cold, as Gramont and Monſieur de la Valette obſerved it; the latter telling him of it, with reproaches of much indiſcretion to uſe that faſhion to a perſon, that he could not but perceive ſcorned it. He anſwered him, it was for no diſlike unto my perſon, but when he conſidered my employment he could not, as all others did, embrace me; and were I ſent from any Prince of Savoy, Lorrain, or Germany, nay, were I any of them that in their own perſon ſhould pretend to Madame, he could not, he believed, govern himſelf ſo carefully, as not to venture his fortune and deſtruction upon this occaſion; but he confeſſes the Prince of England hath a greatneſs and reputation that he muſt fear and give way unto. Sir, this is moſt true, ſuch hath your Highneſs's carriage been in all your actions, as eſtimation and affection ſtrive which ſhall have the higheſt place in men's minds. By the next meſſenger, which ſhall be Henry Jermyn, you ſhall receive the lively picture and only originals that were ever made for this young Princeſs, both in little and great. In conſidering of them you will find the judgment of my eyes to have no error in my cenſure of that beauty. I am ſure my heart hath none in my diſpoſition to

‡ *MS.*

 ſerve

*A.D.*1624. ſerve your Highneſs faithfully; and if I have judgment there ſufficient to cenſure her noble heart, more wit, good-nature, honour and diſcretion were never ſeen, than is daily found in all her actions. When therefore your fortunes, (which I cannot doubt) ſhall bring your precious perſons, and unequalled perfections to meet, what miracles of honour and bravery muſt we expect from you. How my heart will be raviſhed to ſee that is unexpreſſible, being ſo devotedly

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

21 *May*, 1624. *and moſt obedient Servant and Creature,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I HAVE by this honeſt and diſcreet Gentleman ſent you two pictures of Madame; and this very morning Madame de Saint George, Gouvernante to the young Lady, told me I muſt needs lend her your's, for Madame deſired infinitely again to ſee it. If you conſider her's with as much liking and value as ſhe hath done your Highneſs's, there cannot be two diſpoſitions of a more happy agreement. Sir, ſhe is ſo deſirous of the proſperity and proceeding of this treaty, to be your's, as the leaſt hope or alteration puts her into ſadneſs and fears; the which at this time ſhe is full of. For by reaſon of my Lord of Carliſle's ſtay, and the reports that fly abroad here of alterations, by the credit of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors and their diſcourſes, and likewiſe the return of my Lord of Briſtol, who, they ſay, hath again turned all things the other way, ſhe hath much amazement. And, Sir, I blame her not, nor this State, to conceive it thus; ſince the Secretary that treats and manages the Engliſh affairs, no longer than yeſternight hath publiſhed this news to be true; and that he had that ſame day intelligence out of England to that purpoſe; and that the whole kingdom is in combuſtion. Sir, I well know the impoſſibility of this, and wonder much from whoſe hands he hath received this falſe advertiſement. I hope their Ambaſſador gives them no ſuch information; but moſt ſure I am, that Viloclers publiſhes this to be moſt true; and this report finding them in great doubts and jealouſies before, upon my Lord of Carliſle's ſtay, I will aſſure you, Sir, it is received for a truth; though I aſſure them the contrary. And in this time of diſtraction, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador hath made freſh and new overtures of a marriage between the Infant Don Carlos and Madame; aſſuring them here that they will be deceived, if they build upon our alliance, for that is by the King reſolved to be with Spain; and hath promiſed from the King his Maſter to put him into the preſent eſtate and poſſeſſion of Flanders. This was told me yeſternight by a ſervant of Madame's; whom ſhe knowing to be affectionate to the ſervice of your Highneſs, he having been in England, and making a fair report of you and that Country, ſhe eſteems and truſts him for that; and told him to the purpoſe that I ſhould know of it, that ſhe was much afflicted to hear of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's buſineſs and propoſitions, deſpiſing him and all his offers, and often ſays, "Mon Dieu, pour quoi n'y a-t il pas de "nouvelles d'Angleterre!" I have my part in wondering likewiſe at that; for it is a month ſince I heard any thing from thence; and, Sir, to promiſe from day to day the arrival of my lord of Carliſle, and they hearing nothing of him, may juſtly make them doubt me, and that we all abuſe them. Sir, I am ſorry that through our delays and the infinite art of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, there is not a man in France (myſelf excepted) that doth not believe but that his Majeſty's intentions are changed. And I do as much perceive the affection of this State to our Alliance, by their trouble and grief at this time, as by their joy when they firſt aſſured themſelves it would be. Sir, the haſte of my Lord of Carliſle may deliver them out of this deſpair; for in that condition they are now; and if they reſt any time in it, no man knows what things may fall out of inconvenience and change here; for the

ſtorms

ſtorms that they conceive are in England, will change likewiſe the air here, that hath hitherto been gentle and ſweet to all your deſires and deſigns. I moſt humbly beſeech you, Sir, to let me hear ſpeedily from you, that I may know what to anſwer or promiſe for your ſervice; which is all the ends and ambition I have in this world, to expreſs myſelf A.D. 1624.

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble and dutiful*

*Compeigne, this Whitſunday, at eight o'clock at night.* *Creature and Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

THE arrival of my Lord of Carliſle hath cleared all the doubts and fears that the delay of his coming gave them. A more affectionate and joyful reception he never found than hath been now expreſſed, from the King to the loweſt of his ſervants. At my firſt encountring of him, which was at Amiens, he reproached me that I had exceeded in my value and commendations of Madame. I told him, what I had ſaid, my belief and my conſcience warranted. He wiſhed he might find her anſwerable to what I expreſſed; ſomewhat reproaching me, with his doubts that he feared it. He hath ſince ſeen her, and both of us in ſuch a poſture of our duties, as becomes us to a Lady that may be your's, and ſo our Miſtreſs. I believe that viſit hath ſo converted him in his opinion and doubts of that ſweet Lady, as his expreſſions of her will far exceed mine; and yet doth ſhe deſerve all he can ſay, and, for the greateſt honour I can poſſibly do her, your Highneſs's beſt affections; and this is the ſuperlative praiſe and value that any Lady under heaven can receive, nothing being worthy of you but the worthieſt. Sir, the employment that hitherto you have given me hath been of great honour and truſt; there is now ſafety joined unto it by the commiſſions and inſtructions of our gracious Maſter, and likewiſe by the experience and wiſdom of my Colleague, whoſe judgment will carry all things to your honour and advantage. That I am an inſtrument in this great and noble Treaty proceeds from your Highneſs's ſuperabundant favour and goodneſs towards me; not that I deſerve it in any kind; unleſs in this, that I will not with more readineſs give a word for your ſervice, than the life of

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*Compiegne, May 28, 1624.*
*St. Angliæ.* *and moſt obedient Servant and Creature,*
*An Original.*

KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

HIS Majeſty will by this bearer receive the Articles that they here ſeem to ſtand upon. They have propounded others more ſtrict, and were willing to diſpute them, not with any hope to obtain them (by their own confeſſions), but for to make them the leſs blameable at Rome, where otherwiſe they would be accuſed to have done little for the Catholick cauſe; ſince they did not ſo much as demand privilege for the Catholicks. But we know it is in our King's power both to take away, and likewiſe to moderate, many of theſe Articles, as that of the Church in London; the which they demand, that it may be denied; and that of the bringing up of your children near Madame is but, as they ſay, for decency, not with any belief they ſhall have any other education than as you ſhall pleaſe; for they expreſs nothing in

 that

A.D. 1624. that article concerning their religion. The thing they ſtand moſt upon is this; the which they proteſt upon their ſalvations hath no other end than to haſten and facilitate the procuration of the diſpenſation, the which they have taken upon them to procure within the limited time. Your Highneſs will find it in the articles; but they hope within the half of that time to have it, if his Majeſty will underhand write unto this King, they call it *Article*, that for the ſake and conſideration of Madame, the Catholicks in England, living within the bounds and limits of their obedience and duties ſhall receive no perſecutions; by which means the Pope may be ſatisfied, and the letter returned again into the hands of his Majeſty. If this may be done, it will be an infinite contentment unto them here; for the King thinks he is in honour ſtrictly tied to this. Sir, I will not preſume to uſe any perſuaſions in a buſineſs of this conſequence. Your wiſdom and your honour can beſt reſolve you what you are to do in this caſe; only this give me leave to tell you, ſo much doth this Lady deſerve of you, as you have reaſon to overcome ſome difficulties for her ſake; yet, Sir, where your reputation may in the leaſt ſort be touched, all conſiderations muſt be neglected, and this Princeſs likewiſe (who is the moſt admirable ſweet creature in this world). This I ſay to ſhew you that nothing ſhould precede, or have equal value with, that which concerns your honour, more precious to us than all other conſiderations whatſoever. I muſt needs tell you an anſwer of this your ſweet Miſtreſs to us. We ſent unto her a day or two ſince, to let her know, that if we attended her no oftener, it was an act of our diſcretion, not our diſpoſitions. She inſtantly anſwered (as I believe my Lord of Carliſle will tell you), " Je ſerois bien aiſée qu'ils ſe com-" portent tous jours de la façon, en s'eloignant de ma perſonne, pour approcher de " mon ſervice."

YOUR Highneſs may ſee by this her care and affection to the proſperity and good ſucceſs of this treaty. And truly, Sir, when there is the leaſt diſtemper, my intelligence deceives me not, that tells me, ſhe wants ſleep. The paſſionate deſire of the King to ſee your Highneſs here, made them commit an error that we were diſpleaſed with, and they quickly aſhamed of; to have articled your coming hither; the which would have taken away the grace and favour of your journey into this kingdom, if it be your pleaſure to make it; but this was upon the firſt exception recalled. The Queen-mother hath an infinite deſire to ſee a happy concluſion of our affairs, expreſſing a moſt particular affection and admiration of your reputation; and ſo likewiſe doth the whole world and nobility here. I have ſaid too much, conſidering this bearer can inform you ſo largely of all things; yet, Sir, I muſt, before I conclude, expreſs my infinite joy and ſenſe of your favour, that howſoever things go, you tell me I have made good my diſpatches. Sir, your care of me, in that word, can never be forgotten by me; it ſhall ever be a true repreſentation of your vrituous noble juſt heart. Sir, my gravity hath not yet been ſo great as to perſuade my affections to eſteem autumnal beauties; but I muſt confeſs my fortune hath thrown me into a more inward converſation with ſome ſuch declining creature, than I thought ſhould have done. My deſign was to ſerve and ripen the ſweet and ſpringing affections that are between your Highneſs and your excellent Miſtreſs; all the particulars you ſhall one day know, and me eternally for

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*devoted and dutiful Servant,*

KENSINGTON.

*Compeigne, this 14th day of June 1624. St. Aug.*

*An Original.*

## *The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

THIS bearer, my Secretary, for whoſe fidelity, honeſty and ſecrecy I dare anſwer as for my own, having been a witneſs of all our proceedings and preſent at the ſeveral conferences which we have had with this King's Commiſſioners; We have thought

thought fit to ſend him into England, to give his Majeſty an account of the ſtate of his ſervice here; and I have commanded him to addreſs himſelf firſt unto your Highneſs, that you knowing how the wheels of his Majeſty's heart do go, may direct him in what faſhion he ſhall govern himſelf. I will not kindle too great a flame in your Highneſs's breaſt, by magnifying the praiſes and perfections of this incomparable Princeſs; but when the differences in queſtion ſhall be brought to an accommodation, I will then preſume to preſent unto your Highneſs's view the true image of the ſweeteſt, wittieſt and beſt natured Lady of the world. *A. D.* 1624.

I HAVE delivered unto this King, in acknowledgment of his reſpective letter unto your Highneſs, a compliment in the beſt ſhape that I could faſhion it, and for concluſion I uſed theſe words; "Ne laiſſez pas fleſtrir l'amitié qui eſt entre voſtre Ma-"jeſté, Sire, & ceſt incomparable Prince; elle n'apportera nul prejudice ni a voſtre "honneur, ni á bien de vos affaires:" whereunto he anſwered; "Dites a Monſieur "le Prince de Galles de ma part, que j'honore ſa perſonne, & cherirai tousjour ſon "amitié comme elle merite."

I AM obliged alſo to give your Highneſs an account, that this young Queen hath in ſeveral occaſions expreſſed unto me a ſingular eſteem of your Highneſs's perſon and virtues, and of her particular affection to advance your Highneſs's ſervice here; and thereof ſhe hath commandeth me to give your Highneſs aſſurance from her.

I MUST alſo give this teſtimony of your old ſervant Monſieur de St. Anthoine, to the end your Higneſs may take particular notice thereof, that in all occaſions he is ready to contribute his beſt aſſiſtances for the advancement of your Highneſs's ſervice. And when the other day an overture was made unto him by ſome of the Princes here, that he would pretend for the charge of being Monſieur's Governor, and that he ſhould be therein aſſiſted by them, he made them this anſwer, that by your Highneſs's ſpecial grace and favour he had an honourable condition in England; and though he had nothing to live on but bread and water, he had rather ſerve your Highneſs than any Prince in Europe.

I BESEECH your Highneſs, as you tender your own ſervice, and the joy of your humbleſt ſervant's heart, that this great buſineſs may be maturely adviſed on; and that by this bearer a ſolid and certain anſwer may be returned, that we may loſe no time.

I PRAY God bleſs your Highneſs, and give you the happineſs you moſt deſire, and make me happy in being eſteemed

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*From Compeigne, this $\frac{14}{24}$th of June, 1624.*

*and moſt obedient Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLISLE.

## *The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I HAVE, according unto your commandment, drawn you theſe letters; but Sir, I fear, when you have peruſed them, you will believe your truſt of me was too great, when you ſhall ſee it ſo weakly diſcharged. I have in them, as near as my judgment and obſervation can carry me, ſuited your freedom and language to their natures. I confeſs they expreſs you *en Cavalier*, more than *en Prince*; the which is a gallantry and a reputation you are there more honoured and eſteemed for, than for the poſſibility of your great crowns. I have not thought it unfit in your letter unto the Queen-mother, to make a compliment unto Madame, the which I know will be of infinite contentment and ſatisfaction unto them. Sir, the ſooner you will be pleaſed to ſend them back (written with your own hand), the ſooner ſhall I depart for your ſervice; for to arrive there without them would not be fit, ſince I ought not to preſent myſelf with empty hands coming from your Highneſs. Sir, I have preſumed in



Monſieur

*A.D.* 1624. Monſieur de la Vieuville's letter, to expreſs myſelf to be a perſon truſted by you; I confeſs it is a boldneſs too great, ſince I am unworthy of that ſingular honour; but ſince it may give me more credit to do you ſervice in your affairs, I truſt you will be pleaſed to allow of my boldneſs, that hath no vanity nor end but that conſideration. For the length of theſe letters, if you find fault with that, I durſt not make them too ſhort, ſince that expreſſes not ſo much reſpect, and favour. For the length of this it becomes me to beg your Highneſs's pardon, although the occaſion ſomewhat requires it to be ſo; and when you find a neceſſary trouble, your wiſdom and goodneſs will pardon me that am

*Your Highneſs's moſt dutiful*

*This 21ſt of July*, 1624.

*and obedient humble Servant and Creature,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

MY indiſpoſition of health hath made me for theſe eight or ten days a priſoner unto my chamber; yet I yeſterday ventured upon a journey to Ruelle to kiſs the Queen mother's hand; but principally to wait upon Madame, who, I underſtood, wondered much that I did not ſee her to deliver her more particularly the remembrances of your affection. Being with the Queen, not *en Ambaſſadeur*, but *en particulier*, ſhe was extreme free and pleaſant, aſking me many queſtions of your Spaniſh journey, telling me that ſhe had at that time letters out of Italy that ſaid, the King of England had not done very well to let you go into Spain, but the King of Spain had done much worſe, to let you return; and ſhe ſaid, that uſing of you ill, it was to be feared they would have ſtayed you there. I told her, you were in nothing ill uſed, but in the rudeneſs of their articles and their negotiation; for in all ceremonies of reſpect and courteſy, you were not unſatisfied: and in that, we, that are your humble and faithful inſtruments, to ſerve you in this treaty, find you as ill uſed here, as we ſaw you there; for they imitate here the demands and conditions of Spain; and yet with much leſs reaſon, ſince they had your perſon in their poſſeſſion, and a ſucceſſion of many Crowns in the Infanta's, and a Palatinate to reſtore a penſion likewiſe double that which is here offered; but ſhe ſaid, they meant nothing really. I told her, their injuſtice is here the more great that preſs ſuch articles to make a marriage, that they moved with deſign to break it, knowing the impoſſibility that thoſe conditions could be conſented unto. Sir, I ſaid many things unto her to this purpoſe, the which I have more fully expreſſed unto my Lord Duke; not daring to be ſo tedious with your Highneſs. But amongſt the reſt, this I told her, that I found you now in this extremity, that you muſt ſuffer either in loſing a Miſtreſs you infinitely eſteemed and valued, or elſe your honour muſt receive a wound or taint. For the firſt, I aſſured her it would prove a great affliction unto you; but for the latter, your heart was ſo generous, as you would rather ſuffer death than have a ſtain in that fair and ſpotleſs way of honour your noble and virtuous diſpoſition had ever guided you in. She ſaid then, "Que tout ira bien, elle eſperoit." I told her, that all was in her power; and I hoped her will was as large likewiſe to effect and conclude this negotiation to that happy iſſue that we endeavoured to preſs it unto. She ſaid, nothing in this world could more trouble her, than to ſee a hindrance or breach of this ſo important an alliance. I told her, the affection and care ſhe expreſſed of it, made me confident ſhe would take away all thoſe lets that your honour could make no worthy way through. When I was ready to take my leave of her, I told her I was going to attend Madame, and withal gave her humble thanks in your Higneſs's name, that ſhe was pleaſed to allow me not only free acceſs to wait upon her; but likewiſe to ſpeak as freely your affection and paſſion unto her; for ſo ſome days before ſhe ſent me word

word I ſhould have leave to do. She merrily aſked me, what I would ſay unto her? *A. D. 1624.*
I told her in the ſame faſhion, that I ſaw in all things they would imitate the proceedings of Spain; for they preſſed your Highneſs to acquaint them what you would ſay unto the Infanta, when you went to viſit her. She ſaid, if you were here, you ſhould have all liberty. I told her, that though I was far unworthy of the honour; yet I repreſented your perſon when I ſpake from you; and that ſhe might be aſſured I would ſay nothing unfit to be delivered to ſo excellent and virtuous a perſon. "Mais, en liberte, dites moi ce que vous la voulez dire." I then told her, I would let her know I ſpoke by the allowance of the Queen her mother, who gave me leave not only to preſent the affectionate but paſſionate ſervice of the Prince her ſervant unto her; letting her know, that as well the beauties of her mind as her perſon, had ſo truly engaged him to honour and ſerve her, as he would contribute all his endeavours and induſtry to procure him ſo ſingular a bleſſing as her virtue promiſed. She ſaid, "Voila que eſt bien! Je vous ſie; dites vous tout ce que vous voulez." I then told her, I would not abuſe her liberty, though I thought this diſcourſe not paſſionate enough from a heart ſo affectionate as the Prince's to Madame. Here we ended; and it is fit I ſhould likewiſe end here from troubling your Highneſs any further; but I dare a little preſume of your patience, ſince I have nothing to ſay but what concerns Madame; to whom I immediately went, and found her in beauty, dreſſing, and greatneſs of attendance, fit to be a Miſtreſs to ſo great and glorious a Prince as your incomparable ſelf (whom God ever preſerve!) She received with all the joy that can be both by countenance and language expreſſed, thoſe profeſſions I delivered her from your Highneſs; the which were ſomewhat to that purpoſe that I expreſſed to the Queen-mother, a little more enlarged towards the language of a lover. Her anſwer was, that you had by theſe expreſſions of your favour ſo obliged her, as ſhe ſhould never believe herſelf to be happy, if ſhe might not by ſome ſervice done to you, deſerve this honour from you. And I proteſt to God, when ſhe names you, ſhe has a joy and a trembling that ſhews her affection beyond the expreſſions of the moſt full and eloquent language that can be uſed. Juſt at this inſtant I received your Highneſs's noble and ſenſible letter of the changes and uncertainty of our Monſieurs. Sir, they are devils, if you receive not all poſſible ſatisfaction. For juſt at this minute, the which makes me enlarge my letter, the Cardinal and Monſieur de Schomberg ſend me word that we ſhall agree (they are confident) in thoſe differences that are between us; and the King commanded them to yield to more ſince my particular was engaged, the which he upon no conditions would have to ſuffer ſo much as in a misfortune. I will not ſend you word of the particulars until all be aſſured; the which I dare promiſe will very ſhortly be to your Highneſs's full ſatisfaction. I pray God this letter be not too full to give you ſatisfaction, ſince I fear the tediouſneſs of it may diſpleaſe you; but theſe accidents falling out, and meeting juſt in the writing of it, have cauſed the enlargement of it; the which I beſeech you to pardon, ſince all in it is for your ſervice, and he that ſends it ſo much, as the leaſt of your commands ſhall give you not only the hazard but the life of

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*Paris, Aug.* 31, 1624.
*Stilo Novo.* *and moſt devoted Creature and Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

KENSINGTON.

*The Prince of* WALES *to the Earl of* CARLISLE.

*Carliſle,*

THE changes which you (prophetically) foretold of the Court of France have much aſtoniſhed us here, but moſt of all the French King's diſavowing of his Miniſters; which for mine own part has made me a St. Thomas for believing of any good iſſue of your negotiation. If you perceive, they perſiſt in this new way

*A.D.* 1624. that they have begun, in making an article for our Roman Catholic ſubjects, dally no more with them; but break off the Treaty of Marriage, keeping the friendſhip in as fair terms as you can. And believe it, ye ſhall have as great honour with breaking upon theſe terms, with this fickle nation, as with making the alliance. Yet uſe what induſtry you can to reduce them to reaſon; for I reſpect the perſon of the Lady as being a worthy creature, fit to be my wife; but as you love me, put it to a quick iſſue one way or other; and what event ſoever the buſineſs ſhall have, I ſhall ever remain

*Rufford, the 13th of Aug.* 1624. *Your conſtant loving Friend.*
*A Copy, endorſed thus by himſelf;*
"Copie to Carlile 13 Aug. 1624."

*The Prince of* WALES *to the Lord* KENSINGTON.

*Captain Coxcomb,*

THE Monſieurs have played you ſo ſcurvy a trick, that if it were not for the reſpect I have for the perſon of Madame, I would not care a fart for their friendſhip. I miſtruſt them wholly; and if they inſiſt upon theſe new grounds, let them go hang themſelves, rather than treat with them any more; if they repent them of their folly, it's well; and they will find it ſo.

I refer you for particulars to Secretary Conway; and whether they turn wiſe, or ſtill continue fools, I ſhall ſtill remain

*Rufford, the 13th of Auguſt,* 1624. *Your loving conſtant Friend.*
*A Copy, endorſed thus by himſelf;*
"Copie to Kenſington, 13 Aug. 1624."

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I HAVE preſently received your Highneſs's generous reſolutions; and ſhall without loſs of time, with that care, faith and diligence put them in execution, ſo as your Highneſs ſhall ſhortly receive contentment. I humbly intreat your Highneſs to be careful and ſecret in Mansfeldt's buſineſs, and in your Highneſs's gracious favour continue me as

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble moſt faithful*
*From Paris this 23d of Auguſt* 1624. *and moſt obedient Servant,*
*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* CARLILE.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

WE have by this noble bearer ſent you ſuch a change of the laſt and moſt material article, as we are confident this great buſineſs hath an end ſuitable unto your honour and deſires. It reſts but in the King your father, and yourſelf, to conſent unto it, they of this ſide being engaged, but with infinite proteſtations of allowing of no change or alteration of any thing within the other articles; aſſuring us, they know they will find no difficulty in England. And truly, Sir, I wiſh they may not, ſince all the reſt is not greatly material; for no trouble concerning the State can enſue, by any thing there, now the article they ſo peremptorily ſtood upon is changed unto a writing ſigned by the King your father and yourſelf, and the Secretary; and likewiſe the other taken away, and, *exerciſe*, the which did too nearly expreſs

preſs a *toleration*. They know they have left you at great liberty, if you would uſe it, in that condition of "plus de liberté qu'eût été accordée par les plus eſtroits ar- "ticles d'Eſpagne;" the which is underſtood to have been granted there, with a knowledge and a reſolution never to be put to the execution and performance of them. And for the oath of the Catholicks, that they ſhall receive none contrary to their religion, they underſtand, and we have expreſſed it unto them, that the oath of allegiancy is not contrary to their religion; ſince the wiſeſt and moſt learned Catholicks of England will not refuſe to take it. They ſtood upon a private promiſe from the King not to conſtrain thoſe that were ſcrupulous, to take it; but we brought them from that. As ſoon as they had made this agreement, and we, conditionally, if the King and your Highneſs allowed of it, the Commiſſioners went ſtraight into the Queen's where Madame was (the King being a hunting). They, it ſeems, told them the marriage was made. The Queen-mother ſhewed the moſt exceſſive joy that ever was ſeen, from her temperate and calm nature. The young Queen, in the preſence of all that company, ſaid, "Je proteſte devant Dieu, ſi on m'eût donné une royaume, "je ne rejouirois pas tant que d'ouir ces nouvelles." All their eyes were upon Madame, to ſee how ſhe would carry her joy, the which ſhe had ſo full in her, as her looks, and ſmiles expreſſed it, though ſhe would fain have kept her gravity. She ſtraight went unto her lodging, being unwilling to continue in that conſtraint and pain ſhe found herſelf in all that company; for ſhe had a deſire to enjoy her joy by her liberty and mirth. As ſoon as ſhe was at her lodging, her dear brother, Monſieur, came unto her with ſuch a rejoicing as ſhewed his dear affection unto her, congratulating her happineſs and good fortune; the which when he had done, he took her aſide and aſked her (with conjurations to uſe that freedom unto him) whether ſhe thought not this the happieſt day that ever ſhe had. I was aſſured ſhe told him that it was, and that ſhe rejoiced infinitely in it. Sir, the joy is ſo general upon this report, as they have much ado to forbear to declare it by bonfires and all marks of rejoicings, as if this action had delivered France from all their misfortunes and fears. And they have reaſon to underſtand it ſo; for a greater bleſſing could not happen unto this nation. The Commiſſioners vowed unto us that they would never have uſed ten words to have concluded this happy buſineſs, but only to be aſſured of the diſpenſation. They ſay they have gotten of us but little; yet they aſſure us when the marriage is performed, we may uſe that as you ſhall pleaſe, and as your eſtate ſhall require; the which is a great liberty left us. Sir, I hope you are now in a better belief of the Monſieurs, than you were when I received your laſt princely and noble letter. I am much reconciled unto them; for they have endeavoured to ſatisfy me in all that is poſſible. The Cardinal aſſuring me, that the King would, to ſhew his value unto me, declare that for my conſideration and preſſing he hath conſented to ſome of the beſt changes that are wrought for your ſervice; but I deſired it not, but the contrary, that it might not appear ſo. Sir, I am confident you will approve of our faithful and humble ſervices in this buſineſs; the which offers unto you the worthieſt, ſweeteſt and lovingeſt Miſtreſs that ever any Prince or creature had; and upon conditions no way unworthy of your honour (as our hearts and judgments conceive). I beſeech you, Sir, ſend me a letter to preſent unto your dear Lady from you; wherein you will expreſs both joy and paſſion; joy of this concluſion, through your infinite affection unto her perſon and virtues, the which ſince you have known through my relations, I ſhall have much honour if you will make her underſtand I have done her right in that. Sir, both we and all the kingdom do with much impatience expect ſuch an anſwer from you, as ſhall rejoice all the beſt part of Chriſtendom. To our bleſſed Saviour, that we hold this glorious name from, I leave and recommend you; his counſels guide you, and bleſſings attend you for ever!

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*Monday Morning, Sept. 9, 1624, Stilo Novo.*

*and moſt obedient Servant and Creature,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

KENSINGTON.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

*A.D.* 1624. WE have not yet received anſwer to thoſe letters which my Lord Percy brought you. We expect it hourly, and hope it will prove contentful. Your next care will be Count Mansfeldt's affairs; which are ſo affectionately and cordially eſpouſed here, that, if there ſhall be found coldneſs in England, they will derive the original of every ſiniſter event from your Highneſs, who may now purchaſe much glory to yourſelf in a brave and noble uſage of him, and a quick and effectual deſpatch of him; who both for the goodneſs of the cauſe, and his zealous devotion to his Majeſty's and your Highneſs's ſervice, merits all favour poſſible; whereby you ſhall honour him that is as much your Highneſs's ſervant as any can be, unleſs it be

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble, moſt faithful,*

*St. Germ. Sept.* $\frac{2}{12}$ 1624. *and moſt obedient Servant,*

CARLILE.

P. S. When the Treaty of Marriage ſhall be at an end, there will be divers weighty conſiderations about that of the amity, about the compoſing of Madame's family, about the framing a fit excuſe, if your Highneſs ſhall refuſe to do them here the Honour you did Spain, which cannot be well reſolved by packet, and therefore I moſt humbly intreat your Highneſs to procure my return into England for a ſhort time, which I deſire paſſionately for your Highneſs's ſervice.

CARLILE.

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

WE daily expect an anſwer of our laſt deſpatch, the which we hope will give a deſpatch to our treaty. I am ſure, it is confidently conceived ſo here. The Queen-mother, though ſhe ſays it needs not, hath commanded all the Ladies and Gouvernantes that attend Madame, to give the greateſt impreſſions that may be of your Highneſs's infinite merit, and her happineſs to be beſtowed upon the nobleſt and greateſt Prince in the world; the which ſhe hears with an unſpeakable joy. It was my fortune yeſterday to enter into her chamber as ſhe was ſinging with Bayle; her back was turned towards the door, and by that means ſhe ſaw me not, ſo as I came ſoftly cloſe unto her without being perceived by her; the which ſtealth made her continue in her ſinging; the which ſhe did with ſo much ſweetneſs and ſkill, as I proteſt to God, it amazes us. For though I had been told by the Queen, and thoſe few that had heard her, that no creature in the world ſung like her, I conceived it to be, as ſhe was a great Princeſs, that which ſhe did was valued extraordinarily; but I found it true, that neither her maſter Bayle, nor any man or woman in France or in the world, ſings ſo admirably as ſhe. Sir, it is beyond imagination; that is all that I can ſay of it. It is here reſolved that Monſieur de Viloclers ſhall be very ſhortly ſent to ſee the articles ſigned; he goes in the quality of an Extraordinary Ambaſſador; and hath ſo behaved himſelf in the negotiation, as he deſerves from your Highneſs an extraordinary and moſt favourable reception. He is a fine horſeman, and will be pleaſed and joyed if you will ſometimes give him leave to attend you in that exerciſe. Sir, I will not trouble you with other things upon the bye, as Count Mansfeldt's affairs and journey; that being brought unto you by himſelf, who is a noble Gentleman, and worthy of the continuance of that honour that your

your generoſity and goodneſs hath already begun unto him; and, Sir, I hope my per- *A.D.* 1624.
fect obedience will continue me the bleſſing and honour of being eſteemed,

$\frac{9}{19}$*th Sept.* 1624. *Sir, Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* *and moſt dutiful Creature and Servant,*

KENSINGTON.

*The Lord* KENSINGTON *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

THE bearer that preſents you theſe, hath ſo clear a knowledge of the ſtate of your affairs, as it were to trouble your Highneſs with needleſs lines to ſay any thing but only this, that I am extremely joyed to find (as I do by your laſt letter) that you are in a better belief of the Monſieurs than you were; the which aſſures me that you are not diſpleaſed with the writing my Lord Piercy brought. Yet we wonder, that as yet we have received no direct anſwer or reſolution concerning that; we daily expect it; and by that, the full concluſion of all things, ſtaying for nothing but the diſpenſation; that they aſſure us ſhall be no way clogged with any condition whatſoever. Spain did it to abuſe us; but here they intend not only to conclude the marriage, but alſo to enter into all actions of a league and dear amity with us. Your ſweet Miſtreſs hath not been very well of late, troubled ſomewhat with a cold; but now, God be praiſed! ſhe is in perfect health, but in longings to hear a good anſwer from England, to conclude all. Sir, when that anſwer ſhall come, you may be aſſured your letter will be received; for when buſineſs were not thus advanced, it would then have been; but if you ſhall be pleaſed to ſend one, you may be aſſured I will be certainly informed that it ſhall be accepted, before they ſhall know I have received any from you. Sir, after that, I am ſure you will think it fit to ſecond it with ſome very noble preſent; and if it were not too much boldneſs to name and adviſe who ſhould be the meſſenger and bringer of it, I would think no man ſo worthy and fit for that ſervice as your faithful and honeſt ſervant, Tom Cary; of whom I am confident you have ſo much truſt, as no perſon will ſooner be thought on for that ſervice than himſelf. Sir, I humbly beſeech you to pardon the faults you find in this letter; it being written in my bed, where I am forced through an infinite and troubleſome cold to abide. My eyes will give me leave to ſay no more, though my heart will never fail me in any thing that is for your ſervice, to approve myſelf

$\frac{14}{24}$*th Sept.* 1624. *Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* *moſt devoted Creature and Servant,*

KENSINGTON.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

GOD that made light out of darkneſs hath turned a moſt diſmal accident, and ſuch as at firſt noiſe filled us with aſtoniſhment and confuſion, into an occaſion of inutterable joy; for ſuch is here conceived not only by me your Highneſs's moſt humble ſervant, but by all this Court in general, from the bleſſed news of your deliverance from ſo fatal a danger, which I cannot think of without apprehenſion and horror, nor ſufficiently bleſs God's goodneſs in conſerving to the world ſo precious a pillar and ornament. Aſſuredly, that horſe was of counſel with thoſe other beaſts, that ſtill look towards Spain, who deſire to break the match with France, though it were (*abſit verbo omen!*) by breaking of the neck; but heaven reſerves your

 Highneſs

A.D.1624. Highneſs to be the ruin of ſuch caterpillars, and the terror of all proud perfidious people. Amen! ſay I; for ſuch is the daily prayer of

*From Paris, 24th of Sept.* 1624. *Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*An Original, indorſed by the Prince.* *moſt faithful and moſt obedient Servant,*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* HOLLAND (*late Lord* KENSINGTON) *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

THIS bearer, my Secretary, will ſo fully inform your Highneſs of the eſtate of your affairs here, as you ſhall find little trouble to read theſe lines, unleſs it be to know that our unwillingneſs to ſign the articles upon the conditions you will underſtand, hath put them here to infinite trouble and jealouſy, and hath likewiſe given the young Lady a diſcontentment extraordinary. Let us, I beſeech you, ſpeedily hear from you; for I dare ſwear they do cordially deſire to aſſiſt us with all the truth and faith that is poſſible. We likewiſe find they enter reſolutely into actions for our advantage, the which they will condition to continue in concerning Mansfeldt for ſix months, and will not leave us then. For the Palatinate, allow them their own form, and it ſhall be of moſt advantage unto us; and yet that engagement you will not find to be ſlight. Sir, the delay of this buſineſs gives them much affliction; for they here ſtrongly believed we had order to ſign the articles; which finding we had not but upon ſuch conditions as they could not, with any hope (as they ſay) expect the diſpenſation from Rome, we are at a ſtand until we have a direct command for the performance of it, the which is moſt neceſſary to be haſtened; for, upon this ſtop, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador hath ſent into Spain that we are in diſorder in our treaty, and all ill inſtruments are now induſtrious in their evil practices. Sir, I have ſaid more than I thought to have done; yet ſomewhat would I likewiſe add of your moſt precious and ſweet Miſtreſs, that beyond imagination is good and handſome, and ſo confident of her being your's as ſhe ſpeaks of England as if ſhe were there; where when you ſhall ſee her, you will find her the worthieſt piece that nature could provide for you; beſides her quality hath eminency of all the perſons in the world. Sir, all that I can ſay, ſhe is only fit for you; and beyond this, I cannot praiſe her. Haſten, I beſeech you, this joy, by a quick diſpatch of this bearer; the which with all the impatiency that is poſſible is attended by

*Paris, October* $\frac{8}{18}$*, late.* *Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* *and moſt devoted Creature and Servant,*

HOLLANDE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

TO avoid your Highneſs trouble in reading a long and imperfect letter which cannot reply and ſatisfy any doubts which may ariſe, we have thought fit once more to employ the ſufficiency of this worthy diſcreet bearer, to give your Highneſs an account of all particular paſſages of our negotiation for your ſervice here; the ſum whereof is briefly this, that we have had to do with Miniſters of this State cunning and fraudulent, continually falling off from the aſſurances which they had given us according as they diſcovered us to be engaged in affection and intereſt: but, generally, we have found the people and Court moſt affectionate, and the Lady herſelf ſo incomparably compleat, as, before ſhe heard of this overture, ſhe wanted nothing to make

make her abſolute but ſuch a mate: and ſince, ſhe has expreſſed ſo much ſweetneſs, *A.D.* 1624.
modeſty, and diſcreet affection, as cannot but make her unfortunate, if the buſineſs ſucceed not. But I leave the conſideration of all to your Highneſs's incomparable wiſdom, and myſelf to your Highneſs's favour and commandments, as

*The 29th of Octob.* *Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* *and moſt obedient Servant,*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* HOLLAND *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

YOU will much wonder to ſee this bearer ſo ſoon returned unto you; and more, to know the manner of their proceedings here. Yet muſt I ever ſay they infinitely deſire this alliance; but they ſay, giving us the ſubſtance, they deſire the form in the expreſſion of it. For the Queen-mother, ſhe ever is the ſame that firſt I found her; proteſting, that ſhe will never *faire la petite bouche* in this buſineſs, the which ſhe hath ever ſo much deſired. And for Madame, your Highneſs is ſo much obliged to her, as if ſhe durſt, ſhe would make it her ſuit to the King her brother, to give you all poſſible ſatisfaction. She is, and hath ever been, ſo open in the declaration of her paſſion to be your's, as not only ſhe, but all the world here, believes you will conclude this treaty like a lover, overcoming; as you have done, all difficulties that ſhall hinder you from the poſſeſſing of her, that is ſo incomparable in all things. If you ſhall conſent to the alteration of ſome words, the which is all our diſpute now, allowing us, as they ſay, the ſubſtance, you will find from her ſuch ſweet and well-worded thanks, when you ſhall ſee this excellent Lady, as you will joy in the occaſion to have ſo obliged her. I cannot but ſpeak this language unto you; knowing there is no creature under heaven ſo worthy of you, and affectionate unto your reputation, as well as to your quality, as is this ſweet Princeſs, of whom in the laſt letter your Highneſs honoured me with, you expreſſed much value and affection; ſaying, for her ſake, you had laboured to take away difficulties, and to prepare the buſineſs for a fair concluſion. You may prepare this fair Lady ſo now, as to the concluſion of her life ſhe is bound to love and honour you, for the paſſion and generoſity of your affection unto her; all which I leave to your Highneſs's wiſdom that governs all your reſolutions in ſo perfect and judicious a way, as we have honour and comfort in receiving of your commands, and infinite happineſs, if by my obedience I expreſs myſelf, as truly I am,

*This Friday at night very late, Oct. 29, 1624.* *Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.* *and moſt obedient Servant and Creature,*

HOLLANDE.

*The Earls of* CARLISLE *and* HOLLAND *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

YOUR Highneſs will perceive by the relation of this Gentleman, how God doth contribute unto your ends, and how this people do in effect engage themſelves, though they make ſo dainty to make profeſſion thereof, in the promiſe which is required of them; which, as we have diſcovered, proceedeth from a cautelous jealouſy, that if they ſhould engage themſelves in any promiſe to us, and afterwards break in any circumſtances thereof, it might give us an evaſion to avoid the performance of the articles ſtipulated with them in favour of the Catholicks. We will not preſume

*A.D.* 1624. to undertake for their conſtancy with others, ſince they have dealt ſo ficklily with us; yet if any thing may be aſcribed to their oaths and proteſtations, they intend more reality in the performance, than they ſhew forwardneſs in the profeſſion. And though their affections were not thereunto diſpoſed, yet there is no ſmall probability, that the neceſſity of their own intereſts and affairs will evict ſo much from them, conſidering both their preſent engagements in Rhœtia (wherein the Marquis de Coeuvre hath ſo dextrouſly and ſucceſsfully employed their authority), and their other undertakings, which this worthy honeſt Gentleman will particularly declare unto your Highneſs; whom we preſume to recommend unto your favour and truſt, for his ſpecial worth and affection to your ſervice, as being the only motive that hath invited him to undertake this painful journey and employment. From hence we can advertiſe nothing more ſince our laſt letters ſent by Mr. Lorkin, but that we obſerve with admiration (conſidering her tender years) how wiſe and diſcreet a veil this incomparable Princeſs doth put upon her grief, and apprehenſions for the delays and interruptions, which are given to her ſo much deſired contentment. Your Highneſs will be pleaſed to communicate this letter to your excellent faithful ſervant, the Duke of Buckingham, and ſo eſteem us, as we do infinitely deſire,

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*From Paris, the 6th of Nov.* 1624.

*and moſt obedient faithful Servants,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLILE. HOLLANDE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I AM now as good as my word; for we have made you a married man. By our letters to Mr. Secretary your Highneſs will ſee through what difficulties we paſſed, and with what kind of men we have had to do; who, inſtead of the obligation which they ought to have acknowledged to his Majeſty's frank proceeding, and your Highneſs's affection (whereof they had but too particular notice), have done nothing elſe from the beginning to the end but make their advantage of both, by retractions, diſavowings, and the like unworthy arts. If we have failed in any thing, it hath been in too much zeal and affection, the proper paſſions of lovers; and therefore in the part we played, the more excuſable. I am ſure we have not failed of our end, which was the purchaſe of a moſt incomparable ſweet Princeſs; and we have likewiſe made ſure of their aſſiſtance to Manſfeldt for ſix months. The reſt which would always have depended for the performance upon their intereſts, the neceſſity of their own affairs, which begin already to engage them, will evict from them, and make them petitioners; who, if they had been wiſe, might have made it now an obligation. Beſides, we thought it not reaſonable, for the formality of a few words, which were not obligatory, to hold your Highneſs's contentment any longer in ſuſpence, and to expoſe the import and reſolutions now a-foot (which can admit no loſs of time) to an apparent hazard of rupture and diſſolution. Thanks we will not preſume to expect, becauſe we have done nothing but that which our duty to your Highneſs's ſervice and the publick did exact from us. The nobleneſs and juſtice of your Highneſs's diſpoſition maketh us not to doubt of your protection. I am ſure, the expedition of the buſineſs hath not been diſpleaſing to the Queen-mother and Madame; whereof it will not be inconvenient to give your Highneſs ſome particular demonſtrations. As ſoon as the Queen-mother was advertiſed, that all difficulties were removed, and the marriage apparently concluded, ſhe ſent for Madame (becauſe ſhe herſelf would be the reporter of the firſt news), and told her that her behaviour had been ſuch from the beginning of the buſineſs, as had given her infinite contentment; "Mais a "cette heure il ne faut que vous faſſiez la petite bouche; rejouiſſez vous, ma fille, "comme je fais de tout mon coeur." And when we came to acquaint her Majeſty that

that all was concluded, after ſhe had expreſſed her ſingular joy, ſhe uſed theſe words, " Depuis que Monſieur le Prince a fait le voyage d'Eſpagne il m'eſt demeuré tousjours quelque choſe a la gorge, laquelle je n'ai pas pû avaler juſques a maintenant." *A.D.* 1624.

When we came to Madame to make our reverence unto her in the quality of her, who we now aſſured ourſelves ſhould be our Miſtreſs, and your Highneſs's wife, her joy was ſo full as ſhe could not expreſs it; but laughing, in few words gave me thanks with aſſurance, that ſhe was your Highneſs's ſervant, which I perceiving told her, " Et bien, Madame, vous rirez aujourdhui, demain vous parlerez, et vous chanterez " apres." She ſmiled, and promiſed that, the next time we ſaw her, we ſhould hear her ſing, which ſhe doth in perfection.

It will be now expected, that with all expedition your Highneſs ſhould ſalute her by your own letters, which commiſſion cannot be more ſufficiently committed than to your noble worthy ſervant Mr. Thomas Cary; for the expediting whereof your Highneſs having been pleaſed heretofore to make me ſome time your French Secretary, I do preſume to put into your hands the project of a letter here incloſed; whereof you may pleaſe to make uſe, if no better aſſiſtance be preſent, and it ſhall agree with your Highneſs's liking. I remain

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*From Paris, the 12th of Nov.* 1624.

*and moſt obedient faithful Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

Carlile.

*The Prince of* Wales *to the Princeſs* Henrietta Maria *of* France. †

JE n'ay oſé prendre la hardieſſe de vous teſmoigner par un mot de lettre l'impatience dont mon ame a eſté gehenné durant ma longe attente pour l'heureux accord de ceſt traité, juſques á tant que j'en eues receués les bonnes nouvelles; vous priant de vous aſſeurer, qu'outre la renommé de vos vertus & perfections, qui s'eclatte par tout, je le tiens pour comble de mon bonheur, que j'eu l'honneur d'avoir deja veue voſtre perſonne, bien qu' incognu de vous; qui m'a rendu infiniment ſatisfait, que l' exterieur de voſtre perſonne ne demente rien au luſtre de vos vertus. Mais je ne puis exprimer par eſcrit la paſſion de mon ame pour avoir l'honneur d'eſtre eſtimé

*A rough Draught by himſelf.* *Voſtre, &c.*

*The Princeſs* Henrietta Maria *to the Prince of* Wales.

*Monſieur,*

L' Impatience que vous me teſmoygnes avoir eué durant le temps qui s'eſt paſſé ſur le ſujet du traité, & le contentement que vous me faites, paroiſtre avoir receu de la nouvelle de ce qui a eſté acordé pardeça, me donnent certaine connoiſance de voſtre bonne volonté envers moi, telle que vous me la repreſentes pas voſtre lettre. Le Roy, Monſieur mon frere, & la Royne, Madame ma mere, ayants eu agreable que je reçoive ces teſmoignages de voſtre affection, je n'ay qu'a vous dire, que ſi celle n'a pas pour aſſuré fondement tout le bien qu'elle vous fait remarquer en moi, au moins y rencontres vous une franche volonté de vous faire voir, que vous n'en obligeres point une perſonne ingrate, & que je ſuis, & ſeray tousjours,

*Monſieur, voſtre tres humble,*

*An Original.*

*& tres affectionée Servante,*

Henriette Marie.

† *In a book are paſted ſeveral ſhort Letters of Compliment in French, which were written juſt upon the concluſion of this Treaty of Marriage; viz. one from King James to Madame, a rough draught by the Prince of Wales; eleven from the Prince to Madame; fifteen from Madame to the Prince. The Prince's are all rough draughts in his own hand, with frequent corrections; Madame's are all Originals, written throughout in her own hand. They are regularly numbered by the Prince. It has been thought ſufficient to give the four following, by way of ſpecimens. Some of theſe letters paſſed after the death of King James.*

*The Prince of* WALES *to the Princeſs* HENRIETTA MARIA.

*Madame,*

*A.D.* 1624. VOS faveurs m'ont fait prendre la hardieſſe de vous ſupplier de me faire l'honneur d'accepter ce petit preſent, que ce Gentilhomme mon ſerviteur vous donnera de ma part. Quoyque ce ſoit grandement indigne de vous, toutefois j'eſpere vous le prendres en bonne part, comme venant de luy qui ſera bien aiſé de hazarder ſa vie á vous faire ſervice, ſouhaitant rien plus que d'eſtre honoré par vos commandements, & d'avoir quelque occaſion de me monſtrer par effects combien je ſuis,

*Madam,*

*A rough Draught by himſelf.* *Voſtre, &c.*

*The Princeſs* HENRIETTA MARIA *to the Prince of* WALES.

*Monſieur,*

NE pouvant aſſez dignement louer les preſents qu'il vous a pleu m'envoyer, ni vous en remercier, je me remets au Sr. Cary de vous faire connoiſtre l'eſtime que j'en fais; comme auſſi combien je cheris l'honneur de voſtre amitié; dont la continuation me ſera tousjours auſſi agreable, que les occaſions de vous pouvoir faire paroiſtre que je ſuis,

*Monſieur, voſtre tres humble*

*An Original.* *et tres obeiſſante Servante,*

HENRIETTE MARIE.

*The Earls of* CARLISLE *and* HOLLAND *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

IT hath been lately deliberated here in Council, and the advice of ſome great ones hath been taken, whether (if your Highneſs ſhould perform the like gallantry to your incomparable Miſtreſs here in France, which you formerly did to her in Spain) the right hand and place ſhould be given you by this King, as it was by that. And they have concluded negatively; for that, upon the ſearch of records, they find, that the French King never gave precedence to any Prince that brought not a Crown upon his head; neither ought the example of Spain to move them, ſith there they exceeded in one kind, that they might the better hide their juggling in the other; which needs not here, where they mean nothing but friendſhip and love. We cannot certainly ſay, whether this be an artifice whereby (upon ſome ſure information already given perhaps from England, that your Highneſs reſolves not to be ſo liberal of your perſon to this State, as you were to Spain) they ſeek to make themſelves the cauſe of the difference, by their refuſal of equal honour, ſo to cover the blemiſh that would otherwiſe cleave upon them: or, that the reputation of your matchleſs worth and virtue hath caſt ſuch a glorious ſplendor into theſe parts, as makes this King fear leſt your nearer approach ſhould utterly obſcure and drown his light. Howſoever it be, the reſolution ſeems harſh to Queen-mother; who, profeſſing a moſt paſſionate deſire of ſeeing your Highneſs before all perſons in the world, would yet be loath to redeem that content unto herſelf at the price of your diſcontent, ſpecially in ſo tender a point as honour. The ſelf-ſame affection (though predominant in her) has generally place in all this Court; ſome few only excepted, who either have originally witneſſed an averſeneſs to the match, or wholly captivated their wills to the humour of the King.

King. This denial of place is like to be accompanied with a further defect in the outward preparatives of entertainment; which cannot parallel those of Spain in greatness and magnificence, out of a present default both of men and horse. Thus much we thought fit to advertise your Highness of; that so a little clearer light might be derived unto you hence, how to guide your resolutions by. Yet should we not have committed it to paper, but that the hope which one of us had to deliver it (with many other things) by word of mouth, is now taken away. We shall continue to be vigilant over every circumstance that may touch upon your Highness's honour, which is more precious to us than our own lives; and will hasten what we may to put your incomparable Mistress into your princely arms, there mutually to enjoy that unspeakable happiness which you both merit, and which is the daily prayer of *A.D.* 1624.

*Your Highness's most humble,*

*Paris, Decemb.* 28, 1624.
*St. Angliæ.*
*An Original, endorsed by the Prince.*

*most faithful and most obedient Servants,*

CARLILE. HOLLANDE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *and* HOLLAND *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it please your Highness,*

IT is not that we presume to direct, or that we any way suspect your princely care, that we thus take the liberty of uttering forth our own thoughts concerning the manner of your incomparable Mistress her reception into England; but only a zeal we bear to your Highness's honour and the nation's; and a conscience of duty, that binds us to be solicitous of either of those things that are so precious to us. First therefore, we conceive that it imports very much, that the walls of the kingdom (the shipping, we mean) appear as strong for the number, and as beautiful for the equipage as possibly may be; because that will be first and most obvious to sight, and a good occasion (without vanity) to shew therein your power and strength. Next, that the preparatives at Dover be (as far as the condition of the place will permit) answerable to the dignity of the persons, whom it must pay tribute of honour to; which ought to be so much the more splendid, if your Highness shall resolve there to meet her, which in the next place we humbly offer to your princely consideration. Thirdly, that the gists of the journey from thence to London be set down, and such variety of entertainment appointed as may plentifully witness greatness, joy and affection. Fourthly, we propound, whether will be fitter; that the passage from Gravesend to London be by water or land (that order may be given accordingly); and in case the former be resolved, whether it will not do well to teach the Thames to welcome her by some devices or other. Fifthly, where the place of landing shall be, and whether it will not be best to follow the ancient custom of England, in causing the first entertainment to begin at the Tower; that thence she may pass along through all the city in state, to receive such testimonies of public applause (by pageants and shews) as that city can afford. Sixthly, and lastly, that the place of her repose and mansion be honoured with masks of both sexes, with tilting and barriers (that therein Madame, with the train that shall accompany her, may see your Highness's incomparable dexterity); and, whether it shall not do well, that all the Inns of Court express the common joy by other voluntary masks from thence: that so all may be done with that good grace, and in that magnificent manner that befits your Highness's honour and greatness, and the blessed occasion of your most happy conjunction. To whose service we are ready in all humility and faithfulness to sacrifice that which is dearest to us, our lives and honours, which are just tributes from

*Your Highness's most humble,*

*Paris, Jan.* $\frac{4}{14}$ 162$\frac{4}{5}$.

*An Original, endorsed by the Prince.*

*most faithful and most obedient Servants,*

CARLILE. HOLLANDE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

*A.D.*1624. I HUMBLY beſeech your Highneſs to give me leave to put your Highneſs in mind of a letter which you wrote unto me; wherein you ſaid that you had then ſtrained yourſelves as far as poſſible you could or would; and that if they ſhould here go about to ſtretch the ſtring any further, it would certainly break. The ſtring is now ſtretched much higher, and yet I am confident there will be no danger of breaking; but you muſt make it appear that you utterly diſdain and reject their harſhneſs who have brought all out of tune. I make no queſtion but you ſhall have your incomparable Miſtreſs, but you muſt now change the manner of your purſuit; ſhe is worth the roaring for, and that your Highneſs ſhould expreſs your reſentment of theſe new encroachments, ſtriving to carry her by virtue of the firſt ſtipulation. That is the ſafeſt, moſt honourable and ſpeedieſt way. If ear be given to any new conditions, it would prolong the buſineſs; and without them, if they ſhall ſee your reſolution, they will not dare to deny her.

We leave many important particulars to the relation of this noble worthy ſervant of your's; who in the ſhort ſtay which he hath made here, hath had the dexterity to underſtand this Court as well as we who have known it many years; and hath left a reputation behind him by his diſcreet and generous behaviour, worthy of his education and your Highneſs's favour. I humbly beſeech your Highneſs to remember poor Thomas Davis, whoſe faith, honeſty and good diſpoſition will make him capable of your Highneſs's favour. So I remain

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*From Paris, the 16th of Feb.* 1624.

*and moſt obedient faithful Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

I LOOK upon the effects of your Highneſs's nobleneſs and generoſity with joy and admiration; and I make no doubt of happy concluſions, when they are governed by ſuch directions. Your incomparable Miſtreſs is your's abſolutely in her heart, vowed more by your infinite virtue and reputation, than power of fortune: and the infidelity of theſe baſe perfidious Monſieurs will fall to duſt and aſhes ſo ſoon as they ſhall find the generoſity of your Highneſs's nobleſt reſolutions. There reſts no more but a conſtant perſeverance in theſe beginnings, and a certain belief that there ſhall be nothing wanting in the fidelity and induſtry of your Highneſs's moſt humble ſervants. Be pleaſed, Sir, to remember that I have formerly told your Highneſs that a Monſieur is to be ridden with a diſcreet high hand, ſpeak aloud and [.....]; it will prove the only way with theſe baſe raſcals; and be neither cozened nor braved by thoſe whom the ſharp ſword of your noble predeceſſors has formerly ſubdued. Relax in nothing; for in ſo doing your Highneſs loſes both time and matter: and a diſdainful rejection of the whole will bring a ſpeedy concluſion, which ſhall be ſo managed by us with temper and moderation, as it ſhall clearly appear we have nothing before our eyes but our gracious great Maſter's honour, with your Highneſs's contentment in enjoying your ſweeteſt nobleſt Miſtreſs; both which ſhall be more dear unto me than the life of

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

3*d March*, 162[illegible].

*moſt faithful and moſt obedient Servant;*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* HOLLAND *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

IN your letters there is ſo true an image of your generoſity, in the ſweet mixture of your affection unto your incomparable Miſtreſs, and likewiſe of your ſenſe of the art and juggling of theſe Miniſters, as I infinitely admire both; the firſt ſhewing a conſtancy in a noble affection, the latter a piercing judgment in your right conſtruction of their actions here. But I dare ſay, the deſpatch we expect will give a new pulſe to our affairs, making it beat not ſo intermittive and feveriſh as of late it hath done. That which troubles me much is, that theſe accidents beget much amazement and grief in Madame; for although they will not tell her that there can be any danger that threatens the main buſineſs, yet ſhe fears all is not right, though ſhe knows not what is amiſs, inſomuch as the Ladies about her, that to me will ſpeak freely, proteſt they never ſaw ſo great a perplexity as they find to be in her. And if a day paſs that we ſee her not, ſhe fears we are diſcontented, the which in this caſe is death to her. But your letter comes very ſeaſonably to revive and comfort her, in this unhappy conjuncture of our affairs and her fears. But, Sir, I am moſt confident, for all this, you will ſpeedily hear of ſuch a turn and change in your affairs, as that miſt your Highneſs ſpeaks of, will be cleared, and we ſhall ſpeedily ſee that day that ſhall conclude this alliance; the which I hope ſhall be a day of bleſſing unto you, ſeconded and followed by many years of contentment and glory; the which I pray for as for the ſoul of *A. D.* 1625.

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble*

*March* $\frac{3}{13}$ 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

*moſt dutiful and moſt obedient Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

HOLLANDE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

BY the difficulties which your Highneſs has met withal in ſeeking a wife, you have gained two main advantages; the one that you know the diſpoſitions and manner of proceeding of the two great States with whom you are to eſcrime all your life long; the other, that your Highneſs hath won already the affection, and ſhall ſhortly have the fruition, of the moſt incomparable Princeſs that ever nature framed. With what reſolution and dexterity we have put by all their ſhifts here, this nimble Mercury will tell you; but by the concluſion your Highneſs will ſee, that the moſt compendious way was the abſolute rejecting of their new extravagant conditions, wherein we are obliged to congratulate with your Highneſs's noble reſolution, and to render you our moſt humble thanks for the honour your Highneſs was pleaſed to vouchſafe us in ſeconding our faithful advice for his Majeſty's honour and your Highneſs's contentment. And though his Majeſty, marrying his incomparable wiſdom and goodneſs together, was pleaſed to vouchſafe them ſome explanations, yet the ſame being adviſedly weighed, are rather to their diſadvantage, than otherwiſe. Our next care muſt be, to prevent all other traverſes by expedition; for which purpoſe it will be neceſſary that my Lord Duke's voyage be haſtened, to give the happy concluſion to this great work, and the increaſe of your Highneſs's felicity; which ſhall be always with infinite paſſion deſired by

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*From Paris,* $\frac{13}{23}$ *March* 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

*and moſt obedient faithful Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to the Prince of* WALES.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs,*

*A.D.1625.* THIS noble Gentleman will tell you without any particular enlargement of mine, in what forwardneſs your buſineſs is here. Your Highneſs is now poſſeſſed of an ineſtimable jewel, of whoſe reception I humbly beſeech your Highneſs to have care, that ſhe may be received with that honour and cordiality which appertaineth to your wife. If the ſhortneſs of time doth not allow thoſe preparations and magnificences which are fitting for your Miſtreſs; I am ſure that your girdle and your petit pied gentil will be in good poſture, and I doubt not but all the reſt of your accoutrements will be fit for a lover. I hear that your Highneſs hath received ſome impreſſions that the diſputes which I have had with theſe Miniſters have retarded the concluſion of your contentment. I know the juſtice of your Highneſs's nature ſo well, as I am confident you will leave an ear for the relation which I ſhall make of the particular paſſages of the whole buſineſs; the concluſion whereof, as well as the general humour of this people, will ſhew that they had need to be quickened by ſome ſharpneſs; for that your Highneſs doth ſee, as ſoon as you expreſſed ſome reſentment in England of their artificial and unworthy proceedings, they were brought here inſtantly to reaſon. In the beginning we proceeded as was fitting for lovers, with ſweetneſs and all manner of ingenuous invitations; but when we met with artifices and preſumption, inſtead of that cordiality which we thought to oblige, we were forced to ſail by another point of the compaſs. All our ambition was to conduct your Highneſs's affairs to the deſired port, whereunto you are now arrived; wherein long may you reſt with that felicity and contentment which is deſired by

*Your Highneſs's moſt humble,*

*and moſt obedient faithful Servant,*

*Paris, 29th March, 1625.*

*An Original, endorſed by the Prince.*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

I WILL firſt pay my debt of moſt humble thankfulneſs for that gracious expreſſion of your Majeſty's conſtant favour to your moſt humble and moſt obedient faithful ſubject and ſervant, contained in thoſe precious lines which your Majeſty was pleaſed to vouchſafe unto me by Mr. Colborne. And next, I will pay the tribute of duty and ſervice in giving your Majeſty an account of the delivery of your moſt welcome letters to your Majeſty's moſt incomparable Miſtreſs; whom you have already begun to cure by the contentment which ſhe receiveth in the aſſurance of your Majeſty's favour and affection towards her. And though ſhe began to have ſome touch of the green ſickneſs, yet I preſume ſhe will ſuddenly recover the former luſtre of her natural perfections.

I HAVE with infinite joy heard the relation which Sir George Goring hath made unto us of your Majeſty's generous, wiſe and zealous directions concerning our carriage in the buſineſs of thoſe of the Religion; which we will carefully and exactly obey. I have again, as often before at ſome diſtance, ſounded the affection of this King both towards the eſtabliſhing a firm peace with thoſe of the Religion, and whether he would be content that your Majeſty's authority ſhould be therein employed; but could draw from him no other anſwer, than that it ſhould not be his fault if his ſubjects had not peace. I have come a little nearer often in our diſcourſe with the Cardinal, propoſing it as an effect of your Majeſty's faſt friendſhip to this State, to the end they might more gloriouſly purſue their enterprizes abroad, to employ ourſelves

ſelves either as publick perſons or private well-wiſhers to the peace of this kingdom. *A.D.* 1625.
But he expreſſed a direct unwillingneſs to admit of either courſe; valuing this King's greatneſs to be able enough to extinguiſh ſuch a fire of ſtraw as he termed the brouillerie of Monſieur de Soubiſe. But I told him, that little ſtraw might ſet their whole houſe in fire, if it were not timely prevented; and ſo left that diſcourſe, reſerving ourſelves for ſome more preſſing opportunity, without ſhewing any diſtaſte or reſentment whatſoever. But, if they will not here be ſo wiſe as to accept of your Majeſty's intervention, which would infallibly make the accommodation, and want that caution and aſſurance for their future ſecurity, I fear thoſe of the Religion had rather now put all to the hazard, than attend till the King ſhall have more advantage of them. Your Majeſty's reſolution is excellently both wiſe and generous, in forbearing to declare yourſelf till your wife be in your poſſeſſion, and then govern yourſelf according to the exigency of the times and affairs; giving me leave, Sir, ſtill to be your Remembrancer, that there are but two Kings with whom your Majeſty hath to wreſtle all your life long, and they have both their thorns which prick them. The King of Spain hath his in his ſide, by the wars of the Low Countries. This King hath his thorn in his heart, by the difference with thoſe of the Religion. If your Majeſty ſuffer neither of thoſe to be rooted out, you will have the advantage to give them both exerciſe enough at home while your Majeſty may do your buſineſs abroad, and make yourſelf arbiter of the affairs of Chriſtendom. I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give me leave to put you in mind that Prince's affairs are ſtrongly governed by reputation; and as the clock is ſet in the morning, ſo doth the world count the hours all the day after. Your Majeſty's heart is ſet upon generous deſigns, and you riſe glorioufly; I pray God preſerve your royal perſon, give a bleſſing to your brave and pious reſolutions, and make me happy in rendering the fidelity, ſervice and obedience of

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble,*

*This 21ſt of April*, 1625.

*moſt obedient and moſt faithful Subject and Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the King.*

CARLILE.

## *The Earl of* CARLISLE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

THIS day the greateſt action of your life (which is your marriage) is fully accompliſhed with dignity and infinite acclamations of all this people. Your Majeſty's royal ſpouſe will now, after ſome fitting ceremonies performed, haſten to caſt herſelf into your Majeſty's arms. The Queen-mother and the Queen-regent, (who hath demanded expreſs leave), do not forſake their reſolution and longing deſire to have the happineſs to ſee your Majeſty's perſon and contemplate your virtues. It is an honour, Sir, more than was done to King Solomon; for he had but one Queen of Sheba; and you have three which come to look upon you with the eyes of admiration. I am confident your Majeſty will have the ſame care Solomon had, that theſe three Queens may admire, as the Queen of Sheba then did, the order of your Houſehold, your greatneſs, wiſdom and magnificence; and in their train I beſeech your Majeſty give me leave, after ſo much toil and affliction, to have the honour and chiefeſt joy of my heart to proſtrate myſelf at your Majeſty's feet. This Gentleman hath deſerved ſo well in the progreſs of the buſineſs, as the relation of the accompliſhment was due unto him. I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to receive him with your favour, and to believe that he will belye the imputations of his enemies by his honeſt and faithful ſervices, if you will believe me, who am

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble,*

*May-day*, 1625.

*and moſt obedient faithful Subject and Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the King.*

CARLILE.

*The Earl of* CARLISLE *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

*A.D.* 1625. HAVING underſtood that your Majeſty hath taken a ſecret reſolution to come in perſon as far as Boulogne to do honour to your new Spouſe, and to prevent the compliment and deſire, which the two Queens have to ſee your Majeſty; I am moved out of the infinite care and duty which I have to your Majeſty's honour and ſervice, humbly to crave your Majeſty's gracious pardon, if I preſume to remonſtrate to your Majeſty ſome conſiderations, which my zeal unto both hath ſuggeſted unto me. Firſt, for the point of honour: if your Majeſty ſhould come to Boulogne, this King having reſolved to paſs no further than Amiens, and from thence to return to Paris, to treat with the Legate, your Majeſty ſhall not receive that due reſpect which belongeth unto you, to ſet foot on this King's territories and not be viſited by him in perſon. And it will be here found as ſtrange that your Majeſty ſhould twice come into France, and never ſee the King; which your Majeſty cannot do, unleſs you ſhould come as far as Paris or Amiens; and that would coſt too much time. Next, for matter of charge; if your Majeſty come into France, it will oblige your Majeſty to an extraordinary expence by the preſents which you will make, not only to the Queens, but to all the Principal Perſons and Officers of the Court; who, having heard of your Majeſty's magnificence, and particularly to thoſe who have been employed towards you upon the late occaſions, will expect vaſt things from your Majeſty's perſonal bounty in honour of this alliance, above the proportion which was uſed by the Duke of Savoy and his Son the Prince of Piedmont, when they appeared here in France in perſon upon two ſeveral occaſions; wherein they expended exceſſive liberalities. I begin to doubt, that the profeſſions which have been made by the Queen-mother to come to Dover to ſee your Majeſty, were to oblige your Majeſty to come to Boulogne, to do them the honour to come yourſelf into France to fetch your wife, ſince you went further into Spain to woo another. But the occaſions and your qualities are different. And therefore, ſince this King cannot render your Majeſty that due reſpect as to meet you, and ſince it will oblige your Majeſty to an exceſſive expence, I ſhall crave leave to offer unto your Majeſty's conſideration, this expedient; that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to make public profeſſion of your reſolution to do ſo much honour to the alliance, and to your moſt excellent Queen, as to go as far as Boulogne to meet her Majeſty; but that thereupon, my Lords of your Majeſty's Council taking notice thereof, may become humble ſuitors to your Majeſty, out of their ſpecial care and providence, not to expoſe your Majeſty's precious perſon to the double hazard of the ſea both coming and going: and in reſpect of the time, which preſſeth the holding of your Parliament and other important conſiderations, that you will be pleaſed to forbear that compliment, by which means, as your Majeſty ſhall diſcharge yourſelf of the expectation here to do a particular honour to the Queens, ſo you ſhall value your own honour, and avoid a ſuperfluous exceſſive charge.

SINCE the celebration of the marriage, I have put my new Miſtreſs in poſſeſſion of your Majeſty's picture, which you were pleaſed to beſtow upon me made at length, which ſhe hath cauſed to be placed at her bedſide, and doth contemplate it often; and there is grown a conteſtation between her Majeſty and the Queen-mother, who ſhall have it; which I ſuppoſe will be thus decided; that your Queen ſhall have it till ſhe cometh to Boulogne, but when ſhe is in poſſeſſion of the perſon of your Majeſty, ſhe will be content to leave the ſhadow to her mother. By reaſon of this King's late indiſpoſition of a ſquinancy, which hath forced him to take phyſick, and to be twice let blood, the reſolution of your Queen's departure hath been ſomewhat retarded; but her Majeſty, as much as modeſty will allow, doth expreſs a longing deſire to caſt herſelf into your Majeſty's arms; as I do, out of a moſt affectionate longing duty, to caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's feet in the quality of

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble and moſt obedient*

*Paris the 12th of May* 1625.

*faithful Subject and Servant,*

*An Original, endorſed by the King.*

CARLILE.

## *The Duke of* BUCKINGHAM *to his* MAJESTY.

*My dear young Maſter,*

I HAVE had this day all my audiences. I found them here, by reaſon of his Majeſty's indiſpoſition, unreſolved when to part. I have obtained thus much, or rather thus little, becauſe I am ſure it doth not anſwer your expectations, to ſet forwards on Wedneſday next; if his Majeſty be well, then he with the two Queens accompany your's; if he prove not well, then ſhe parts accompanied with Monſieur, le Prince de Chevalier, his wife, and Holland; and Doncaſter † and myſelf ſtay behind, to make a trial of what you have truſted me with. To morrow I ſhall write more certainly; and believe that your humble ſervant thinks of nothing ſo much as how to haſten a meeting between the two perfecteſt creatures in the world. I cannot yet ſend you the meaſure of her height, but to morrow I hope to get it. She hath been ſick, and yet looks lean and pale; but mends very faſt; being aſſured that all hazards and doubts are paſt, and her happineſs aſſured by the tie of a faſt knot; neither is diſſoluble the faith and duty of *A.D.* 1625.

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble*

15 *May*, 1625.

*Slave and Subject,*

*An Original, endorſed by the King.*

G. BUCKINGHAM.

## *The Duke of* BUCKINGHAM *to his* MAJESTY.

*My dear young Maſter,*

BY one of my letters from Paris you might perceive I had no great hope of good reſolutions from hence. I will now only tell you in brief what is reſolved; then judge of it yourſelf. Firſt, they have promiſed not to abandon the buſineſs of the Palatinate, though they ſhould conclude a peace in Italy, which I think they are not very near the doing; neither can they take Genoa without your aſſiſtance by ſea. I have propoſitions made to me already from the Duke of Savoy's Ambaſſador for your coming into that buſineſs, whom I have dealt withal not to ſuffer the French King to make the peace there. The peace with them of the Religion depends upon the ſucceſs of that fleet they have had from your Majeſty and the Low Countries; and ſo do all their reſolutions here depend upon accidents. They have promiſed me to continue the aſſiſtance to the Princes of the Union ſeven months longer than was ſtipulated, and ſeven months longer the aſſiſtance of Mansfeldt. They have offered two thouſand horſe to be lent you for your money. When I ſaw I could get no better from them, I dealt with your noble couſin, the Duke de Chevereux, who hath promiſed to wait on your Majeſty with two thouſand horſe more, and ten thouſand foot, if there be need, with this proteſtation, that the King of France ſhall not hinder him to perform it, and to ſpend his laſt drop of blood in your ſervice, if it require it. Within two months this will be all ready. You have yet the choice to accept this, or leave it. My opinion is, that till you have concerted with the Low Countries, nothing can be well reſolved. You will do well to communicate this to my Lord Chamberlain and my Lord Conway; and when we ſhall have the happineſs to wait on you, then you may take ſome reſolutions in it. In the mean time conſider, that though the French King will not be abſolutely engaged, yet this way he will be tacitly brought in.

Sir, concerning our journey, this bearer can inform you of every particular; wherefore I will only give you my humble thanks for your cordial letters, and boldly make this requeſt, that you will love me ſtill as you do; by which you make me not only the happieſt, but

*Your Majeſty's moſt humble Subject and Slave,*

30*th May*, 1625.

*An Original, endorſed by the King.*

† *Lord Carliſle.*

G. BUCKINGHAM.

*Mr.* FRANCIS HYDE *to Mr.* EDWARD HYDE.

*Sir,*

*A.D.* 1635. FOR what Mr. Bookford brought, I am not your debtor; for two others which lately arrived both together, let this ſatisfy. Your incloſed to my brother Henry is gone for Zant, though I believe him wiſer than to come yet for England, unleſs he had there more to do, than to tell news, and be looked upon. Mr. Montagu is and ſo hath been a good while at the Duke of Savoy's Court. What the new biaſſing of his conſcience may deſerve I know not; but queſtionleſs, the Cardinal's hat is not yet made. If ſuch a change could work it, he had been prevented; there being two Engliſh who took that courſe juſt before him; one whereof preſently dying, made a diſcovery which was the better religion. To ſpeak the truth, 'tis much there have been no more, conſidering, what colts moſt of them come over, [*and*] how they are now feaſted and courted at Rome; as alſo, that there are ſo many, there being at this inſtant more Engliſh there (whereof many of quality) than ever yet there were ſince my brave founder Harry the Eighth would not be excommunicated. But laying aſide the diſcourſe of Cardinals, let us aſcend to the Pope; whom I doubt not but you have heard quarrelling with the Venetians. 'Tis true, they were well matched, both being old teſty blades, and though wearing three Crowns apiece, having little ſtrength, but in the brain: queſtionleſs, were either ſide as valiant as angry, 'twould come to ſomewhat. As it now ſtands, there is only an interruption of all correſpondence, the Pope's Nuntio being debarred audience, and the Venetian Miniſter recalled from Rome; whereupon both parties have ſent forces to thoſe places where the Confines join; which, happily, report, before it comes to you, may make fighting. My receiving no anſwer from the Dean, ſhall not fright me from a ſecond venture; if that miſcarry too, I will then conclude he will embrace no intercourſe, which reſolution I dare not take with my noble Sir Richard Tichburn. I ſhould then prove unworthy of his favour by forgetting my great obligations to him; though I ſhould more confidently trouble him, did I underſtand from him, that that metropolitical blemiſh did not leſſen his eſteem of

*Your humble Servant and*

*affectionate Kinſman,*

FRANCIS HYDE.

*Venice, 11th Jan.* 163⅝.

*An Original.*

A Relation of what hath paſſed hitherto between the Ambaſſadors of the King of Spain, and the Lords Commiſſioners of the King of Great Britain, in the Conferences they have held together †.

THE Marquis de Velada and Maluezzi and Don Alonſo de Cardenas, in the firſt conference they had with the Lords Commiſſioners in my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's houſe, [they] propounded an actual breach with Holland, and a league offenſive and defenſive between both the Crowns, according to what had been agreed on and ſigned at Madrid by the Conde Duque and Baron Cottington; the articles whereof, moderated with marginal notes in regard of the preſent times and circumſtances, the ſaid Ambaſſadors left in the hands of the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners, who taking time to ſhew them to the King their Maſter, and to make anſwer in another junto which was held in my Lord Admiral of England's houſe, there they diſliked them as impracticable and impoſſible; and propounded others as being of an eaſier execution, which they ſtiled the Propoſitions of Juan de Necolalde.

† *This is the Paper mentioned in the Note at pag.* 50 *of Vol. I. and alſo in the Note at page* 84 *of the preſent Volume. The Spaniſh Original does not occur.*

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THE Ambaſſadors upon this refuſed to enter into any other Treaty for want of inſtructions, and even in this of Necolalde for want of information and knowledge thereof. But the Lords Commiſſioners replying, they would ſend them a copy of it, that they might conſider it at leiſure; the Ambaſſadors anſwered they would view it, that being informed thereof, they might hear what propoſitions the Lords Commiſſioners would make unto them; but not with intent to admit any other, which ſhould not be conformable to thoſe which they had already propounded. *A.D.* 1640.

IN this junto the Lords Commiſſioners endeavoured to prove to the Ambaſſadors, the impoſſibility of the breach with Holland for the preſent; but that it might hereafter be compaſſed after the reduction of Scotland; and that the ſureſt way to engage the King of Great Britain in the breach, was to aſſiſt him, that he might take reſolutely upon him the maintaining the ſovereignty of the ſea with a fleet, according to what was capitulated with Necolalde.

ON the other ſide, the Ambaſſadors endeavoured, with all earneſtneſs, to ſhew unto the Lords Commiſſioners how eaſy it would prove, and how preciſe a thing it was, to break with Holland: that there could be no difficulty found, which ſhould not be overcome by the conveniencies and ſtrength of a league between two ſo powerful Crowns; eſpecially, that which they propounded being ſo advantageous for the King of Great Britain.

THE junto ended, the Lords Commiſſioners, on one ſide, deſiring the Ambaſſadors, that, though they could not enter into any new Treaty, they would give account unto their King of theſe propoſitions; and the ambaſſadors, on the other, undertaking to do ſo, they urged the Lords Commiſſioners that they would declare the utmoſt of what the King of Great Britain would come unto, and the leaſt of what he expected from the King of Spain, that ſo time and the ſeaſon might not be conſumed in the going and coming of couriers.

SOME few days after this Conference, the Lord Lieutenant came to viſit the Marquiſes de Velada and Maluezzi; and falling to diſcourſe of buſineſs, he mentioned again the propoſition of the Treaty which they call of Necolalde; but with this addition that the King of Spain ſhould lend unto the King of Great Britain a million and 200,000 crowns, aſſuring them it would caſt a great obligation upon the King his Maſter, and that he conceived, if it were repreſented in Spain with all its circumſtances, they would not refuſe it. He diſcourſed alſo of the great effects which the fleet of England would produce in benefit of Spain; which in all probability could not but draw on, within a ſhort time, a breach with Holland; and finally, that the ſtate of things here was ſuch, that it did not admit of delays, and therefore he urged that the propoſitions might be ſent away to Spain with all ſpeed.

THE Ambaſſadors promiſed they would do it; but [*ſaid*], that they wondered much to hear of other Articles, and that they ſhould be called of Necolalde, not being his, nor made, nor ever agreed unto by him; and that the Lords Commiſſioners ſhould ſtand ſo much upon an imaginary thing, and ſlight a real Treaty made and ſigned by the Conde Duque, and my Lord Cottington, then Ambaſſador in Spain. In the particular of the buſineſs they were of opinion that theſe new Articles (being new to them) would not come to purpoſe for the haſtening of reſolutions, but would rather draw them to length; holding it for certain, that theſe Articles, called of Necolalde, would in no caſe be admitted in Spain; and that likewiſe it was an impoſſible thing, in their judgments, that the King of Spain ſhould lend any great ſum of money to the King of Great Britain, if firſt the Treaty of the offenſive league were not admitted and ſigned; nor would they aſſure it even for poſſible, though the ſaid league were ſo admitted.

MY Lord Lieutenant perſiſted ſtill in the ſending to Spain of theſe Articles of Necolalde; aſſuring the Ambaſſadors, the King of Great Britain would add to them all reaſonable and poſſible conveniencies to the benefit of Spain; with which he left them, promiſing an anſwer to ſome other buſineſſes of levies of Iriſh, and other things not appertaining to the main point, as ſoon as he could ſpeak to the King his Maſter.

WITHIN a few days the Marquiſes de Velada and Maluezzi and Don Alonſo de Cardenas went to my Lord Lieutenant's houſe to receive of him the anſwers to the

 ſaid

*A.D.* 1640. ſaid buſineſſes. There they fell again to conference about the league; the Ambaſſadors endeavouring to perſuade him to a breach with Holland; the Lieutenant maintaining ſtill, it was impoſſible for the preſent; yet he made this queſtion, That in caſe the King of Great Britain would ſettle the League, after he had reduced Scotland to his obedience, whether this would ſuffice for the obtaining of the loan of a million and 200,000 crowns, which he had formerly demanded. The Ambaſſadors replied, that their orders went no further than to what they had already propounded; and that, for other matters, they could only undertake to give an account to Spain, where they thought it would conduce much to haſten and facilitate the buſineſs, if the King of Great Britain would ſend ample inſtructions and full commiſſion to his Ambaſſador reſiding there (without reſerving any thing from him of his intentions) to treat of the buſineſs there; that ſo it might be ſpeedily reſolved on and ſettled. For the other ſmaller buſineſs, the Lord Lieutenant alleged difficulties which inſinuated a refuſal. But the Ambaſſadors replying it would ſeem ſtrange to be thus refuſed all their demands in a ſeaſon when they expected a large expreſſion of kindneſs from the King of Great Britain; the Lieutenant promiſed he would again ſpeak with the King his Maſter about them.

The Lieutenant ſpake accordingly with the King; and falling afterwards ſick, the Ambaſſadors went to viſit him; and he declared unto them, that the King of Great Britain had condeſcended to a levy of 3000 Iriſh, had granted a ſhip for the paſſage of the Ladies Marchioneſs de Ceralbo and the Counteſs de Feria into Spain; and had appointed a judge to confer with another whom the Marquis de Velada had brought from Dunkirk, that together they might compoſe difficulties and complaints in ſea buſineſſes and matters of repriſals. He declared alſo, that the King of Great Britain would enter into an offenſive and defenſive League with the King of Spain, as ſoon as Scotland ſhould be reduced to that ſtate, that the tribunals of juſtice ſhould have their courſe, and the King's orders be obeyed; that he would ſet a fleet to ſea according to the Articles of Necolalde, and would increaſe it to the number of forty ſhips, for the better maintaining of his ſovereignty, [*and*] for the convoying of men and money from Spain to Flanders, in caſe the Hollanders ſhould attack it; that the King his Maſter would accept of the Treaty of the League with ſuch marginal notes and reſtrictions as he would add unto it, in like manner as it had been ſent from Madrid, and would ſend it back to the Ambaſſadors with theſe marginal additions, that they might the better underſtand the intentions of the King of Great Britain; that, in requital of ſo many things granted and promiſed, he required a million and 200,000 crowns to be lent him, one half to be paid within a month, and the other at Michaelmas.

The Ambaſſadors promiſed they would repreſent it all to the King their Maſter; but, becauſe neither the Marquis de Velada nor Maluezzi had yet given account to their King of their arrival at London, and of the beginning of their Negotiation, fearing that this deſpatch might be put off for ſome days, they reſolved to ſend away a courier to Madrid, with intent that another ſhould follow him, as ſoon as the Lords Commiſſioners ſhould ſend unto them the ſaid Articles of the League with their marginal notes, and their other deſpatches for the Ambaſſador of England at Madrid, as was before mentioned.

This was the ſtate of this Negotiation; when a few days after, my Lord Cottington and Mr. Secretary Windebank came to the Marquis de Velada's houſe, where they found the Marquis Maluezzi and Don Alonſo de Cardenas. They gave the Ambaſſadors a paper, pretending it contained the ſubſtance of what the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had propounded; which was in effect, that the King of Great Britain would ſet a fleet to ſea for the purpoſe already mentioned; that, after the war with Scotland, he would break with Holland; that the King of Spain for the charges of this fleet ſhould give 100,000 crowns a month, according to the Articles of Necolalde; and, for a ſupply towards the war of Scotland, he ſhould lend the King of Great Britain a million and 200,000 crowns, which ſhould afterwards be repayed by the ſaid King by diſcounting it of the ſaid monthly payment of 100,000 crowns for

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the fleet, offering beſides all poſſible ſecurity for the repaying of the ſaid loan; in caſe the King of Great Britain ſhould fail of what he promiſed. *A. D.* 1640.

THE Ambaſſadors were aſtoniſhed at the hearing of this paper, and at ſo ſtrange and new a propoſition. They had already given account into Spain of what had been laſtly propounded unto them, without any the leaſt mention of a thing which they confeſs they never had thought of, to wit, that the King of Spain ſhould contribute 100,000 crowns a month towards the charge of a fleet of twenty ſhips.

I. FIRST, becauſe the Lord Lieutenant, after he had related what the King of Great Britain had granted, and what he would perform in behalf of the King of Spain; and paſſing on to what he demanded in requital thereof, he mentioned only the loan of a million and 200,000 crowns. And ſince it is more to pay 100,000 crowns a month, than to lend that ſum, they judged, that when he expreſſed what was leſs, it could not be expected, that what was more, without making clearly mention thereof, could be comprehended and underſtood tacitly in theſe words, *according to what was required by the Articles of Necolalde*; ſince matters of ſuch importance are not to be truſted to a tacit and preſumptive underſtanding of them.

II. SECONDLY, becauſe the Articles of Necolalde ſpeak only of giving 200,000 crowns for once, for the ſetting out of twenty ſhips, and that in divers payments, as is manifeſt by the very articles.

III. THIRDLY, there being no proportion between the charge of twenty ſhips, and the ſaid ſum of 100,000 crowns a month, it was not poſſible that the Ambaſſadors could imagine that ſuch a ſum was pretended, when it had not been clearly expreſſed; nor was it contained in any Article, nor was it conformable to the charge of the fleet.

MY Lord Cottington and Mr. Secretary Windebank, upon this diſlike of their paper, deſired the Ambaſſadors to ſet down in writing, as they did preſently after, what they conceived were thoſe ſaid propoſitions of the Lord Lieutenant; upon which there might be a final paper made and agreed on, on both ſides; which being drawn, and ſigned by Mr. Secretary Windebank, and ſent to the Ambaſſadors, they found it not ſuch, as that they could approve it; being ſtill different from the laſt propoſitions of the Lord Lieutenant, both in the ſubſtance and in the accidents.

IN the ſubſtance, mentioning again the 100,000 crowns a month for the charges of the fleet, and promiſing a breach with Holland after the reduction of Scotland to the ſame ſtate it was before theſe preſent troubles; of which two points, the former the Ambaſſadors had not heard of in no caſe, and the ſecond had been expreſſed unto them in different language: the Lord Lieutenant having declared that then Scotland ſhould be held to be reduced, when the King's tribunals of juſtice ſhould have their wonted courſe in that kingdom: in the accidents; ſince the ſaid paper contained divers words which ſeem to infer that the Ambaſſadors in theſe conferences had carried themſelves as treating, promiſing and agreeing on propoſitions, they having ſo often declared, they could only hearken to what was propounded, and give account thereof to the King their Maſter.

THE Ambaſſadors ſeeing themſelves in theſe ſtreights, reſolved to ſpeak again with the Lord Lieutenant, and to ſearch into the cauſe whence theſe changes were derived; and they found that all this difference proceeded from a miſtaken ſenſe taken out of the Articles called of Necolalde; which being ſhewed to the Lord Lieutenant in his ſickneſs, and giving him an impreſſion that they contained the propoſition of 100,000 crowns a month (as my Lord Cottington and Mr. Secretary Windebank ſeemed to underſtand it) it was not ſtrange that the Lord Lieutenant reading the Twelfth Article thereof with this ſame impreſſion, might by ſome obſcure terms (which are ſomewhat dark when the precedent Articles are not alſo read, to which they are referred) be drawn to frame the ſame conceit.

BUT the Lord Lieutenant, reflecting on the reaſons above mentioned, and on the diſlike of the Ambaſſadors to this propoſition, he told them, that this motion of the fleet was propounded to the King of Spain, to admit it, in caſe he would contribute to the charge thereof, in the aforeſaid manner; and if not, to refuſe it.

*A.D.*1640. THE Ambaſſadors did not ſo entirely exclude this propoſition, but that firſt they endeavoured to let the Lord Lieutenant ſee, that ſince the King of Great Britain would for his own intereſt and preſent affairs have a great fleet at ſea, he might alſo, without any inconvenience, or new charge, perform ſuch offers as they had already adverti ſed to Spain by their firſt courier. And paſſing on to the point of the league, the Ambaſſadors propounded that, as they had put into the Lords Commiſſioners hands the Treaty ſigned by the Conde Duque and my Lord Cottington with marginal notes, that likewiſe they would reply unto it with ſuch marginal notes as were according to the intentions of the King of Great Britain, which would be very convenient, not only becauſe the Ambaſſadors might with leſs difficulty hear and confer about a buſineſs, for which they had been ſent hither; but alſo in regard, that in caſe theſe differences ſhould be adjuſted, which ſeem chiefly to conſiſt in the point of a ſudden breach with Holland, and of a loan of a million and 200,000 crowns, all the reſt in the ſaid Treaty being already agreed on, it might be ſettled and ſigned with more facility, and without delay, by both the Kings, as ſoon as the firſt payment ſhould be made of the loan.

THE Lord Lieutenant replied, that for what concerned Scotland, the King his Maſter had not need of more than four or five ſhips of war; and for what the Ambaſſadors propounded, touching the time of ſigning the League, he held it impoſſible to conclude it (being ſo important a buſineſs) in ſo ſhort a time, as it was fit for the King of Great Britain to receive this ſupply of money from Spain.

THE Ambaſſadors (who judged this of ſigning the League to be a point, without which there could not any conſiderable ſum be lent by the King their Maſter; nor even were they certain, that being agreed on, it would be aſſented unto, it being the thing in which they have always perſiſted, nor have ever given any propoſitions for certainty to be welcome in Spain, which were not the very ſame which they have brought; not having indeed acted any other part in theſe conferences, than to ſhew where theſe Treaties might prove difficult and break, that the King of Great Britain might accordingly furniſh his Ambaſſador in Spain with full inſtructions and authority, the Ambaſſadors replied to the Lord Lieutenant, that many times thoſe Articles which require moſt time, are not the moſt ſubſtantial, and that when theſe (the moſt ſubſtantial) ſhould be once ſettled with the liking of both parties, and ſigned, thoſe others might be deferred to a longer time.

THIS is what we conceive hath been hitherto diſcourſed and conferred of between the Ambaſſadors of Spain, and the Lords Commiſſioners of the King of Great Britain. And the ſaid Ambaſſadors have given account of it all to the King their Maſter, without making mention of any other thing (for what concerns the breach with Holland) than of the conveniences and advantages of the King of Great Britain; conſidering and weighing them in particular, as if it were only a caſe where the taking and not taking a reſolution were indifferent; though the preſent caſe is ſuch, in regard of the late inſolency of the Hollanders committed in the Downs, the like whereof was never heard; that it puts a neceſſity upon the King of Great Britain to puniſh it, for the reparation of his honour, for the preſerving inviolate the publick faith and peace with the King of Spain, for the ſatisfaction of the whole world, and not to leave all the Princes of Europe in wonder, accompanied with an extreme diffidence of treating with him. Wherefore, the ſaid Ambaſſadors believe, that the King of Great Britain will undertake this action with all alacrity, being ſo juſt, ſo neceſſary, and ſo advantageous, not doubting that it will be applauded by the acclamations of the whole world.

*REASONS which are alleged by the Ambaſſadors of Spain for their refuſing and excluding for ever the Articles which are called of St. Juan de Necolalde.*

THESE Articles of Necolade have been with ſo much earneſtneſs made uſe of by the Lords Commiſſioners of the King of Great Britain in their conferences, as if they were ſome very authentical writing; and they have ſo far grounded their demands upon them, that the Ambaſſadors have thought it neceſſary to ſhew that there is ſome miſtake in the conceit which is made of theſe Articles; not being in effect ever drawn nor admitted by Necolalde, nor do they contain what is pretended; and though they were his, and contained all, yet they could be of no force. *A.D.* 1640.

THEY are not his, firſt, becauſe he made them not, but were drawn by the Miniſters of State of the King of Great Britain, and ſent to him. 2dly, He never approved them, there being yet to be ſeen a reply of his, wherein he diſallows them. And laſtly, becauſe he never ſigned them, there being no ſuch paper as yet produced.

THAT theſe Articles contain not what is pretended, though it be eaſy to prove; yet to explicate the difficulty better, it is requiſite to clear and unfold the Twelfth of thoſe Articles, in which the ſaid difficulty conſiſts. There was a Treaty concluded in Madrid (it is called the Secret Treaty) between the Conde Duque and my Lord Cottington, the principal point thereof was an offenſive and defenſive league and a breach by ſea and land with the Hollanders; in which caſe the King of Spain obliged himſelf to aſſiſt the King of Great Britain with 100,000 crowns a month, in the manner as is there declared.

THE final accompliſhment and execution of this Treaty was committed to Necolalde; but meeting here in this Court with ſome difficulties (an accident inſeparable to great buſineſſes), there was afterwards ſet on foot a conference with him, that in the mean time whilſt theſe difficulties were overcoming, ſomething might be agreed on and performed. And then was propounded, that the King of Great Britain ſhould ſet forth twenty ſhips for many good effects; which yet did not draw on a breach with Holland. And to facilitate this arming of twenty ſhips, it was pretended by the King of Great Britain, that the King of Spain ſhould diſburſe 200,000 crowns with the name of a loan, the which he ſhould repay again, if he failed of what was promiſed; and in caſe he performed it, and ſhould proceed on to the execution of the Secret Treaty, that then thoſe 200,000 crowns were to be caſt into the reckoning of the 100,000 crowns a month, which, as is ſaid, the King of Spain was to pay to him by the ſaid Treaty; and ſo the King of Spain ſhould have paid anticipately two months pay, and was not to contribute any more till the ſaid two firſt months of the league ſhould be expired.

WHO ſhall read the firſt and laſt of theſe very Articles called of Necolalde, and ſent to the Ambaſſadors by the Lords Commiſſioners (though they be very different from what he left here amongſt his papers, and diſallowed by a reply which he made thereunto and ſent to Mr. Secretary Windebank), ſhall not find in them this demand of 100,000 crowns a month for the charge of twenty ſhips; but that their true meaning is what is above explicated.

ALL this is alleged by the Ambaſſadors, to prove how new this propoſition is, and to take from it the ſtrength which it is made to carry, as iff it had been once admitted by a Miniſter of State of the King of Spain, and to ſhew [*that*] what the Ambaſſadors have written to their King was well grounded, and according to reaſon. And howſoever, not having been approved by both the Kings, as is manifeſt, it can be of no force, though even it contained what is pretended, and though it had been made and ſigned by Juan de Necolalde.

*A.D.* 1640. *Don* Gaſpar de Guſman, *Conde* Duque de Sanlucar, *of his Catholick Majeſty's Council of State, Great Maſter of his Horſe,* &c. *and Sir* Francis Cottington *of the Privy Council of his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and his Extraordinary Ambaſſador in* Spain, &c. *have agreed on and ſigned by order from their Kings, this Treaty following, whereof the Approbation and Ratification is reſerved to their Majeſties.* †

I.

IN [*the*] firſt place, it is agreed on, That there be a league and confederacy offenſive and defenſive ſettled between the two Kings againſt the Hollanders, which ſhall laſt during the war againſt them, or till there be a peace made with them, with conſent of both Kings.

II.

THAT an offenſive war ſhall be made by both Kings againſt the Hollanders by ſea and land, till the total reduction of thoſe provinces to the due obedience of the King of Spain, their natural Sovereign; or elſe, till by conſent of both Kings there be made ſome convenient agreement with them; and this war to be proſecuted with ſuch forces as ſhall be agreed on, by ſea and land.

THE execution of this Article may be deferred, till Scotland be reduced to the ſtate it was before theſe preſent broils; the King of Great Britain obliging himſelf in the mean while to aſſiſt with a fleet of fifty ſhips of war; that being united with thoſe of the Catholick King, they may be employed againſt the Hollanders as the principal enemy, and againſt the French, if not as principal, as auxiliaries and partners with Holland; with this condition, that whilſt the King of Great Britain be not freed from the buſineſs of Scotland, he is not to pretend any thing upon Zealand, nor in the Palatinate.

III.

THAT neither of the Kings ſhall treat of peace or agreement with the Hollanders, nor hearken to any overture to that effect, without the notice and conſent of the other King.

IV.

THAT there ſhall be appointed on each ſide Counſellors or Commiſſioners, who ſhall reſide in England or Flanders, or in both places, that they may adjuſt and agree on the enterprizes and other incidents of war, with the ſecrecy and prudence which is neceſſary in ſuch undertakings.

† *This is the Tranſlation of the Spaniſh paper which occurs in page* 49 *of Vol. I. Only, the Articles are here moderated by marginal notes, as mentioned at the beginning of the* RELATION.

V. THE

V.

THE Catholick King obligeth himſelf, and will from henceforth reſign and give unto the King of Great Britain ſuch and ſuch lands, towns and dominions unto his perſon, or to that Crown, as ſhall be agreed on, and is already inſinuated in the laſt Article, for the full effect of what the King of Great Britain ſhall oblige himſelf unto by this capitulation, and in conſideration and ſatisfaction of the charges and other loſſes which the ſaid King ſhall expoſe himſelf unto by this Treaty.

THIS Article is alſo to be deferred till the King of Great Britain having ended the buſineſs of Scotland, may have a formal army ready to be employed by ſea and land againſt the Hollanders. *A.D.* 1640.

VI.

HIS Catholick Majeſty doth moreover oblige himſelf to give unto the King of Great Britain a hundred thouſand crowns monthly, and ever when he ſhall increaſe his forces for this effect, with the ſame proportion of the fourth part.

THIS Article in the point of the King of Great Britain's being to lay down the three parts of the charge, and the Catholick King the fourth part, may be deferred till the ſettling the broils of Scotland; and his Catholick Majeſty in the mean while will aſſiſt with 100,000 crowns a month, giving the 400,000 towards the charges of a fleet of fifty ſhips of war, which the ſaid King is to ſet out and employ in the common cauſe; and the other 800,000 to be lent with convenient ſecurity, to aſſiſt the King of Great Britain for his preſent occaſions; for which end his Catholick Majeſty will give him eight thouſand old ſoldiers, receiving in exchange twenty thouſand out of the King of Great Britain's dominions for his wars in Flanders.

VII.

THE King of Great Britain obligeth himſelf to grant free and perpetual exerciſe of the Roman Catholick religion in all thoſe lands, towns and dominions, as well in thoſe which he ſhall gain for the King of Spain, as in ſuch as ſhall remain to him in virtue of the donation of the King of Spain made unto him by this league, confederacy and reciprocal agreement.

VIII.

THAT the King of Great Britain poſſeſſing the iſland of Zealand in the manner as ſhall be agreed on, he ſhall give aſſurance unto the Catholick King that in no time, nor for any occaſion whatſoever, the navigation and paſſage of the river of Antwerp

*A.D.* 1640. Antwerp ſhall be ſhut up, permitting unto the ſaid Catholick King to take and retain ſuch pueſtos or holds as ſhall be neceſſary for this ſecurity. Dated in Madrid, the 12th of January 1631.

*Don* Gaſpar de Guſman, *Conde* Duque de Sanlucar, &c. *and Sir* Francis Cottington, &c. *beſides the Treaty which this very ſame day they have ſigned under the approbation and ratification of their Majeſties, have agreed on and ſettled this preſent Article in form of Propoſition, and have ſet their names unto it.* †

DECLARING that in reſpect of the facility which the King of Great Britain will find for the conqueſt of Zealand, [*it*] being very probable, that with the diverſions, ſuccours and enterprizes to be made by the Catholick King by land, the ſaid King of Great Britain may conquer Zealand in the ſpace of one year, by which he would be leſs neceſſitated to proſecute the war with ſo much heat as is agreed on and capitulated: it muſt remain agreed on and capitulated between the two Kings, That, in ſuch a caſe, the King of Great Britain ſhall depoſit in the hands of the Catholick King the iſlands of Walcheren and Tergus, or elſe give ſome other ſecurity, ſuch as the Catholick King may reſt ſatisfied withal, till the war be ended, or elſe till the Catholick King have gained all the provinces which he hath not given to the King of Great Britain.

*Extract of a Letter from the Lord* DORCHESTER *to Sir* ROBERT ANSTRUTHER. *

I MUST let you know how happy you are in his Majeſty's gracious acceptation of all your endeavours, and ſo full an approbation of them by all my Lords, to whom his Majeſty doth intruſt his foreign affairs, that out of the true affection I bear you, I cannot but expreſs the ſenſe I have of ſo fair an interpretation that is made of the part you bear in a buſineſs, which otherwiſe gives ſo little contentment; as you may eaſily judge it doth, ſince a certain paper, whereof the Friar Chiroga gave you an abſtract,---ſhould be made the rule of your negotiation.

THE paper came thus into the world. My Lord Cottington, having ſhut up his Treaty at Madrid, after all things were concluded and ſigned, and being upon his return, the Conde d'Olivarez (who abounds in his own ſenſe) having conceived a diſcourſe, written all with his own hand, which is that paper whereof in ef-

† *For the Spaniſh Original ſee page* 50 *of Vol. I.*

* *In a letter, dated Sept.* $\frac{14}{24}$, 1631, *from Sir Robert Anſtruther, the King's Ambaſſador in Germany, to Lord Dorcheſter, we have a long detail of his unſucceſsful negotiation about the Palatinate; the Spaniſh Miniſter at Vienna requiring him to make Lord Cottington's Treaty the baſis of his negotiation. In anſwer to this part of his letter, Lord Dorcheſter gives the above hiſtory of this very curious tranſaction.---Both Sir Robert Anſtruther's and Lord Dorcheſter's letters are in the Paper-Office, from whence this account of the former and extract of the latter were taken, and obligingly communicated to the Editor by the preſent Earl of Hardwicke. See note page* 84 *of this Vol. where, by miſtake, this is called an Extract of a Letter from Sir Robert Anſtruther to Lord Dorcheſter, inſtead of---from Lord Dorcheſter to Sir Robert Anſtruther.*

fect

fect the French writing given you by the Friar was the tranſlate, ſhewed the ſame to my Lord Cottington, requiring his opinion thereupon: who, unwilling to cenſure it, yet preſſed by the Conde to anſwer, ſaid, it had in it *de todo*; which he underſtood, as was meant, *ſome good and ſome bad*; as with ſome anger (as he is prompt) would have caſt it into the fire: which my Lord Cottington being unwilling to do, as an ill recompence for ſo much labour, the Conde preſſed him earneſtly to take a copy thereof with his own hand, and to ſhew it to his Majeſty; with promiſe, if his Majeſty ſhould diſlike the ſame, he ſhould then make a ſacrifice thereof, as he meant to have done himſelf. *A.D.* 1642.

My Lord Cottington being returned, when he had given an account to his Majeſty of the principal of his negotiation, offered to acquaint him likewiſe with this acceſſory; which his Majeſty did ſo little heed or regard, that he did not ſo much as give it a reading. Since, the Conde hath by particular letters to my Lord Cottington, enquired after the Diſcourſe *ſine autore*, which he himſelf ſo ſtiled. And therefore, his Majeſty doth much the more wonder it ſhould be ſent and divulged in Germany as an authentical piece, and a direction to oblige thoſe who have in their hands the treaty and manage of theſe affairs there, &c.

*Whitehall, Oct.* 16, 1631.

## *Mr.* Richard Browne *to one of the Secretaries of State.*

*Right Honourable,*

SINCE the writing of my deſpatch yeſterday by the Ordinary, I have this morning received advice that upon the defeat of Honnecourt, Colonel Beling's and Colonel Fitzwilliams's regiments being much diminiſhed, they have here ſince caſhiered thoſe two regiments; and that the Prince of Conde did yeſterday give paſſes to the Iriſh Commanders and Officers, to the number of ten or twelve, to return into their country. But the common ſoldiers are diſtributed into other regiments. I have this morning been with Monſieur le Prince to complain of this breach of their own order, and to let them know that his Majeſty cannot take it well, that theſe men are thus ſet free to go and ſerve againſt him. I deſired him he would be pleaſed to ſtay them here in France but until I acquainted his Majeſty that they were caſhiered, ſaying, that perhaps his Majeſty might find ſome other employment for them, rather than to permit them to go into Ireland to ſtrengthen the rebels. But the Prince's ſhort anſwer to me was, that both by order from this King, and by deliberation of councils, he had done what he did, and that he would, without my conſent, give paſſes at any time to thoſe his Majeſty's ſubjects, and only to thoſe who had ſerved this King. This being the ſubſtance of his anſwer, I thought good to advertiſe it with all ſpeed, chiefly, that it being known in England that theſe Officers are now on their way to Ireland, there may be ſome particular intimation and command given to thoſe ſhips that guard the Iriſh ſeas, more diligently to lie in wait for them. So praying, &c.

*Paris, 7th June Stilo Novo,* 1642.

*An Original.*

*EXTRACTS of ſeveral Letters of Intelligence, which appear to have been written at* London, *by Perſons well-informed, to Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS, *after he retired into* France †, *and to have been ſent incloſed by him to Sir* EDWARD HYDE *for his Information from time to time, as they were received. A few are endorſed by Mr. Secretary* NICHOLAS, *but the greater Part by Sir* EDWARD HYDE.

*A.D.*1642. ABOUT the month of December 1642, a petition for peace (agreeable to the Proteſtation taken by both Houſes of Parliament) was framed in behalf of the inhabitants reſiding in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Fields and Covent Garden, ſubſcribed by the major part thereof; and by many hundreds of them, without clubs, or any other arms either defenſive or offenſive, endeavoured to have been preſented to both Houſes of Parliament; which they hearing of, ſent their commands to the petitioners, prohibiting them to approach nearer than Whitehall, but to ſend half a dozen ſelect men with it, and no more, and they ſhould have an anſwer thereto: which was obſerved, the reſt of the company ſtaying at Whitehall, where they drank both wine and ale (as in a common tavern and alehouſe) then ſold there. And after ſome hours paſſed, Sir Edward Warder, one of the Gentlemen that went to preſent the petition, received this anſwer from Lord Say; "They were all fools and aſſes "that came with the petition, and ſo they might return home."

ABOUT the month of Auguſt 1646, at Henley upon Thames, a woman having taken notice of the unwonted taxations impoſed upon her and others by this Parliament, expreſſed (yet in civil terms) ſome diſlike thereof; which made known to a Committee there, ſhe was by them ordered to have her tongue faſtened by a nail to the body of a tree, by the highway-ſide, on a market day; which was accordingly done, and a paper in great letters, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of her fact, fixed to her back, to make her the more notorious.

*January* $\frac{7}{17}$, 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

THERE are lately divers reports raiſed to incenſe the people againſt the King. They have lately taken a letter of his Majeſty's to Langhorn in Wales, which was ſent by Mr. Hudſon, praying Langhorn to raiſe that country for the King.

*January* $\frac{14}{24}$, 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

THE Earl of Pembroke was the only [*one*] of the nine Commiſſioners (yeſterday departed, and enjoined to be at Newcaſtle by Sunday ſe'nnight next) that viſited the King's children, to receive their ſmall errands to their Father.

*February* $\frac{4}{14}$, 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

THE courſe for compoſitions is briefly thus. The petitioner prays to be admitted to a reaſonable compoſition for his eſtate, ſequeſtered or ſequeſtrable for his delinquency, according to an ordinance of Parliament. And to the petition is annexed a particular of the eſtate real and perſonal; which is referred to be conſidered, and reported by Mr. Alexander, one of the Committee, from whom it returns with a report to the Clerk of the Committee. And as men make friends to have their

† *The two firſt articles are of a prior date, and thus endorſed by Lord Clarendon,* "Skippon's relation of ſome "particular extravagancies of the Parliament."

buſineſs

buſineſs called for, ſo it is either ſooner or later deſpatched. The fines for eſtates in fee-ſimple are ſet at two years value; for lives, at one; for perſonal, at ten in the hundred. Merchants and tradeſmen's books are allowed againſt debts, like for like. The moiety of the fine being paid, three months time is allowed for the reſt, and letters iſſued to the county. *A. D.* 1647.

*March* $\frac{11}{21}$, 164$\frac{6}{7}$.

THE King perſeveres moſt patiently and magnanimouſly in his principles, and lately worſted Sir James Harington in his own argument, which was, from the precedent of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to prove the people's power to depoſe kings. The moſt prejudicate perſons about him acknowledge his Majeſty to be of admirable parts. The Earl of Pembroke and Lord Montague, and other of the Commiſſioners blame Harington's raſhneſs in ſaying it was not the evil counſellors, but his Majeſty's obdurateneſs, the Parliament contended againſt.

*April* $\frac{15}{25}$, 1647.

SIR P. Killigrew went to Holmby with ſome books only for the King's uſe, and not with any meſſage or anſwer about chaplains, which reſts with the Houſe of Commons. He brought back another note under the King's hand for more books; the firſt whereof was "The Crown of Thorns." He ſays the King looks better than at Newcaſtle, and out-wits ſtill all about him, refuſing to meddle with affairs of ſtate, till he come a free man to London.

THERE is a miſchievous libel lately come out, falſly faulting the King with the loſs of the Palatinate, the deſtruction of the Proteſtants in Germany and Ireland, &c. It is conceived this is a preface and eſſay to try the people, and it runs on the behalf of the preſbytery. The author of it is conceived to be Sir Ol. Fleming.

*April* $\frac{19}{29}$, 1647.

THE foreign Miniſters here are, or ſeem to be, much offended at Monſ. Jouchim the Dutch Ambaſſador's giving up in writing to the Parliament, what he would ſpeak to the King, when they gave him leave to go to his Majeſty to impart the news of the Prince of Orange's death; for which the King yeſterday went into mourning.

COLONEL Hervey, it is ſaid, accepts of Fulham and London Houſe, with the appurtenances, for his arrears, upon condition the King confirm the alienation thereof from the Church: which throws a great rub in the way of the ſale of Biſhops lands.

THE King continues very reſolute, and hath had many good characters given of him lately to the Parliament, which they like not. But he is ſtill his own chaplain, and will not ſuffer thoſe about him to do that duty for him. He lately aſked Mr. Marſhall, what exceptions they had againſt the Liturgy, or, againſt what part of it they took diſlike. He anſwered, that the Parliament had made an ordinance that it ſhould not be uſed, and therefore he could not approve of it. To which the King replied, that he could have had as good a reaſon as that from the Earl of Pembroke.

*April* 26, *Stilo Vet.* 1647.

MARTIN, this week, upon reading of letters from Holmby, deſiring directions how to deal with ſuch as flocked to be touched by the King, ſaid he knew not but the Parliament's Great Seal might do it as well, if there were an ordinance for it. And when it was moved, that, ſince the Scots inſtructions were come for their Commiſſioners, conſideration may be taken about ſending the propoſitions to the King, Martin ſaid, "The man to whom the propoſitions ſhould be ſent, ought rather "to come to the bar himſelf, than be ſent to any more."

*A.D.* 1647. THE Earl of Pembroke was very large in applauſe of the Scots fidelity, honour and honeſty, when he came into the Houſe.

*June* 10, 1647.

YESTERDAY there came an expreſs to bring word that the King was on his way from Sir John Cutts's near Cambridge to Newmarket, and that his Majeſty refuſed to go back to Holmby, becauſe he would not be carried from poſt to pillar. He ſaith, his Majeſty looks well, and is well reſpected and obſerved in the army, all the Officers kiſſing his hand on their knee, only Fairfax and Cromwell kneeled not. They admit all to come freely to his Majeſty.

THE Earl of Pembroke now begins to ſay, he is not ſo much preſbyterian, as the world conceives. For which I ſay he is the wiſer. *

*June* 21, 1647.

THE accident that happened between the King and Colonel Whaley was related to me by one that was preſent. The now Prince of Orange ſent by one Captain Sayers the Ribband and George that his father wore. The King had a ſhort turn or two with Captain Sayers, and then Whaley interpoſed himſelf, and would not permit any more diſcourſe. The King with ſome indignation puſhed him back with both his hands, and had his cane up, but ſtruck him not. Yet this I hear, that the army are much pleaſed that the King uſed him ſo †.

I HAVE it from good hands, and believe it, that one relating to 358. was with the King lately; who bade him aſſure his friends, that he was not engaged to Preſbyterian or Independent; thoſe that bade moſt for him ſhould have him: that he told the Independent, that he often had good words, but he would have good aſſurances: they replied, they liked it well, and he ſhould have them: that the King had ſent to St. Germains, that they ſhould receive counſel from him, they could not adviſe. * Nothing truer, as the buſineſs now is.

*June* 28, 1647.

I AM told by one that dined yeſterday with Fairfax, that he ſhould wiſh much confuſion to himſelf, if he did not intend really to the King.

THE 25th in the evening, the eleven excepted and impeached by the army, after a ſpeech made by Mr. Hollis, in the behalf of himſelf and his company, humbly beſeeched the Houſe it might not be taken ill, if they did tranſport themſelves, or retire to their particular abodes. At their taking leave, there was a general ſilence in the Houſe, they affording them only the civility of their hats; which is thought to proceed from the ſudden ſurpriſal and unexpectedneſs of the act, there being a motion made inſtantly for the diſbanding of the army; but it was not thought ſeaſonable.

*July* $\frac{8}{18}$, 1647.

TUESDAY laſt the Prince Elector was with the King, who uſed him ſo friendly, that he ſate at his own table, though he would not hear prayers with his Majeſty.

THE General hath ſent a letter to the Parliament, ſhewing the reaſons of the King's coming from Newmarket to Hatfield, ſo to Windſor, and thence to Caverſham; declaring alſo, how far only the Officers addreſſes to his Majeſty have gone, how mindful ſtill of the publick, and reſpectful to Parliament; urging the fitneſs of

* *Theſe laſt words are added by Sec. Nicholas.*
† *See Herbert's Memoirs, Page* 31.

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the Duke of Richmond's and Chaplains' attendance on the King, and preſſing the Par- *A.D.* 1647.
liament's care to diſpoſe all their actions ſo, as a happy ſettlement may enſue under his Majeſty's government; they being friends, not enemies to his monarchy and prerogative, ſo far as it conſiſts with the kingdom's juſt liberties and rights, &c.

*July* 22, 1647.

THE King turned away Dr. Crofts from him for bowing to the altar, becauſe it gave a ſcandal to the people.

*Sept.* 9, 1647.

I WILL conclude with a ſtrange ſtory of rats; which to the number of two or three thouſand did ſwim over the river of Tweed at [. . . . . ]. The river is there broad; and it is there four miles Scotiſh ground upon this ſide Tweed. Being landed, they marched all theſe four miles; and as ſoon as ever they came upon the Engliſh ground, they all died. Colonel Edward Gray did write this to Mr. Robert Gray his brother here; who writ again to him to enquire further into the truth of this ſtory; who this laſt week ſent him word by his letters that he went of purpoſe to Berwick to know the truth of it, and that Mr. Arthur Gray, who lives upon the place, and was an eye-witneſs, did confirm it for a truth. They are all men of quality *.

*Sept.* 27, 1647.

THERE have been ſome deſperate motions; as, that the King, in regard that many who give him ill counſel, and are profeſſed enemies to the Parliament, reſort unto him, ſhould be reſtrained; that they ſhould think no more of the King, but proceed as if there were no ſuch thing in the world; for that he is always an impediment to all good reſolutions; ſome calling him Ahab, others Coloquintida. But all thoſe ſpeeches have been ſtopped by Cromwell and Ireton; whoſe civilities are viſible, but the reality of their intention not clearly diſcerned.

*Sept.* 28, 1647.

CROMWELL, applying himſelf to the Speaker, told him that it was worth his conſideration, how that there was a party in the army labouring for the King, and a great one; how the City was endeavouring underhand to get another party in the army; and that there was a third party, who was little dreamt of, that were endeavouring to have no other power to rule but the ſword †.

*October* 4, 1647.

THERE came lately ſome of the agitators to the King, to know how he would diſpoſe of the Prince; and the King aſked them why they ſhould aſk him ſuch an impertinent queſtion. But being upon it again, after a little pauſe, the King put his hand into his pocket, and pulled out a ribband; which letting fall, and holding the other end in his hand, [*he*] told them that the Prince was ſo high; and with this anſwer they departed.

* *This is in a letter from Sir Edward Ford, who married Ireton's ſiſter, to Lord Hopton.*

† *From Sir Edward Ford to Lord Hopton.*

*October* 14, 1647.

A.D.1647. THE Presbyterian and Independent agree well enough together. But there is a new sect sprung up among them, and these are the Rationalists; and what theirreason dictates to them in Church or State stands for good, until they be convinced with better; and that is according as it serves their own turns. Some of them were at the House this day; and much reason was propounded this day by divers of the agitators to the council of war.

THERE are other new sects coming forth; and good reason: for the House of Commons hath, upon debate of the first article, given a toleration to all to exercise the liberty of conscience, but to Papists, and the Common Prayer.

THERE be desperate opinions broached in the House: and one moved, that he did not know why the Twelve Articles of the Creed should be imposed upon any man's conscience, that he must of necessity be bound to believe them.

*October* 28, 1647.

THE Scots talk high, and demand reparation of honour for the King's delivery (the infamy being general through all the known world), and produce a contract between the Parliament and them, for the restorement of the King within fifteen days after he was by them so delivered.

*November* 1, 1647.

THE Levellers stick not in the army to say the kingdom is their's by conquest; and, if the arrears go on still unpaid, it will be their's by purchase: this Parliament is not for their turn (though they are enough for them, yet the dormant party upon time and opportunity will be too hard for them), and therefore must be dissolved, that so there may be one of a free election. To make way for which, on Friday last a vote passed the House, that not only Freeholders, but all men living, even beggars, should have a vote in choosing Knights and Burgesses (servants only excepted.)

ON Thursday last at a council of war, the chief commanders rose much discontented, and nothing was positively done. It is strange that those five regiments (being the General's, Cromwell's, Ireton's, &c.) should prosecute thus against the King, and their Commanders be held his Majesty's greatest friends. Their wives also relish the Court well enough: for this last week Cromwell's, Ireton's, and Whaley's wives went to the Court; where Mr. Ashburnham taking Mrs. Cromwell by the hand, and all the rest having their peculiar servants, were led into the Court, and feasted by them. How the agitators will take these things, I know not: but this next Thursday doth threaten strange business, a King, or no King.

*November* 4, 1647.

ALL things here are in a very sad condition. Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Pride, with H. Martin, are so violent in the new way against King, Army, Parliament, and all eminency, that Cromwell and some of his party are like to side with them out of fear; and so, notwithstanding all former probabilities, and professions that they would in the end do well for the King, his Majesty's affairs are grown more desperate than ever.

THERE is an impeachment in agitation among that sort of men against Cromwell himself and some others, upon Sir H. Mildmay's motion. Wickerlin, their chief Secretary, is ordered to furnish one Wallen, a base and busy fellow in the army, with papers for materials, for drawing up the said impeachment.

I DID

I DID not write on Monday laſt, becauſe I was then at Hampton-Court; whence we are all now baniſhed by an order from Sir Thomas Fairfax; none being ſuffered to ſtay there but ſuch as are authorized by the two Houſes of Parliament. The viſible occaſion of this order was this; the King having paſſed his word for his true impriſonment, had the greater liberty allowed him, as going a hunting when he pleaſed without any guard attending him; and his friends were freely admitted to ſee him. But laſt week (upon what ground is not yet known) his Majeſty ſent to the General to tell him that he would paſs his word no longer; and that he ſhould look to him as well as he could; for he perceived they did nothing but dally with him, and ſpend time. *A.D.* 1647.

*November* $\frac{1}{1}$, 1647.

COLONEL Rainſborough, at a council of war, held at the head-quarter, intimated that the army was not diſpoſed to make any more addreſſes to the King; which produced the letter to the Speaker, now in print, to that effect, ſigned by William Clarke, dated the 5th of November, from Putney. Ireton oppoſed the ſame all he could, and, in teſtimony of his diſſent left the Council, proteſting he could come no more there to be partaker of ſo high neglect and violation of reaſon and juſtice, which he obſerved to reign amongſt them. He hath been much moved ſince to return; but continues reſolute.

*November* 11, 1647.

THE agitators, who have been the active men of late, are diſcharged. Some will tell you, that it hath been the power of the Officers, others the wiſdom of the Parliament, that hath done it. But the plain truth is, it was a month's pay, which, how long it will continue, is uncertain. For my part, I believe we ſhall hear from them again when that money is ſpent. Yet this hath quieted not a little the minds of thoſe that feared a parity, and hath raiſed the minds of thoſe that underſtand not the myſtery. But I muſt tell you in your ear, that ſuch is the King's ill fortune, as, if they had continued in the fear they were in of the Levellers but one day longer, I know it for certain that the King had been on Wedneſday night laſt at St. James's, upon almoſt as good terms as you and I could wiſh. But that conjuncture is almoſt, but not quite, paſt.

*November* 15, 1647.

UPON Friday laſt the King was certainly deſigned to have been murthered: but God, the preſerver of all things ſacred and juſt, prevented thoſe helliſh intentions by his Majeſty's eſcape upon Thurſday before, about five at night. The whole kingdom is at a gaze, expecting from what part they ſhall next hear from him; and are well ſatisfied that without him in his juſt prerogative no peace can be hoped for. The report this day is, that he is in the Iſland of Wight, and taken. I believe the firſt, but the laſt I credit not, in regard I am confident he was promiſed a ſecurity there by the Governor and forces; where it is probable he will treat with his Parliament more ſafely, or form his firſt riſe to a new power. Cromwell is this day at the rendezvous, where he muſt make himſelf powerful to ſecure his head, or follow his predeceſſor Hotham.

A FRIEND of mine that came out of Hertfordſhire, and ſaw it, tells me that on Thurſday laſt Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment of foot were drawn to a rendezvous; and one White, the Major of the regiment, told the ſoldiers that the kingdom muſt be under another government; (which he ſaid, to ſee how they would like it.) Whereupon the whole regiment unanimouſly threw up their hats and cried, "A King, "a King." And that acclamation being over, with the like vehemency [*they*] cried, "This King, this King." And thereupon White got to his horſe, and made ſome haſte out of the field. This regiment is not leſs than 1200 in rank and file; but I

A.D. 1647. hear not of any commiſſioned Officers that joined themſelves to the ſoldiers; which I much marvel at.

Upon Friday laſt the Commons Houſe being in a great ſilence and muſe, a Gentleman roſe up and ſaid, "Mr. Speaker, are you neither contented with, nor without, a King?"

*November* $\frac{11}{21}$, 1647.

Lieutenant General Cromwell deported himſelf very gallantly and prudently at the rendezvous near Ware; where perceiving Lilburne's regiment (which came thither without order) to appear in a mutinous manner with Whites in their hats, he rid round the ſame, and coming to the head of the regiment drew his ſword and charged ſo furiouſly through it, as the regiment (being much aſtoniſhed therewith) pulled out their Whites, and craved mercy. Afterwards he wheeled about, and changing his countenance ſpake fairly to them, demanding what they would have.

By theſe means, and by the ſuddenneſs of the ſeveral rendezvous' (the laſt whereof is to be at Hounſlow Heath this day), the Levellers have been ſo diſappointed, but eſpecially by the ſudden and unexpected departure of the King, (upon whoſe perſon it is more than probable they had a bloody deſign), as they now have very low thoughts of their cauſe; and it is believed they will ſcarce be able ever to gather head again.

*November* 25, 1647.

In my laſt, upon the King's going into the Iſle of Wight, I writ you the hopes I had to ſee a ſudden change in the affairs of England, and much to the King's advantage. But I muſt recall that opinion, and tell you, I now fear the King was outreached in it, by the advice of ſome of the army, who found a neceſſity for his removal from Hampton-Court; which could not be done (without a general diſtaſte to the whole nation, and juſt cauſe of exception from the Scots) but by his own voluntary eſcape; and ſo he is by his own act, where they deſired to have had him, ſure enough, and clear from that concourſe of friends he had before.

*December* 2, 1647.

The warrants iſſued by the Speaker for apprehending Mr. John Aſhburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Colonel W. Legg, were upon a motion made by Lieutenant-General Cromwell called in.

*December* 9, 1647.

The Lord Inchiquin's victory over the Lord Taaf is confirmed; and it is certain the Lord Taaf's cabinet was then taken; wherein it is ſaid there were letters and papers reflecting with ſo much prejudice upon his Majeſty's affairs there, as it hath ſtaggered many (who have been lately well inclined) in their preſent judgment of his Majeſty's intentions thereby.

*December* 9, 1647.

His Majeſty is very ſtrictly looked to, his lodgings being locked up every night, and the keys carried to the Governor. And this is done becauſe they now know his Majeſty's deſign was not for that place, when he left Hampton-Court. But whether he were neceſſitated or betrayed thither, is yet a diſpute amongſt many. For my own part, I have better thoughts of his conductors, than to believe any animoſity againſt the Scots ſhould make them do ſo unhandſome an action.

Sir

SIR J. B. told a perſon of great worth very lately, that loſing the opportunity of *A.* 1647. preſerving their firſt deſign for Jerſey, they were forced to put themſelves upon Hammond.

*December* 9, 1647.

WHAT is written in the caſe of the King, &c. will appear every day more and more in all parts of it, but eſpecially where mention is made of the ſuperior Officers and agitators being linked together in deſign. When I ſpeak of the ſuperior Officers, I exempt the General and two or three more, whom I look upon as perſons of honour. But the greateſt party being Cromwell's own, either by alliance or faction, are ſuch, as, in my wiſhes to the King's happineſs, I could place them in ſome *terra incognita*, whence they might never return.

BUT if any in the firſt place object, Why doth not the General either quit the employment, or declare himſelf againſt them? be it known that the laying down his commiſſion were a ſtep to deſtruction, he having no ſecurity for what hath been done in relation to the war. And beſides, he remains liable to be made a ſacrifice to the malice, jealouſies and fears of thoſe men of high reſolutions; whom it concerns, in caſe he ſhould deſert his engagement, to ſecure him ſo far forth, by impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and that he ſhould not be able to betake himſelf to any other.

SECONDLY, if any object that Cromwell, Ireton, and other of the grandees, have pleaded openly for the King againſt the proceedings of the agitators, and have cruſhed them; you muſt underſtand this diſlike of their's againſt thoſe proceedings was not out of any good affection towards the King; but only, having engaged their creatures long ſince to intend his ruin, and that rabble having (as they thought) a fit opportunity to act it, it began upon a ſudden to drive ſo furiouſly, that they had almoſt ſpoiled all. So that the grand ſteerſmen of the plot were neceſſitated, in regard they ſaw the conſtitutions of the people would not bear ſo open and horrid a courſe againſt their King, to take them off with might and main. And thereby they took occaſion to communicate counſels with ſuch in the army whoſe hearts were truly royal, to act under moſt ſpecious pretences, to ingratiate themſelves, obtain credit and confidence, and obſcure their deſign; which muſt be effected another way with ſubtilty. In proſecution whereof all friendſhip was pretended towards his Majeſty, a friendly correſpondence held, and daily intelligence given him of all that was done, or intended, by the agitators, and the guards doubled to preſerve his perſon from aſſaſſins: and all this, not out of any good will (though ſo pretended), but only in order to their deſign to ſtrike terror to his Majeſty, and by this ſtratagem work in him a willingneſs to remove from Hampton-Court (as a place not ſecure) to ſome other of more ſafety, where he might be out of the reach of the agitators, and parley with the Parliament, touching the ſettlement of the kingdom.

AND for this very end Colonel Hammond having been made Governor of the Iſle of Wight about two months before, partly by frights, and partly by feigned friendſhip, ſeconded with high promiſes, they prevailed ſo far upon the good King, and his friends that were about him, to make a pretended eſcape from Hampton-Court, and commit himſelf to their mercy, under the power of Hammond in that iſland. So that they are now arrived to the height of their wiſhes, having by theſe ſleights withdrawn him from Hampton-Court, that place where they perceived him to be ſo eyed and adored by his people, as the Perſians worſhipped the riſing ſun; and where he was courted and looked upon as ſtepping into the throne again at Weſtminſter; and where it had been impoſſible to have kept him long from the reſcue of a popular inſurrection, and altogether dangerous to have uſed any extremity towards him. But now, having him cooped up thus, as it were out of the world, what the conſequence will be any man may collect, that is neither a prophet, nor the ſon of a prophet.

*December* 22, 1647.

*A.D.* 1647. THERE was lately a faſt at the head quarter, for the uniting of the army; where the Lieutenant General, and Commiſſary General prayed publickly in the aſſembly, which (my godly author tells me) was ſuch ſweet muſick as the heavens *never before* knew.

*December* 30, 1647.

CHRISTMAS hath been here obſerved by the generality with as much ſolemnity as ever for feaſting and pleaſure. Some intending to preach in honour of that day, have been impriſoned; as Dr. Griffith, and Mr. Hall of St. Bartholomew's.

*January* 6, 1647.

HIS Majeſty gave the Commiſſioners at the Iſle of Wight his anſwer ſealed. They conſult, return, and deſire they may ſee it, being Commiſſioners. His Majeſty is contented, conditionally they would engage their honours they would not uſe it againſt him, till it were debated in the Houſes. They did ſo, and the Governor with them. Upon ſight of it, his Majeſty's ſervants are diſmiſſed, and his guards doubled. His Majeſty ſends for Hammond.

*King*. Why do you uſe me thus? Where are your orders for it? Was it the ſpirit that moved you to it?

HAMMOND, who had no orders from the Parliament, but likely ſome advice from the Commiſſioners, ſaid nothing at firſt, but afterwards laid it upon his Majeſty's anſwer.

*King*. Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence againſt me?

*Hammond*. I ſaid nothing.

*King*. You are an equivocating gentleman. Will you allow me any chaplain? You pretend for liberty of conſcience; ſhall I have none?

*Hammond*. I cannot allow you any chaplain.

*King*. You uſe me neither like a gentleman, nor a Chriſtian.

*Hammond*. I'll ſpeak with you, when you are in better temper.

*King*. I have ſlept well to night.

*Hammond*. I have uſed you very civilly.

*King*. Why do you not ſo now, then?

*Hammond*. Sir, you are too high.

*King*. My ſhoemaker's fault then; my ſhoes are of the ſame laſt, &c. *Twice or thrice to this purpoſe.*

Shall I have liberty to go about to take the air?

*Hammond*. No; I cannot grant it.

His Majeſty charges him with his allegiance, [*and*] told him he muſt anſwer this. Hammond cries.

*January* 13, 1647.

THE impriſonment of the King hath been concealed from the Duke of York. But two or three days ſince, one of his attendants, a ſervant of the Earl of Northumberland, told him of it: to which he replied, How durſt any rogues to uſe his father after that manner! and then fell a weeping. The man told him he would inform his Lord of what had been ſaid; whereupon the Duke took a long bow then in the place, to have ſhot him, had not another behind him held his hand. For this, it is reported, the Earl of Northumberland will have the Duke whipped; but whether it hath yet been done, I know not.

*February*

*February* 17, 164⅞.

THE Parliament's declaration againſt the King is in print, being ſhort of what was expected. There were fifty in the Houſe of Commons that diſſented. Mr. Selden told the Houſe that he was one of the Committee to examine the buſineſs of poiſoning King James in the Duke of Buckingham's time, but could find nothing at all reflecting upon this King, and therefore moved the Houſe that that article might be deſerted. Whereupon the Lieutenant General moved, that that Gentleman who made that motion might be expelled the Houſe; which Sir Simon D' Ewes (who troubles himſelf much in relicks and records) took much in ſnuff, and told the Houſe that he had a premeditated ſpeech upon that particular; but finding Mr. Selden like to ſpeed ſo ill for declaring his mind, he deſired that he might have liberty to ſit down, and ſay nothing. *A.D.*1647.

JUDGE Jenkins, being a truſtee for orphans, is fined in chancery by the Overſeers of the will of the deceaſed: and refuſing to appear, was fetched on Monday with an attachment by the Sheriff. And being come to the bar, Mr. Speaker aſked, What he ſaid to the bill preferred againſt him. He told him, Nothing. Mr. Speaker then demanded what anſwer he gave to the Court. He then pulled a paper out of his pocket, and threw it in amongſt them, and told them, There was his anſwer. The Speaker, my Lord of Mancheſter, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, read it to themſelves, and ſaid it was a ſcandalous paper unfit to be read. The Speaker then called unto him for another anſwer. He replied, he would give no other; and ſo was ſent away. Mr. Sollicitor being troubled at it, moved that, this being a great ſcandal to the Court, he might have ſevere puniſhment inflicted on him for this abuſe of juſtice; whereupon he was preſently ſent for back again from Newgate, and the paper then publickly read; wherein he proteſted againſt their proceedings as illegal; they having no power to call him, or any elſe, before them; much leſs to determine cauſes: that the Seal they ſate by was counterfeit, and could not warrant any of their actions: that the Lord Keeper by the laws of the land cannot be conſtituted without the King's delivering the Seal to him with his own hand: that the Great Seals of all kingdoms in all ages are abſolutely at the diſpoſe of each King; and that no ſubject in any kingdom can make or keep any Great Seal contrary to the King's will or warrant; but muſt be guilty of high treaſon. He then appealed to the people, giving them warning that that Court did but delude them, having no power to determine any cauſe that comes before them; that whatſoever they did was illegal and extrajudicial, and might be revoked at any time, being indeed abſolutely void in itſelf. All this being read, the Speaker demanded, if he would own that paper. He then calling to ſee the paper, told him it was his own hand, and that it was his anſwer, and no other would he give. Some there were that ſaid it was very fit he were clapped up cloſe priſoner. He replied, that ſome of them might be priſoners ere long, if they did not run away the ſooner.

*February* 24, 164⅞.

THE Duke about ten days ſince pretended to my Lord of Northumberland he was writing to his ſiſter, the Princeſs of Orange, which he would ſend by Mr. Oudart, then going over; and therefore deſired he might be a while private with him, for his aſſiſtance. And then, it ſeems, a letter was written to the King (in [*a*] cipher which it is ſaid Oudart brought with him from the Iſland), that he would obſerve his Majeſty's commands, as ſoon as he could poſſibly find opportunity. This letter was delivered by Oudart to Boſwell (that was formerly employed from the Queen to the King at Holmby); who, carrying it to Newport, but not daring to adventure further, employed a mariner, or ſome ſuch fellow, who came to the Caſtle to ſpeak with Mrs. Mary; but what [*was*] her other name, or who ſhe was, he could not

A.D. 164⅞. not tell, being, as it is ſaid, half drunk. The ſoldiers let him in, and watching him, found he never enquired for Mrs. Mary, but went directly towards the King's lodgings; whereupon they laid hold on him, and in his pocket found a letter directed, for a colour, to Captain Mildmay, which he confeſſed he had order to deliver to the King. Whereupon he is clapped in priſon, as is alſo Mrs. Mary, who appears to be the laundry maid, and ſervant to Mrs. Wheeler, who was deſigned to have delivered the letter to the King. Boſwell, hearing of the miſcarriage, eſcaped, and got out of the Iſland. Upon diſcovery of this, my Lord of Northumberland, Sir William Ermine, and another of the Houſe, were appointed by the Parliament to examine the Duke, who would confeſs nothing, but that he wrote to the King to let him know the Queen and his brothers and ſiſters were in health. They demanded of him the key of the cipher, which he told them was burnt as ſoon as he had written the letter. Whereupon, the Commons taking the quickeſt and readieſt way, fell upon the debate of ſending him to the Tower; which he having notice of, wiſely writ a letter of ſubmiſſion, and ſent it to the Parliament, with the key of the cipher, confeſſing the whole truth, and begged that he might be continued with my Lord of Northumberland, and not ſent to the Tower: which was granted; though ſome of the Houſe, being very much incenſed againſt him, oppoſed it, ſaying, "You ſee what a brood "there is of them, like father, like ſons; there is no truth nor honeſty in any of "them, that you cannot believe a word they ſay. We are like to have a very good "government under ſuch a race."

THE laſt week the Houſe ordered ſeveral things concerning the fleet that is to be ſet to ſea this ſpring, and there was taken up much time in debate what it ſhould be called, and at laſt reſolved it ſhould be called the *States Fleet*. The Lieutenant General came into the Houſe juſt at the upſhot, and ſmiled, aſking Mr. Speaker, if they had got another *Hogen Mogen*.

THERE hath been of late a diſpute about the Oxford articles; and I hear they intend on Saturday next to ratify them all. One Gentleman, being diſcontented at the largeneſs of them, told the Lieutenant General they ſhould loſe 200,000 *l.* by keeping them: he replied, they were better loſe double as much, than to break one article. By which you may ſee how juſt and upright he is in every particular, though to never ſo much loſs.

*March* ⅓¹, 164⅞.

IN diſcourſe touching the General and Cromwell, with one who was heretofore a great admirer of Cromwell, but now moſt invective againſt him, as one that had acted high matters without the General's conſent, which had notwithſtanding reflected upon the General and the whole army, I deſired him to tell me in what particular; which he did condeſcend unto, and gave me for inſtance, the inveigling the King away from Hampton-Court into the Iſland; which he ſaid was the ſole act and device of Cromwell, and his adherents in the Houſes and in the army.

THERE is a flying report (which ſeems to me ſomewhat improbable), that Hammond came in to the King at two of the clock in the night; and the King, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, [*from his*] coming at ſuch an unſeaſonable hour, ſlipped on his cloaths: and Hammond went readily to his cabinet, and ſearched it, but found not ſuch papers as he looked for; and then endeavoured to ſearch the King's pockets; but his Majeſty reſiſted, and gave him a box on the ear; and it is ſaid he ſtruck the King again. Upon this violence offered, the King took his papers out of his pocket, and thruſt them into the fire; which Hammond attempted to pull out again; but the King ſo well guarded them, that they were all burned; though in the ſcuffle it is ſaid the King got a hurt on his face by a knock againſt the edge of a table. †.

† *In the margin over againſt this paragraph, Secretary Nicholas has written thus,* "This is alſo confirmed by "other relations."

*Honſelaer-*

*Honſelaerdyck, May* $\frac{1}{11}$, 1648.

ON Saturday laſt I received your's here, being a houſe of the Prince of Orange's about five miles from the Hague. The Thurſday before, I ſent you notice from Dort, that the Duke of York was happily come over into theſe parts, under the conduct of Colonel Bamfield, whom you know. Friday ſe'nnight laſt, about nine at night, his Highneſs withdrew ſportingly, as for fourteen days before he had uſed. The balcony he had before locked up, and caſt away the key, that none might deſcry his paſſage through the garden in which the ſtatues are. As he offered to ſlip down the ſtairs, his foot knocked ſo hard againſt that door, which was left open, that he thought the noiſe would occaſion ſome looking about, and therefore ſtepped back to his bedchamber, and there fell to read, as he frequently did of late. But no alarm being taken, he ventures down, and out of the door by the Tiltyard-end, where Colonel Bamfield attended with a periwig and black patches: which the Duke having put on, they hie to Spring-Garden, as gallants come to hear the nightingale; and being paſſed through that, enter into a coach, which one of the Colonel's friends had ready to receive them. At Ivy-bridge they take water to the Old Swan; and the Gentleman, friend to the Colonel, cauſes the coach to ſet him down at a tavern in Common Garden; ſo ſhakes that off, and retrieves his company in London, where the Duke was ſhifting into Gentlewoman's apparel. That fitted, to Billinſgate they go, and ſo away by barge to Tilbury-hope; where the Dutch Pink, cleared the day before by Graveſend ſearchers, lay expecting Mr. Andrews and his ſiſter, pretending a voyage to her huſband in Holland. It chanced that near Greenwich the bargemaſter, looking down into the barge, ſpied the Colonel (whom alone of the ſeven perſons he knew then) tying the Duke's garter; which made him ſuſpect, and unwilling to go on, for fear of danger to his wife and goods left behind; and the wind alſo turned directly againſt them; ſo as they were upon turning back to ſkulk in London, until a new way might be found. But the Colonel takes heart, and is confident the wind will be favourable, as it proved. The Duke adds, to the Colonel's threats, all aſſurances to the bargemaſter that he ſhall be provided for. So on they row; and being ſhipped upon the pretences aforeſaid, and another to haſten their departure, that one in the company was deſperately in debt, and for liberty's ſake only was forced to abſent himſelf for a time, they weigh anchor, and about Saturday noon came in ſight of Rainſborough's ſquadron in the Downs, where they had a calm of three hours, but all the ſea over ſuch a leak, that they pumped every half hour. The Duke was but little ſick. Sunday early they arrived at Rammekins in Zealand, and conceived a Parliament's frigate to have followed them awhile thereabouts, judging her in that ſervice by her pendants and flags. At Middleburgh the Duke ſlept that night, and gave much wonder to the hoſteſs, that a young gentlewoman would not let the maids help her to the bed, but be ſerved by a pretended brother, in the ſame chamber, in another bed. Monday we came to Dort; my laſt from whence, ſupplies the relation now until our ſhipping there, which was upon a catch of the Prince of Orange's, commanded by Captain Hart; and there embarked with us the Lord Willoughby, Colonel Maſſey, and Mr. Alexander. That whole day we ſpent upon the Maes; Rotterdam we ſaw by the way, and had very handſome ſalutations from the inhabitants, and the Engliſh eſpecially, who in great numbers ſtood on the keys and ſhores. Half a mile from Maeſland-Sluys the Prince of Orange himſelf came to meet the Duke in another catch, accompanied only with three perſons of note; viz. the Heer Xuleſtein his natural brother, his Maſter of the Horſe, and Monſ. Schomberg, one of the Gentlemen of his bedchamber. His Highneſs came on board to the Duke; and after civilities, which were handſomely performed on both ſides, both went on ſhore in a ſhallop, and we followed after to the town, where the Princeſs-Royal came to the ſtreet-door to embrace her brother; the affectionateneſs of which meeting I cannot expreſs. *A.D.* 1648

*Iſle of Wight, October* 14, 1648.

*A.D.* 1648. I PRESUME you have long ſince had information how clear the King hath expreſſed himſelf a friend to peace in the firſt propoſition of the two Houſes to him, wherein is this preamble, *viz.* "taking up arms upon our juſt defence; that therefore all pro-"c lamations iſſued againſt them as traitors be called in, and made null." This propoſition is granted; and we are here of opinion, that this preamble takes no allowance, from his Majeſty's conceſſion, of a juſt cauſe. For we look on that but as a form to make the ſuit more graciouſly looked on; which would have been granted out of a zeal to peace, being *quaſi* a pardon, though it had not been uſhered in by the ſaid preamble. This is a diſtinction which the Biſhop of Sarum ſupplies the King with.

THE King told me, the Queen would have him to make an end, for he had eight hopes left. The King is making his eſcape; but my opinion is, it will be too great a deſign in reſpect of the many hazards. The King ſpeaks kindly of you.

*London, November* 23, 1648.

SOME muttering here is againſt the Primate's ſermon yeſterday, for a little freedom uſed in it, reflecting on theſe times. I am ſure it was a ſermon in the end applied very well to the occaſion of his Majeſty's birth-day, wiſhing that it might happen ſo, that as it was the 49th year (which the Jews obſerved as the jubilee) of his Majeſty's age, he might find it a jubilee to him from theſe his afflictions; ſhewing how happy a people this might be, if they would conſider his prudence, extraction, experience, piety, &c. Whereas unhappy they were, who had Princes ſet over them of baſe extraction, or babes in years, or knowledge.

*December* 4, 1648.

YOUNG Sir Henry Vane, one of the Commiſſioners at the Iſle of Wight, was very partial in reporting to the prejudice of his Majeſty. But Nat. Fiennes confuted him moſt rationally and gallantly, arguing upon the whole, that the King had granted enough to ſecure religion, laws and liberties; which was the ſole end of the Parliament's firſt engaging, as is to be ſeen in all their declarations, and therefore had given full ſatisfaction. The independent party are extremely enraged at the carriage of their *quondam* brother, Fiennes.

ON Friday when the declaration and letter of Fairfax were brought into the Houſe by the Lord Mayor, Mr. Pryn and others moved, that the city might be ordered to ſtand upon their guard, and the army to be declared rebels and traitors. To this end, one was ſo bold and reſolute as to offer his ſervice for drawing up ſuch a declaration; but it would not be yielded to. Then it was moved, That the army's advance to London might be declared deſtructive to the liberty and freedom of parliament. This was carried in the negative.

*December* 21, 1648.

THE moſt remarkable paſſage ſince my laſt, is, that the Lords Pembroke, Saliſbury, Denbigh, and North, viſited the General on Tueſday; and Pembroke, in the name of the reſt, ſaid, they came to caſt down their honours at his Excellency's feet, and proteſted their deſire is not to maintain peerage, or any other privilege whatſoever that might be conceived prejudicial to the publick intereſt. All the recompence they received was, that the Officers both ſcorned and jeered them, as they well deſerve for

for ſo ignoble and degenerous a demeanour. But Denbigh ſtooped yet a degree lower, and proffered his hand toward the ſtirrup as his Excellency mounted on horſe-back; for which unworthy proſtituting his honour he deſerves to be caſhiered for evet out of the liſt of the nobility. *A.D.* 1648.

YESTERDAY, by order of the General, ſixteen of the ſecluded Members were carried to Whitehall; and, for company, Mr. Pryn would needs go along with them, uncalled. At their firſt coming Ireton ſaluted them, and ſpying Pryn there, was much enraged at the Marſhall for bringing him without order, and required Pryn to be gone; which he refuſing, Ireton threatened to throw him out by force; which he perceiving, delivered a proteſtation openly, in the name of himſelf and the reſt, againſt the army's proceeding, as illegal, traiterous, and deſtructive to the privilege of Parliament, and the liberties of the people, and that all men ought to endeavour to bring them to condign puniſhment as traitors. This being done, he was carried away by the Marſhall. The reſt were made to dance attendance three hours. And at length Ireton returning told them the General was ſomewhat indiſpoſed, ſo that he could not conveniently have conference with them; but his pleaſure was, that twelve of them ſhould be releaſed (whoſe names I have not yet). So they were diſmiſſed, not ſo much as one of them having been vouchſafed an admiſſion into the General's preſence. Being returned to the place from whence they came, they conſulted together, whether they ſhould own an uſurped authority ſo far as to accept of a releaſe; touching which they are not as yet come to any concluſion; but it is feared that ſome will accept of it. As for Sheriff Brown, and the reſt at St. James's, they are exceeding reſolute: and it is very certain that Hamilton hath acquitted the King and them from any hand in inviting him in.

*December* 25, 1648.

THE ſixteen Members I told you of in my laſt have accepted the General's offer of releaſe. So that there are eighteen left ſtill under reſtraint, which are thus characterized by the independent grandees, *viz. four prudential men*, Sir William Lewis, Swinſen, Birch, and Green, who, they think, will be willing to accept of terms, and may be drawn off upon advantage; *four aſſertors*, who, they ſuppoſe, will ſtand out to the utmoſt, Pryn, Walker, Edw. Stephens and Gewen; *five middle men*, by name, Sir Robert Harley and his ſon, Colonel William Strowd, Leigh, and Wheeler. And laſtly, the other five at St. James's, by name, Waller, Clotworthy, Maſſey, Brown, and Copley, whom they look upon as the forlorn hope, and ſo [*they*] are ſecluded by themſelves, as the pillars of the Scotiſh intereſt; and therefore they could find in their hearts to deſtroy them. And to this end the cabinet junto of grandees, which cut out work for the general Council, had in private this week condemned Waller and Brown (whom they fear moſt) to be ſhot, and tranſmitted this decree to the council; who, being moſt of them Levellers, ſuſpect many things have been, and are, put upon them by the grandees, to act on purpoſe to make them odious; and therefore would neither debate, nor conſent unto it. For now it is the deſign of the grandees wholly to extirpate the preſbyterian abettors; the former being averſe to the grand independent intereſt, and the latter enemies point blank to the intended Oligarchy; wherein the grandees will admit his Majeſty to have a ſhare of government in the ſame equipage perhaps as the D. of Venice.

On Saturday laſt the council at Whitehall voted a toleration of all religions, not excepting popery itſelf.

*December* 26, 1648.

MY Lord of Northampton meeting Sir William Bruerton lately on the highway, fell foul on him about the barbarous uſage of the dead corps of his father, and bade him draw again and again; which he refuſing, the Earl gave him two or three cudgelladoes, and went his way. For which complaint being made in the Houſe by Corbet,

A.D. 164½. they presently passed a vote that he should not be suffered to compound, and his Lady to be allowed her fifths.

*January* 11, 164½.

On Tuesday the House of Peers sate, where were present the Earls of Denbigh, Pembroke, Salisbury, Nottingham, and Mulgrave, the Lords Grey of Warke, and Howard of Estridge; who sent a message down to the Commons; among whom the great question was, Whether, having voted the supreme power in themselves, they should own the Lords so far as to entertain their message; which passed in the affirmative: and so both junto's are agreed to condog together. Then the Commons fell upon the business of the King's trial; for the promoting whereof Cromwell played his cards very cunningly, though impiously, and said, "Mr. Speaker, If any man "whatsoever had carried on this design of deposing the King and disinheriting his "posterity, or if any man had yet such a design, he should be the greatest traitor "and rebel in the world. But since the Providence of God hath cast this upon us, I "cannot but submit to Providence, though I am not yet provided to give you my ad-"vice." † By which you see they intitle God's Providence to all their villanies.

Though the House of Lords seem to comply with the Commons, yet they had so much courage and regard to themselves, as to resent some late extravagancies of the Commons; in opposition whereof they voted, that by the laws of England the King cannot commit treason against the Parliament; and they voted also a declaration to be set forth in the name of the House of Peers, to declare that no act of the House of Commons is binding, without their consent.

In the afternoon the Commissioners for the King's trial met at about two o'clock in the Painted Chamber; where no witnesses appeared, according to summons, against his Majesty; and all that they did was to read their commission. At length a motion was made by Cromwell, that for some eminent reasons they would forbear any further proceeding till Friday; and so accordingly they adjourned. Now the reason of this is as yet obscure, and seems to be occasioned by intelligence out of France, that the King hath suppressed the rebellion at Paris, and that the ringleaders have confessed they were animated by these here in England. Which, if true, (as I had the intelligence from hands which seldom fail) is the cause why they stumble now in the threshold, and cool in the prosecution.

*January* 12, 164½.

One of the Judges at their meeting on Wednesday told the rest, he could make it appear the King had done an act of the greatest wrong and prejudice to this kingdom, as ever was done to any; which was, his making this Parliament perpetual. This was spoken in merriment, and closed up in a laughter; though some in the world find it to be a sad truth.

Several motions have been made in the House of Commons against the Peers: one, that they might be brought to sit with them; against which Whitelocke spake, saying, if it were so, they should find that the Lords might prove so powerful among them, that one might carry a dozen or twenty of them to vote as they list, without any sense or reason, and so might bring that House into a confusion. Therefore his opinion was, they should keep as they are; and if any extravagancy were committed, they, being by themselves, could not much prejudice their House. The Speaker and others seconding him, it was laid aside.

Another motion was, that the House of Peers might be wholly suppressed. Against this Cromwell seemed to be very violent, and asked them, if they were all

† *This speech is recorded in nearly the same words by some of our historians. But it is so very extraordinary an one, that every concurrent testimony of the genuineness of it deserves to be attended to.*

mad,

mad, to take theſe courſes to incenſe the Peers againſt them, at ſuch a time, when they had more need to ſtudy a near union with them. The Houſe was divided hereupon, and Cromwell with thirty-two more went out, and eighteen remained within; fifty in all, which, it ſeems, is now the greateſt number of this gallant junto, that governs all under their maſters, the ſoldiers. I am told that ſeven ſcore of thoſe two hundred and nine that were expelled the Houſe, are ſo far wrought upon by fair words and threats, that they are reſolved to comply, and ſubſcribe to theſe their proceedings. Yet the report goes, that the ſynod-men have ſent ſome of their number, in the name of the reſt, with a rough meſſage to the grandees of the army, and told them they would be damned if they proceeded in theſe courſes of expelling the Members of Parliament, and depoſing or deſtroying of his Majeſty. *A. D.* 164⅓.

The General refuſed to ſubſcribe the act of the High Court of Juſtice, with the reſt of his Fellow-Commiſſioners on Wedneſday laſt: but the reaſon thereof I know not.

*January* 26, 164⅓.

On Monday and Tueſday laſt the King was brought again to the bar; both which nights he remained at Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe, but went not to bed, by reaſon the ſoldiers guarded all night in the ſame room, with their ſwords drawn, and would not give him leave to be private one minute of an hour. Wedneſday it was expected they would have ſentenced him to be murdered, but, contrary to our expectation, they have put off his trial till Monday or Tueſday next; and he [*is*] ſent again to St. James's. The cauſe of this ſtop we cannot underſtand; whether the coming over of the two Dutch Ambaſſadors (that are already landed) to mediate on his behalf, or the coming out of a declaration from Scotland, which is talked of to be a threatening one, or the indiſpoſition of the General to theſe their proceedings, who is ſaid to have done ſomething the day before to their diſlike.

His Majeſty told this great Court, that, if they did murder him, he ſhould go with good company; for when they deſtroyed him, they muſt deſtroy all the nobility, together with the utter deſtruction of Parliaments, all the laws of the land, and the peace of the kingdom.

The General was baited with freſh dogs all Tueſday night, to bring him into the Hall on the morrow, to countenance the buſineſs: but by no means would he conſent.

*The* Commissioners *of the Parliament of* Scotland *to his* Majesty.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IT hath always been the earneſt deſire and endeavour of the Eſtates of Parliament of your Majeſty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, ſince your coming to the Crown, to remove all differences, and to beget a mutual confidence and conjunction betwixt your Majeſty and your people; whereby the ſad afflictions and calamities under which your Majeſty, your royal family, and your diſtreſſed kingdoms are lying, might be remedied. In order thereunto they did firſt by their Commiſſioners, in the integrity of their hearts, tender their moſt faithful and humble advice in what they conceived neceſſary for the glory of God, and obtaining of his bleſſing upon your Majeſty and your affairs; and for uniting your people to you in the ſtrongeſt bonds of religion and loyalty. And although they were far from obtaining the wiſhed effect, and that the expreſs promiſed by your Majeſty came not; yet did they again by a ſecond meſſage renew their deſires to your Majeſty at Jerſey; neither then was your Majeſty pleaſed to grant the ſame. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, that the reality and conſtancy of their loyalty and affection to your Majeſty might appear to the world, they have again ſent us to your Majeſty, not upon the grounds contained in your Majeſty's

 letter

A.D. 1650. letter to the Committee of Eſtates of the $\frac{21}{31}$ of January 16$\frac{49}{50}$, which were not ſatisfactory; but in purſuance of their former deſires. We do therefore in their names humbly deſire,

1. THAT it would pleaſe your Majeſty to aſſure and declare under your hand, upon your ſolemn oath, your allowance and approbation of the national covenant of Scotland, and the ſolemn league and covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland; and that you will proſecute the ends thereof in your royal ſtation: and that your Majeſty for yourſelf and your royal ſucceſſors, do aſſent to all acts of Parliament enjoining the ſame, and fully eſtabliſhing preſbyterial government, directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith, and catechiſm, in your Majeſty's kingdom of Scotland as they are approved by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk and Parliament of that kingdom. And that you ſhall give your royal aſſent to acts of parliament enjoining the ſame in the reſt of your Majeſty's dominions, and that you will obſerve the ſame in your own practice and family, and never make oppoſition thereto, or endeavour any change thereof *.

2. THAT your Majeſty would be pleaſed to acknowledge the authority of the preceding ſeſſions of parliament ſince the time your royal father or his Commiſſioners were preſent therein; and would ratify the acts of the ſeſſions of parliament *in anno* 1649; and would conſent and agree that all matters civil be determined by the parliaments of that kingdom, and matters eccleſiaſtical by the general aſſemblies of that kirk, as was formerly condeſcended and agreed to by your Majeſty's royal father †.

3. THAT your Majeſty would put in execution all acts of parliament made againſt the liberty or toleration of the popiſh religion in any of your Majeſty's dominions; and would declare void all treaties or agreements contrary thereto: and would recall all declarations in your name, or by your warrant; and all commiſſions iſſued forth for acting any thing by ſea or land in prejudice of the covenant, or of your kingdom of Scotland, or of any who do or ſhall adhere to the ſolemn league and covenant and monarchical government, in any other of your dominions ‡.

WE cannot but with ſad hearts remember and regret the loſs of ſo much precious time by your Majeſty's delaying to give ſatisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary deſires of your Majeſty's good ſubjects of your kingdom of Scotland. It is now a year ſince the particulars thereof were offered to your Majeſty; and the many advantages that by the ſpeedy granting of the ſame, and the great diſadvantages that by delaying or refuſing to give ſatisfaction thereto, would enſue, were from moſt ſolid grounds foreſeen, and faithfully repreſented to your Majeſty: which now (to our great grief) do too evidently appear. That new frame of government which theſe uſurpers in England have erected, hath taken deep root; and your good people there are much more diſabled, and their hopes and expectations made to languiſh, through the ſmall probability of any effectual means of their relief. Ireland alſo by the ſame power is ſubdued and near loſt; and Scotland is amazed to ſee your Majeſty, in this juncture of affairs, ſtand at ſo great a diſtance. We do humbly offer it to your Majeſty's conſideration, in what condition (by the bleſſing of God) you might have been, if you had then hearkened to the humble and faithful advice of your people; and how much greater the difficulties now are than at that time they were. Yet if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed chearfully and ſpeedily to give the deſired ſatisfaction, we are confident that God will ſhine upon your counſels and affairs: his honour, the intereſt of religion, and your happineſs being joined in the bond of one ſolemn covenant; and that he will vindicate the breaches thereof againſt thoſe who have violated and diſclaimed the ſame, and will eſtabliſh it, both for the intereſt of religion and of your Majeſty's authority. And we aſſure your Majeſty, that there can be nothing ſo acceptable to your people in Scotland, as that you would, in that way and upon theſe grounds, claim your right; wherein the bleſſing of God and the hearty concur-

* *This firſt article is the ſame in ſubſtance with the ſecond and third in Rapin, Vol. II. p. 579. who took them from Phillips, Baker's Continuator, p. 595.*

† *The latter part of this is contained in the 4th in Rapin.*

‡ *This laſt article is not found in Rapin or Phillips.*

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rence of all your good ſubjects may be expected; according to that ſacred obliga- *A.D.*1650.
tion.

CASSILIS. LOTHIAN.
A. BRODIE.
GEO. WYNRAME.
J. SMITH.
AL. JAFFRAY.

*Breda, March 25th, April 4th,* 1650.

*An Original.*

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

ALBEIT it was no ſmall grief of heart to the late General Aſſembly of the Kirk of God in your Majeſty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, that the deſires of that Kirk ſo much concerning the glory of God, the good of religion, your own honour and happineſs, the peace and ſafety of your kingdoms, preſented the laſt year to your Majeſty at the Hague, did not receive a ſatisfactory anſwer; yet the commiſſion appointed for the publick affairs of the Kirk, out of the tenderneſs and uprightneſs of their affection, and for a teſtimony of their conſtant loyalty towards your Majeſty, have again ſent us their Commiſſioners to declare and teſtify in their name and in name of the whole Kirk of Scotland, that as they do ſtill more and more deteſt and abominate that horrid and unparalleled murder committed by the ſectaries of England upon the perſon of your royal father; ſo, that it is their unfeigned and earneſt deſire and prayer to God, and ſhall be their real endeavour to the utmoſt of their power, according to their places and callings, that the ancient monarchical government of theſe kingdoms may be eſtabliſhed and flouriſh in your Majeſty's perſon, and be continued in your royal family to all generations. They have alſo appointed us to renew and proſecute their humble deſires, formerly repreſented to your Majeſty, for eſtabliſhing and preſerving religion, and the peace of your kingdoms; and for promoting the work of reformation therein, which are:

*Then follows one article, the ſame in the ſubſtance with the firſt in the paper immediately preceding.*

IF it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to incline your Majeſty cordially to give the wiſhed ſatisfaction to theſe humble deſires of the Kirk of Scotland, and to the deſires of the Parliament of that kingdom preſented to your Majeſty by their Commiſſioners; as we are well aſſured, that it will comfort and revive the ſpirits of all your good and loving ſubjects in the three kingdoms now deeply afflicted, becauſe of the unſettled condition of religion and your Majeſty's diſtreſſes, and will enlarge their hearts to embrace with all chearfulneſs your royal perſon, and ſubmit unto your government, ſo we may confidently promiſe in the name of our Lord, that your Majeſty ſhall find favour with God, peace and joy to your ſoul, and deliverance in due time out of your ſad afflictions. We doubt not but there are many, who eyeing their own advantages more than your Majeſty's happineſs, are and will be diligent to bear in upon your royal heart many prejudices againſt the matter of theſe our deſires, eſpecially againſt the ſolemn league and covenant; but withal we are confident that when your Majeſty, having ſeriouſly ſought light and direction from the God of truth, ſhall have duly conſidered all of them, you ſhall find nothing therein contained but that which is agreeable unto, and warranted by the word of God; and that in the league and covenant there is nothing but what tends to the glory of God, the promoting of the kingdom of Chriſt, your Majeſty's true honour and happineſs, and the ſafety, union, and peace of your kingdoms. And that as the engaging therein at firſt was neceſſary for theſe ends, ſo your Majeſty's joining in the ſame now is the neceſſary, and will prove the moſt effectual means, by the bleſſing of God, for uniting your Majeſty and

 your

*A.D.*1650. your good ſubjects in one, for diſappointing and defeating the deſigns of all the enemies of the truth of God, and of your Majeſty's juſt rights, and for an happy bringing your Majeſty unto, and firm eſtabliſhing you upon, the throne of all your kingdoms. Only, before we cloſe, we do in all humility beg leave, as the Meſſengers of God, to warn your Majeſty of that, which, if it be not laid to heart and forſaken, may, yea cannot but, prove a ſad obſtruction in the way of your Majeſty's proſpering: namely, your Majeſty's granting to the Iriſh rebels the liberty of the popiſh religion, contrary both to the word of God, and to the ſtanding laws made by your royal progenitors; and giving commiſſion, eſpecially to that moſt juſtly excommunicate rebel James Graham to raiſe new troubles in your Majeſty's kingdom of Scotland. Certainly, the guiltineſs of theſe courſes before God, and the ſcandal given thereby to all the reformed Kirk, is exceeding great, and there can be but ſmall or no hopes of any bleſſing expected from God in any thing that concerns your Majeſty's honour or happineſs, ſo long as your Majeſty joins with, or countenanceth thoſe who are enemies to the truth of Chriſt and hateful to God, and employs your royal power againſt his work and people. It will be your Majeſty's wiſdom to acknowledge the ſin, and to humble yourſelf before God under the ſenſe of theſe things, to ſeek pardon thereof from him through the blood of Jeſus Chriſt (which is able to waſh away all your ſins), and to forſake them without delay. The deſire we have to be faithful to our ſupreme Lord and Maſter, and the uprightneſs of our affection towards your Majeſty, have led us to this freedom; which we hope through the Lord's grace your Majeſty will, after the example of that gracious King, take as a kindneſs, and as an excellent oil which ſhall not break your head; and that it ſhall be no grief of heart to your Majeſty, that you have hearkened to this humble and faithful advice.

*Breda, March 25th, April 4th,* 1650.

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

*An Original.*

## *His* MAJESTY *to the* COMMISSIONERS *of the Parliament of* Scotland.

HIS Majeſty deſires to know whether your paper of the 4th of this inſtant April contains the full demands and propoſitions you are entruſted to preſent him, with reference to the civil ſtate of the kingdom of Scotland; and if not, his Majeſty deſires that you likewiſe deliver what remains, that he may take the whole into preſent conſideration.

☞ THE like to the Church, with this difference, "with reference to the Church "of Scotland."

*April* 9.

*A rough Draught by Secretary Long.*

## *The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Parliament of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

UNTO your Majeſty's paper of the 9th of this inſtant, we do humbly return this anſwer:

THAT our's of the $\overset{25\text{th March}}{4\text{th April}}$, containeth the propoſitions which we are commanded by the Eſtates of Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland to tender to your Majeſty; upon the granting of which we have warrant from them immediately to invite your Majeſty to that your ancient kingdom; and to give your Majeſty aſſurance that you ſhall

ſhall be received and entertained with all the duty, ſubmiſſion and cordial affection which can be demanded or expected from loyal ſubjects; and that your Majeſty ſhall enter to the free exerciſe of your Royal Government. *A. D.* 1650.

*Breda, April* 4, 1650.
*An Original.*

CASSILIS. LOTHIAN.
A. BRODIE.
GEO. WYNRAME.
J. SMITH.
AL. JAFFRAY.

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland do humbly return to your Majeſty's paper, delivered to us April the 9th, this anſwer; That our paper of April the 4th containeth the ſubſtance of all that we are intruſted to preſent to your Majeſty in relation to the Kirk of Scotland; the granting of which will make any other humble and faithful advice which we have to give your Majeſty moſt eaſy.

*Breda, April* 4, 1650.
*An Original.*

CASSILIS.
A. BRODIE.
JO. LIVINGSTONE.
JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

CHARLES R.

*His* MAJESTY's *Demands.*

1. THAT his Majeſty do preſently enjoy the full exerciſe of his regal authority of Scotland, together with the revenue of the Crown; and that ſuch obedience be paid to him by all his ſubjects there, as by the law of that kingdom is due, and ſuch oaths of fidelity to be taken by all the ſubjects as are there eſtabliſhed by law, and that, immediately upon his arrival in that kingdom, he be ſolemnly crowned.

2. THAT his Majeſty have the publick faith of the kingdom of Scotland for the ſecurity of his perſon, and for his being and remaining there with freedom, honour, and ſafety.

3. THAT there be a reconciliation of all parties, and an union of them in his Majeſty's ſervice.

4. THAT the Lords and others of the late engagement be reſtored to their votes in Parliament, and all other capacities for publick truſts in that kingdom, and that all cenſures civil and eccleſiaſtical be taken off them.

5. THAT the kingdom of Scotland engage themſelves to aſſiſt his Majeſty for the recovery of his juſt rights in his other dominions, and that they immediately raiſe an army for that end, and declare that they will join with ſuch forces as ſhall appear for his Majeſty in England, and in the mean time give protection to all his Majeſty's friends that ſhall repair into Scotland.

6. THAT without his Majeſty's expreſs leave and approbation, no treaty, league peace, or other agreement ſhall be made with the pretended Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter (which they will never acknowledge to be a Houſe of Parliament) or others now in power in England, by the kingdom of Scotland, or any of their forces.

7. THAT all acts made in the late ſeſſions of Parliament *in anno* 1649, or either of them, contrary to this agreement, or derogatory thereunto, be qualified conform to theſe his Majeſty's conceſſions and demands.



8. HIS

*A.D.* 1650. 8. His Majesty declares, that by his offering such large concessions for the good of his kingdom of Scotland, and for the uniting of his subjects there in his service, he is not obliged to the performance of any particular therein contained, until there be a full agreement upon the whole.

*April 27th*, 1650.

*An Original.*

*The* Scotch Commissioners *Answers to his* Majesty's *Demands.*

To the first, we adhere to our former answer; that upon his Majesty's giving the satisfaction desired, by signing the articles and taking the declaration subjoined to the Covenant, his Majesty shall enjoy the full exercise of his regal authority in Scotland, upon his arrival there, together with the revenue of the crown; and such obedience shall be paid to him by all his subjects there as by the laws of that kingdom is due; and such oaths of fidelity shall be taken by all the subjects as are there established by law; and that immediately upon his arrival in that kingdom, he shall be solemnly crowned.

To the second, his Majesty shall have the publick faith of that kingdom to be and remain there with honour, freedom and safety.

To the fourth, the Lords and others that were upon the late engagement may enjoy their estates, and all other privileges and liberties as freely as any other of his Majesty's subjects; only, they are not admitted to a voice in Parliament, nor to have places of publick trust; which we humbly conceive is more fit to be spoken of, when his Majesty shall be present in Parliament; where great respect will be had to his Majesty's desire.

To the fifth it is answered, That his Majesty will never want the assistance and utmost endeavours of the kingdom of Scotland by all real and lawful services, according to the covenant, for restoring of his Majesty to the peaceable possession of his other dominions; which we do account to be a most lawful service. And we desire nothing worldly more, than that his Majesty might give satisfaction to his good subjects, and be restored to his just right in all his kingdoms. And as the Parliament, and we in their name, have formerly given sufficient answer hereto, so we do again assure his Majesty, that they will perform to him all the duties that can be expected from loyal subjects to their gracious King. And as to his Majesty's friends who shall repair to Scotland, we repeat, that at this distance from the Parliament, we can return no other answer, than that they will not deny their protection to any against whom they have not just exception. And his Majesty may be persuaded, that his desire and royal presence will have great weight with his Parliament.

To the sixth, the Parliament of Scotland hath expresly refused to acknowledge, or treat with, that pretended House of Commons, although particularly desired thereto. And albeit we be not particularly instructed herein, yet his Majesty may be confident, that the Parliament will be no less tender of his Majesty's honour and interest in that matter, than of their own lives.

To the seventh, we do not conceive that there is any thing in this agreement contrary to the acts of the late sessions of parliament *in anno* 1649, or derogatory thereto. And we do assure his Majesty, that this agreement will be ratified in the subsequent session of Parliament.

As to the Declaration subjoined to the demands, we humbly conceive that it is reciprocal.

*In the same hand with the rest of the Commissioners papers; but not signed by them.*

His

*His* MAJESTY *to the* COMMISSION *of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of* Scotland.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. After the receipt of your letter by your Commiſſioners, we likewiſe received their propoſitions, and have had many conferences with them concerning the ſame; and we muſt in the firſt place very much acknowledge your care in the choice of ſuch perſons as by their piety, advice, and good information have guided our judgment to that reſolution we have how taken, to the glory of Almighty God, and to the ſatisfaction of the Kirk of Scotland (as we hope); it being our full reſolution to prefer the care of religion, and the ſettling of the Houſe of God, before any thing that concerns ourſelf or our own intereſts; to which end we have fully accorded to your propoſitions; and we ſhall be ready to receive information from you, and to follow your advice in all things that ſhall be further neceſſary; deſiring your prayers to Almighty God for his bleſſing upon our proceedings, and your advice to direct us in that way that may be moſt acceptable to him, and moſt conformable to his holy will. And ſo we bid you very heartily farewel. Given at Breda the 2d May, 1650. *A.D.* 1650.

*A rough Draught, by Secretary Long.*

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland, having received your Majeſty's anſwer bearing date April $\frac{18}{28}$th, wherein your Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to conſent, *in terminis*, to our deſire preſented upon the $\frac{25\text{th March}}{4\text{th April}}$, in name of that Kirk, do hereby declare our humble and thankful acknowledgment of this your Majeſty's ſo gracious anſwer; and that we do, from the bottom of our hearts, bleſs the God of Heaven for inclining your royal heart thereunto, taking the ſame from his hands as a part of a merciful return to the prayers, which we and the reſt of the Lord's people in your Majeſty's dominions have been pouring out before him on your Majeſty's behalf, and as an hopeful earneſt that he will alſo give what remains thereof, to his own glory, an happy ſettling of your Majeſty upon your thrones, and the comfort and peace of all your dominions. And now, having this day received from your Majeſty a letter directed to the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, ſignifying your Majeſty's reſolution to receive information from them, and to follow their advice in ſuch things as ſhall be further neceſſary, we do in all humility preſent to your Majeſty the way and form wherein they have already expreſsly inſtructed us humbly to deſire, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to perform the ſatisfaction graciouſly promiſed in your anſwer, which is;

THAT your Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſwear and ſubſcribe the covenants in the words of a declaration ſubjoined unto both, a copy whereof we have here ready to exhibit to your Majeſty: humbly begging that, if it ſeems not convenient to your Majeſty to perform it here, it would pleaſe your Majeſty to declare unto us, that you will perform the ſame as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to bring your Majeſty to the kingdom of Scotland.

WHICH, if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to grant, as it will be a further token of the Lord's hearing of our prayers on your Majeſty's behalf, ſo it will be a further means effectually to beget a full confidence between your Majeſty and your good ſubjects (which is moſt neceſſary in the preſent juncture of affairs), and to enlarge their hearts to receive and embrace your Majeſty with all joy and gladneſs.

*Breda,* $\frac{\text{April } 23,}{\text{May } 3,}$ 1650.

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

*An Original.*



*The*

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Parliament of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*A.D.1650.* AS we have with all thankfulneſs received the ſeveral anſwers which your Majeſty gave to our propoſitions, ſo we cannot but in all humility repreſent to your Majeſty, that (beſide the defects which are in your engagement for performance of the firſt article, which have been fully repreſented to your Majeſty) your Majeſty's anſwer of the 6th of May inſtant to the third propoſition, comes far ſhort of that which we are commanded to crave from your Majeſty in that particular. For inſtead of preſent making void and diſallowing all treaties and agreements, for toleration of the popiſh religion in any of your dominions, your Majeſty is pleaſed only to give ſo general an expreſſion †, that it leaves the matter in a great uncertainty; which is of ſo much importance, that the refuſing of it will not only much grieve and diſcourage all your Majeſty's good ſubjects, but alſo would give great offence to all the Proteſtant churches; eſpecially ſeeing ſuch a toleration is both contrary to the Word of God and to the known ſtanding laws of all your kingdoms, and to that ſolemn league and covenant to which your Majeſty hath engaged yourſelf. We do therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take again into your ſerious conſideration, this ſo juſt and neceſſary deſire of your Parliament; and by granting thereof, to remove the only impediment of the happy cloſe of this treaty.

*Breda,* *April* 27, *May* 7, 1650.

*An Original.*

CASSILIS. LOTHIAN.
A. BRODIE. J. SMITH.
G. WYNRAME. AL. JAFFRAY.

*Paper of Invitation preſented to his* MAJESTY *by the* COMMISSIONERS *of the Parliament of* Scotland.

WE the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of Scotland, having received your Majeſty's gracious conceſſions to our propoſitions, together with your letter to the Committee of Eſtates, in the name of that your ancient kingdom, and by warrant from them, do with all humble and cordial affection invite your Majeſty to go thither, and do aſſure your Majeſty, that, upon the performing of the ſatisfaction promiſed by your Majeſty, you ſhall immediately enjoy the full exerciſe of your regal authority in Scotland, together with the revenue of the Crown; and ſuch obedience ſhall be paid to your Majeſty by all your ſubjects there, as by the law of that kingdom is due; and ſuch oaths of fidelity ſhall be taken by all the ſubjects as are there eſta-

† *It was thought unneceſſary to print the King's firſt anſwers and conceſſions, dated April* 27*th and* 30*th, ſince they contain only a repetition of the ſeveral articles delivered in to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, and of the Kirk in their ſeveral papers of* 25*th March* / 4*th April*, *which occur above, with a declaration ſubjoined to each, that he conſents to the ſame* in terminis; *excepting, that the anſwer to the third propoſition of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament is as follows:*

" His Majeſty having alſo by the ſaid paper, ſigned as aforeſaid, received a third propoſition, doth agree to " it in the terms following, being their own words, *viz.*

" 3. That his Majeſty will put in execution all acts of parliament made againſt the liberty or toleration of " the popiſh religion in any of his Majeſty's dominions; and will recall all declarations in his name, or by his " warrant, and all commiſſions iſſued forth for acting any thing, by ſea or land, in prejudice of the covenant, " or of his kingdom of Scotland, or any who do or ſhall adhere to the ſolemn league and covenant, and mo- " narchical government in any other of his Majeſty's dominions."

*At the word* dominions, *which occurs at the beginning of the propoſition, there is a mark of reference to a marginal note; which note obſerves, that there the following words, viz.* " and would declare void all treaties and agreements contrary thereto," *are omitted; to which it is ſaid his Majeſty would not conſent; but that he did conſent privately to a note containing the following words, which he ſigned and committed to the ſecret cuſtody of the Earl of Caſſilis;*

" As to the third propoſition, his Majeſty will grant the ſame *in terminis*, when he comes into Scotland, if the " Parliament ſhall deſire the ſame."

bliſhed

bliſhed by law; and that immediately upon your Majeſty's arrival in that kingdom, you ſhall be ſolemnly crowned. *A.D.* 1650.

And further (although we conceive it included in the former article) we do give your Majeſty the publick faith of that kingdom for the ſecurity of your perſon, and that you ſhall be and remain there in honour freedom and ſafety.

We do likewiſe aſſure your Majeſty, that you ſhall never want the aſſiſtance and utmoſt endeavours of the kingdom of Scotland, by all real and lawful ſervices, according to the covenant, for reſtoring of your Majeſty to the peaceable poſſeſſion of your other dominions, which we do account to be a moſt lawful ſervice; and we do deſire nothing worldly more, than that your Majeſty may give ſatisfaction to your good ſubjects, and be reſtored to your juſt rights in all your dominions; in order thereunto, the kingdom of Scotland will perform to your Majeſty all the duties that can be expected from loyal ſubjects to their gracious King.

And as the Parliament of Scotland have expreſsly refuſed to acknowledge or treat with that pretended Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter, although particularly deſired thereto, ſo your Majeſty may be confident that they will be ſtill no leſs tender of your Majeſty's honour and intereſt in that matter than of their own lives.

And for the Lords and others that were upon the late engagement, they may enjoy their eſtates and liberty as freely as any other of your Majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom; only, they are not admitted to voice in Parliament, nor to have places of publick truſt; which is more fit to be ſpoken of when your Majeſty ſhall be preſent in Parliament. And as to thoſe who ſhall repair unto Scotland, the Parliament will not deny their protection to any againſt whom they have not juſt exception; and your Majeſty may be perſuaded that your deſires and royal preſence will have great weight with your Parliament. ‡

Cassilis. Lothian.
*Breda, April 29, May 9,* 1650. A. Brodie. Geo. Wynrame.
J. Smith. Al. Jaffray.

*An Original.*

## *INSTRUCTIONS from the* Parliament *to their* Commissioners *for the Treaty at* Breda.

1. As your letter with your Secretary, deſired the return of our directions, ſo upon the conſideration of your papers, and his Relation, and of the doubts and objections that did occur thereanent, we deſire and require you, for preventing of miſtakes, and procuring a right underſtanding betwixt his Majeſty and this kingdom and Church, by his clear ſatisfaction to their neceſſary deſires, to give in the four demands as they are reviſed according to your former inſtructions, and herewith ſent unto you; and to do your utmoſt endeavours for obtaining his Majeſty's poſitive grant thereof according to the frame herewith ſent, or elſe to ſeek and obtain from his Majeſty the poſitive grant of all the four demands *in terminis*, by way of explanation of his Majeſty's former grants, as that which only can be ſatisfactory to this Kirk and Kingdom, and which is the faithful advice of his Parliament, and of the commiſſion of the Church, which his Majeſty by his letter promiſed to follow; and which for many reaſons is far more convenient that his Majeſty ſhould grant to you before or at his landing, than to come hither without the ſatisfaction deſired, and thereby not only impede that joy and chearfulneſs, wherewithal his good ſubjects deſire to receive his Majeſty, but alſo delay his coronation, and neceſſitate this Church and Kingdom to declarations, which would be very inconvenient to him and to them.

‡ *The Reader will obſerve, that this is contained almoſt* verbatim *in their anſwer to his Majeſty's demands; yet as the next paper, but one, is an explanation of this invitation, it was thought proper to give it at large.*

A.D. 1650. 2. You ſhall likewiſe communicate to his Majeſty in what ſenſe and meaning, and with what explanations, we only can and do agree to the Paper of Invitation and Aſſurance given to his Majeſty at Breda; that his Majeſty may be timouſly acquainted therewith.

3. You ſhall, according to your former inſtructions, deſire his Majeſty to leave behind all thoſe perſons who were excluded by the propoſitions of both kingdoms, or againſt whom this kingdom hath juſt cauſe of exception. And you ſhall ſhew and declare, that if they be found within this kingdom, they cannot remain therein with ſecurity. And ſeeing by the large treaty, and by the propoſitions of both kingdoms, thoſe that are debarred by the Parliament from places of public truſt, are alſo debarred from having acceſs to the King's Majeſty's perſon, or from coming within the verge of the Court; therefore you are to ſhew to his Majeſty, and withal in the name of the Parliament of this Kingdom you are not to permit, but to diſcharge all perſons that fall within the firſt or ſecond claſs of the act of claſſes made at St. Andrews 1646, or at Edinburgh 1649, during the reſpective times therein contained, from having acceſs to his Majeſty's perſon, or coming within the verge of the Court, without the expreſs warrant of the Parliament.

4. You ſhall not fail, for preventing and removing of all queſtions and doubts anent the King's oath, to declare by a paper unto his Majeſty, that it doth not only import that the national and ſolemn league and covenant be taken by his ſubjects, but alſo that his own ſwearing and ſubſcribing the ſame, in the words ſubjoined thereunto, importeth the approbation of all the heads and articles thereof in his own particular judgment, and his engagement to every one of them, as much as the oath of any of the ſubjects importeth their approbation and engagement thereto.

5. You ſhall ſhew to his Majeſty, and declare to the parties, that it is the advice and reſolution of this Parliament, and of the Commiſſion of the Church, that the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Seaforth, Forth, Calander, Traquair, Lauderdale, Dumfries, the Lords Carneghuy, Neper, Eythen Sinclair, George Monroe Hemſfield, Colonel Cochran, Sir James Lockhart, and Colonel Dalzell of Bins, prime inſtruments of the former or late defection and diviſion of this kingdom, remain abroad for ſuch time as the Parliament ſhall find neceſſary for the good and peace of this kingdom; and that this reſtraint ſhall be without prejudice to them to enjoy their eſtates according to the laws of this kingdom,

*Extract.*

18*th May*, 1650.

A. JOHNSTON, *Cls. Regiſt.*

*An Original.*

*Explanation of the* SCOTCH COMMISSIONERS *Paper of Invitation to his* MAJESTY.

THE Eſtates of Parliament, having taken in conſideration the invitation to come unto Scotland, given unto his Majeſty by their Commiſſioners at Breda, do find it neceſſary, for preventing of miſtakes, and preſerving a right underſtanding betwixt his Majeſty and the kingdom of Scotland, to declare their judgment concerning the ſenſe and meaning of ſeveral paſſages and articles of that invitation, in which ſenſe and meaning allenarly they do approve thereof, and appoint the ſame to be repreſented to his Majeſty by their Commiſſioners, *viz.*

1. THAT the aſſurance given to his Majeſty in the firſt article of the invitation concerning the taking of ſuch oaths of fidelity by all the ſubjects as are eſtabliſhed by law, doth not import that any oath is to be impoſed upon, or taken by all the ſeveral ſubjects of the Kingdom after his Majeſty's admiſſion to the exerciſe of his royal power; but only that all ſuch as have been accuſtomed ſo to do at the time of his Majeſty's predeceſſors coronation, and others at the time of their being inveſted in publick offices, ſhall give ſuch an oath of fidelity as has been uſual, and is eſtabliſhed by the law of the land.

2. THAT

2. THAT the aſſurances given to his Majeſty in all the ſubſequent articles of the invitation, as well as in the firſt, do include the condition of his Majeſty's performing ſatisfaction to the deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom, according to the former demands herewith ſent. *A. D.* 1650.

3. THAT the aſſurance given to his Majeſty in the third article of the invitation, concerning the aſſiſtance and utmoſt endeavours of the kingdom of Scotland by all real and lawful ſervices, according to the covenant, for reſtoring his Majeſty to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his other dominions, doth not import any engagement or obligation upon this Kingdom to make war in England or Ireland, without the previous conſideration and determination of the Parliament of this Kingdom, and of the General Aſſembly of this Kirk, or the Commiſſioners of this Kirk, concerning the lawfulneſs and neceſſity thereof; but it is to be underſtood according to the third paper given unto his Majeſty by our Commiſſioners at the Hague *anno* 1649; to wit, that this Kingdom will contribute their utmoſt endeavours by all neceſſary and lawful means, according to the covenant, and the duty of faithful and loyal ſubjects, that his Majeſty may be reſtored to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his other dominions, according to his undoubted right of ſucceſſion.

4. THAT the fourth article of the invitation concerning the not acknowledging or treating with the pretended Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter, and of being no leſs tender of his Majeſty's intereſt in that matter than of their own lives, doth not import that no eſſays nor endeavours in a peaceable way ſhall be uſed by this Kingdom for reſtoring of his Majeſty to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his other dominions, which the Parliament doth judge ought to precede all engagement in war; but doth import, that we are not to acknowledge that pretended Houſe of Commons, now ſitting at Weſtminſter, as the lawful authority of England.

5. THAT the fifth article of the invitation concerning the Lords, and others, who were upon the unlawful engagement, their enjoying their eſtates and liberties as freely as any other of his Majeſty's ſubjects of the kingdom of Scotland, is to be underſtood as including ſatisfaction to be given by them to the Kirk for their acceſſion to that engagement, and ſecurity to be given to the kingdom for not troubling the peace thereof; and alſo declaring, that there ſhall be no immunity to any of them who are, or ſhall be under proceſs, from being liable to the cenſures of law for any crime or miſdemeanor committed by them either before or ſince the engagement; and alſo debarring them from coming within the verge of the court, and debarring them from acceſs to the King's perſon, according to the large treaty and propoſitions of both Kingdoms, and acts of claſſes without expreſs warrant of Parliament.

6. THAT the clauſe of this article which referreth their admitting to have voice in Parliament, and their having places of publick truſt as more fit to be ſpoken of when his Majeſty ſhall be preſent in Parliament, doth not import any ground, whereupon his Majeſty may expect our receding from our vows, and reverſing the act of claſſes in any of the heads and articles thereof.

LASTLY, That the laſt article, concerning the Parliament's not denying their protection to any againſt whom they have no juſt cauſe of exception, doth not import any thing in the favours of thoſe perſons who are excluded by the propoſitions of both kingdoms and articles thereof; and againſt whom this kingdom hath juſt cauſe of exception, and whom we deſired his Majeſty to leave behind him. And that the protection mentioned in the article doth only import, that the perſons who are to have the benefit thereof, ſhall not receive any wrong, injury, or prejudice from us. But for ſuch as have been faithful and conſtant in the cauſe, they may aſſuredly expect that protection and friendſhip from this kingdom which we owe to the true Covenanters. †

*Extract.*

*At Edinburgh, 15th May,* 1650.

A. JOHNSTON, *Cls. Regiſt.*

*An Original.*

† *This Paper is attended by the original of their four demands, bearing the ſame date, which is printed* verbatim *in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p.* 147.

## *The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*A.D.*1650. WE the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland having received your Majeſty's anſwer to our paper of $\frac{\text{April } 23}{\text{May } 3}$, by which we did humbly preſent to your Majeſty the way and form wherein we were expreſsly inſtructed by the commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, do deſire your Majeſty to perform the ſatisfaction graciouſly promiſed in your anſwer to the propoſition contained in our firſt paper, and finding that the oath and declaration ſet down in your Majeſty's laſt paper, cometh not the full length of that which was deſired; like as conſidering that nothing is anſwered as yet in your Majeſty's papers to us, to that other particular contained in our firſt paper concerning the recalling and annulling the grant made to the Iriſh of liberty of the popiſh religion; do find it our duty in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed on us, humbly to declare to your Majeſty, that it is the expectation, and will be the deſire of the Kirk of Scotland, at your Majeſty's arrival unto that kingdom, that your Majeſty may be pleaſed fully to make up what is defective in your conceſſion concerning the oath and declaration; as alſo to give the deſired ſatisfaction in that matter of the agreement with the Iriſh; both which we are very hopeful your Majeſty will be ready to perform, conſidering that in your letter directed to the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly your Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify, that it is your reſolution to receive information from them, and to follow their advice in ſuch things as ſhall be further neceſſary.

WE do further in all humility beg leave to preſent to your Majeſty an humble and faithful advice, wherewith we are entruſted from the commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, concerning ſuch about your royal perſon as are popiſhly or prelatically affected, have been enemies and oppoſers of the work of reformation, and have been evil inſtruments to beget and foment bad underſtanding and diviſion, as well between your royal father, as between yourſelf hitherto, and the good and faithful ſubjects in your Majeſty's dominions. It is the humble advice and earneſt deſire of that Kirk, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to forſake the counſels and fellowſhip of all ſuch perſons; that ſuch only who are ſtraight both for Religion and Government, and will be faithful both to God and your Majeſty, may be about your royal perſon; and that, ſeeing your Majeſty is now to go unto the Kingdom of Scotland, you would be pleaſed to leave behind you ſuch as are excepted in the propoſitions of both Kingdoms, or againſt whom that Kirk and Kingdom have juſt exception for the cauſes above mentioned; and particularly thoſe chaplains that are about your Majeſty. We ſhall forbear now to repeat that which our hearts cannot think upon without ſorrow, how prejudicial and hurtful the counſels and courſes of ſuch perſons have proven, as well to the royal family, as to your Majeſty's own affairs, ſince your coming to the Crown; this only we dare not conceal from your Majeſty, that the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland would look upon it as a matter of great ſadneſs and fear, if ſuch ſhould come along in your Majeſty's company; and that they cannot in any wiſe join with them, knowing well how contrary the principles and deſigns of theſe are to the cauſe and ways of God, which themſelves have been and are following, and being perſuaded that they could not expect a bleſſing from God in a compliance with them.

In relation to this advice, we do humbly deſire your Majeſty will be pleaſed to view and conſider ſeriouſly that pattern of ordering a royal family and court held forth by one of the beſt kings that ever was, *Pſal.* ci. whereunto if the Lord ſhall incline your royal heart to conform your practice, as it will be matter of great comfort to all your good ſubjects, and fill their hearts with hopes of a happy government, ſo we

no

no ways doubt but it ſhall bring the bleſſing of God both upon your royal perſon and upon your affairs. *A. D.* 1650.

*Breda, May* $\frac{13}{23}$, 1650.
*An Original.*

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland, being this afternoon informed that your Majeſty is about to receive the communion to-morrow, and apprehending that your Majeſty may therein continue the uſe of the geſture of kneeling, which is contrary both to Chriſt's inſtitution of that ſacrament, as alſo to the national covenant, and ſolemn league and covenant, and to the directory of worſhip eſtabliſhed by the Parliaments and Aſſemblies of both kingdoms, whereunto your Majeſty hath engaged to conform yourſelf in your practice and family; therefore do find it incumbent to us, in diſcharge of the duty which we owe to God, to your Majeſty, and to thoſe that have intruſted us, to give warning hereof, and with all humility and earneſtneſs to entreat your Majeſty to forbear the ſame, as that which cannot but provoke the anger of God againſt your Majeſty and your proceedings, and will undoubtedly raiſe jealouſies in the hearts of your good and loyal ſubjects.

*Breda,* $\frac{\text{May 25th}}{\text{June 4th}}$, 1650.

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

*An Original.*

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Kirk of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland, having ſent from Breda to the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, your Majeſty's letter directed to them, together with a double of our deſires preſented to your Majeſty in name of that Kirk, and a double of your Majeſty's anſwer thereunto, did upon the 1ſt of June on ſhipboard late at night, receive from them a return expreſſing their ſenſe of the conceſſions granted by your Majeſty to us, and enjoining us immediately upon the receiving thereof, to preſent the ſame unto your Majeſty. In obedience hereunto we did come to the land that night, thinking to have found your Majeſty at Huſſerdyck; but your Majeſty was removed and gone a ſhipboard before we came thither. Therefore we are neceſſitated now on ſhipboard to repreſent to your Majeſty that which we have received in inſtruction from them, and that ſo much the rather becauſe it doth very much concern the good of your Majeſty's affairs, that the matter be communicated unto you before your arrival and landing in Scotland.

1. IN regard they have perceived no ſmall difference between that form of the oath and declaration delivered by your Majeſty to us $\frac{\text{April 24th}}{\text{May 4th}}$, as that which you purpoſed to ſwear and ſubſcribe at your coming to Scotland, and that form which we did preſent to your Majeſty in their name $\frac{\text{April 23d}}{\text{May 3d}}$, they conceive it neceſſary for the ſecurity of religion, and of the work of reformation in the three kingdoms, and do moſt earneſtly deſire, that your Majeſty before your landing in Scotland, do yet declare in writ under your royal ſubſcription, that at your arrival you will ſwear, ſubſcribe and



ſeal

*A.D.* 1650. ſeal the national covenant of Scotland, and the ſolemn league and covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland, in theſe words following, to be ſubjoined to both:

I CHARLES, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn oath, in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and ſolemn league and covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myſelf to proſecute the ends thereof in my ſtation and calling. And that I ſhall for myſelf and my ſucceſſors, conſent and agree to all acts of Parliament enjoining the national covenant and the ſolemn league and covenant, and fully eſtabliſhing preſbyterial government, the directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith, and catechiſms in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approven by the General Aſſembly of that Kirk and Parliament of that kingdom: and that I ſhall give my royal aſſent to acts of parliament, bills, or ordinances, paſſed or to be paſſed in the Houſes of Parliament enjoining the ſame in the reſt of my dominions. And that I ſhall obſerve theſe in mine own practice and family, and ſhall never make oppoſition to any of theſe, nor endeavour any change thereof. *

2. THEY have enjoined us for preventing and removing all doubts and queſtions concerning the ſenſe of the aforeſaid oath and declaration, to declare unto your Majeſty that it doth import not only your royal allowance and approbation of the covenants unto your ſubjects; but alſo the allowance and approbation thereof in all the heads and articles of the ſame in your own particular judgment, and your engagement to every one of them as much as the oath and ſubſcription of any of the ſubjects imports their approbation and engagement.

3. IT is their deſire that your Majeſty will conſent and agree that all matters eccleſiaſtic be determined by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, and ſuch as are or ſhall be authorized by them; and that in all matters eccleſiaſtic you will follow the counſel and advice of the General Aſſembly, and ſuch as are or ſhall be authorized by them.

4. THEY have ordained us again earneſtly to ſupplicate your Majeſty to forſake all malignant counſels and counſellors, to remove from your Majeſty all ſuch perſons againſt whom the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland have juſt cauſe of exception, upon the grounds expreſſed before to your Majeſty in our paper of May. And that your Majeſty will take care that your council and royal family may conſiſt only of ſuch perſons as are of known integrity and good affection to the covenants and works of reformation, and of a blameleſs and Chriſtian converſation; and that ſo much the rather, becauſe moſt of the evils that have afflicted the royal family and the people in your Majeſty's dominions, have iſſued in a ſpecial way from the diſaffection and looſeneſs of perſons in the King's councils and family.

5. THEY have appointed us to ſignify to your Majeſty, that whoſoever of theſe Lords or others, who had acceſſion unto the late engagement, ſhall come unto the Kingdom, now or afterward, they muſt give ſatisfaction to the Kirk according to the order preſcribed by the General Aſſembly.

AND now, we their Commiſſioners do in their name with all humility and earneſtneſs beſeech your Majeſty to ſignify and declare to us by writ under your royal ſubſcription, your aſſent unto theſe particulars, and your purpoſe to perform what is deſired in each of them *reſpectivè*. We can aſſure your Majeſty, that the granting hereof now before your coming to land, is the neceſſary, and will be the effectual, means to ſatisfy that Kirk, and to remove all doubts and jealouſies concerning the ſecurity of Religion, and liberties of the Kirk; and will beget ſuch a perfect good underſtanding between your Majeſty and your good people there, as will produce a joyful meeting between your Majeſty and them, and their cordial and utmoſt endeavours for advancing your Majeſty's honour and happineſs. The Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, as they have for this effect ſent this their advice to be preſented to your Majeſty, before your coming into Scotland, ſo they have declared to us, and deſired us humbly

* *This form is the ſame with that in Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. I. p.* 147.

to

to ſignify ſo much to your Majeſty, that they do confidently expect your Majeſty ac- *A.D.* 1650.
cording to the ſame, upon the aſſurance given by your Majeſty in your letter lately directed to them, That you will be informed by them, and follow their advice in what ſhall be further neceſſary. Aboard the ſhip called the Skiedam, in the Road of Heighligh-Lane, on the coaſt of Jutland, July 11 †, Stil. Vet. 1650.

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

*An Original.*

*The* COMMISSIONERS *of the Parliament of* Scotland *to his* MAJESTY.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE cannot but with exceeding joy and thankfulneſs accept your Majeſty's paper of the 21ſt of June, which doth contain a bountiful ſatisfaction to the propoſitions which we tendered to your Majeſty, by which you have (according to your royal promiſe) ſo fully explained and cleared your conceſſions at Breda, that all ground of jealouſy betwixt your Majeſty and your people is thereby removed, and the hope and confidence which we had in your goodneſs and juſtice is thereby made good and confirmed; which will be a matter ſo acceptable to your Parliament, and ſo refreſh the hearts of all your good people, as (without doubt) will produce a very comfortable meeting betwixt your Majeſty and them.

AND therefore, as we did formerly by our's at Breda of the $\frac{29\text{th April}}{9\text{th May}}$, 1650, in name and by warrant from the Parliament of Scotland, invite your Majeſty to that your ancient kingdom, ſo do we moſt humbly and heartily renew that invitation, and give your Majeſty all the aſſurance therein contained, according to the act of parliament explaining and approving of the ſame, which is herewith preſented to your Majeſty; wiſhing from our hearts, and expecting ſuch a bleſſing from the Lord upon this agreement, as that his great name may be thereby honoured; and it may be the beginning and the ground of much proſperity and happineſs to your Majeſty and to all your dominions.

*From aboard the Skiedam, 22d June* 1650. *Stile Vet.*

CASSILIS. LOTHIAN.
A. BRODIE. GEO. WYNRAME.
J. SMITH. AL. JAFFRAY.

*An Original.*

*Extract of a Letter from Mr.* THOMAS WESTON, *newly arrived out of* Scotland, *dated at the* Hague, *7th Sept.* 1650.

* * * * * * * * * * *

THE Aſſembly and Committee of Eſtates ſent Commiſſioners to the King with a declaration to ſign; the heads of it were, That he did humble himſelf before God for his father's oppoſition to the covenant, for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in his houſe was a great provocation to God; that he ſhould recall all his commiſſions, and declare all thoſe that had ſerved againſt the cauſe uncapable of any command or office. The King refuſing it, the Commiſſioners left him with great indignation, and great diſorder was like to ariſe; upon which Argyle perſuades

† *This date ſeems to have been miſtaken for June* 11. *The endorſement by Secretary Long ſays June* $\frac{23}{11}$; *but the next paper ſhews it ſhould have been June* $\frac{21}{11}$, *the King's anſwer appearing to have been ſent on the ſame day.*

*A.D.* 1650. the King to write to the Aſſembly to ſend back their Commiſſioners, promiſing ſatiſfaction, only intreating them to moderate that part concerning his father; but before this letter came to them, they had ſet out this declaration (which I ſend you) though upon the receipt of it, they ſtopt their treaty with Cromwell, and ſent back their Commiſſioners to the King, who with much diſputing and a little alteration, was forced to ſign it; and ſo they parted good friends. This I thought enough for me to ſee, and the next day took my leave; and in this condition left the poor King, who has nothing of it but the name.

ALL the buſineſs of Scotland depends on Argyle; he fenceth to keep off D. Hamilton; from thence comes that ill favoured declaration which they forced the King to ſign. From thence alſo the diſbanding of the Hamiltons and engagers, and other malignants. D. Hamilton petitioned the Kirk to be admitted to his penance, ſo humbly, as the King ſaid the meaneſt of his ſervants would not have made ſo low a petition to his Majeſty; yet it was rejected, only the Duke hath leave to go to his Iſle of Arran. Lauderdale and others have done penance and are reconciled to the Kirk; but they alſo muſt ſtay at home. Cleveland and Wentworth ſtay with my Lord Tullibardin, expecting ſome monies which were promiſed the King for his ſervants. Wilmot applies himſelf to Argyle, and hopes to be reſtored. Long is not likely to be admitted; Argyle will not truſt him. The King hopes to get Harding, but others doubt it. Seymour was now lately voted from the King, becauſe he ſpake againſt that part of the declaration which he thought touched the honour of the late King. He was ſeveral times examined by a Committee about it, and he gave for his juſtification a meſſage which he brought from the late King to this, when the King went to his murder. Progers and Sir Edward Walker are amongſt thoſe that are baniſhed. There were no new men placed actually near the King, but four were voted to be of his bed-chamber; Titus, Greaves, Campbell, and another Scot. Rodes and thoſe about the ſtable ſtay in their places; and ſo doth Dr. Fraſier; but he is watched, and dares not ſpeak a word to the King: if the King can carry it ſo as to make Argyle confident of him, ſo that Argyle may believe he ſhall hold his power, the buſineſs may yet do well. Cromwell muſt fight or be gone; his men eat nothing but bread and cheeſe, drink ill water, and lie on the ground without huts, which they will not long endure. The Scots are thinking of a model for an army to wait on the King into England; but Cromwell muſt be beaten or retire firſt.

*A Copy. The above date is inſerted by Secretary Nicholas.*

## CONSIDERATIONS *worthy to be weighed in the Caſe of the* ENGLISH GENTLEMEN *now in Priſon.* †.

THEY who do enough conſider the horrible, impious and unparalleled murder of the King of Great Britain, with all it's circumſtances, That a company of wicked rebels, who had, by the laws of God and the unqueſtionable conſtitution and laws of the kingdom of England, forfeited their own lives and eſtates by the moſt impudent rebellion and unexcuſable treaſon that was ever practiſed in any nation, ſhould erect themſelves into a Court, and make themſelves the accuſers, witneſſes, and judges, and thereupon bring the ſacred perſon of their anointed King before them, and after all the irreverence and odious reproaches imaginable, pronounce and condemn him to undergo a ſhameful death as a malefactor upon a ſcaffold, and execute the ſame in the view, and by the ſhelter of their army; will not wonder that a generous paſſion and indignation ſhould ſo far tranſport the hearts of any true Engliſh catholick Gentlemen, that they could not ſuffer themſelves to behold the face of any

† *At Madrid, for the aſſaſſination of Aſcham. There are copies of this paper in Latin and French; alſo, a printed one in Spaniſh. This Engliſh one is in the hand of Mr. Edgman; and there is a rough draught in the ſame hand; ſo that it is very probable that Sir Edward Hyde was the author of it. The Latin copy is a rough draught by Sir Edward himſelf, and endorſed thus by him;* "My Latin tranſlation of the Conſiderations in behalf of the Gentlemen."

Member

Member or Judge of that monſtrous Court of Judicatory in any part of the world. *A.D.* 1650.
And as this man is believed to be one of thoſe very judges or proſecutors, by thoſe who have laid their hands upon him, ſo he is known to have profeſſed, in the nature of an oath and engagement, that he did acknowledge that ſacrilegious parricide to be a juſt and lawful act, and that he would defend the ſame, and all thoſe who aſſiſted in it, with his life and fortune; and that himſelf writ a letter in defence of it, and againſt monarchical government, and the perſon of his Majeſty that now is, whom the ſame rebellious power hath proclaimed a traitor, and that it ſhall be lawful for any man to kill him.

If a man finds his wife in the act of adultery, and with his own hands preſently revenges the indignity and injury with the death of both the guilty perſons, he is judged worthy of the protection, at leaſt, of the indemnity or excuſe of the law; not that the fact is in itſelf lawful or juſtifiable, but that the offence in the eye of the law is of ſuch a nature, and the temptation ſo far above the temper of human faculties to bear, that whatſoever the party grieved ſhall do, *eo inſtante et flagrante crimine*, ſhall be imputed to the effect of that paſſion which naturally cannot be ſubdued by reaſon, or religion itſelf, and therefore ought not to be puniſhed by the rigour of any law. How much more may the horror of ſuch a murder be thought to make that impreſſion upon the affections and paſſions of ſome zealous ſubjects and ſervants, that, whenever they ſhall ſee and find the perſon of one of thoſe murderers, they muſt look upon that perſon as having his hands ſtill warm and reeking in the precious blood of their dear Sovereign? And to their zeal and fury the crime appears ſtill ſo preſent and flagrant, that it ſuppreſſes all temperate conſiderations of publick conſequences, and of their own particular danger or ſecurity; and therefore may not be unworthy of a merciful interpretation of the law itſelf, or the connivance of ſovereign power.

And if a perſon who, ſeven years after the injury, meets the murderer of his father, or him who hath vitiated his ſiſter, eſpecially if it be in a place where he cannot have the aſſiſtance of the civil juſtice for his vindication, does ſuddenly make himſelf the miniſter of his own juſtice, finds rather the candour of the judge than the rigour of the law, the duty of a ſon, and the honour of a brother making ſome excuſe for the defect of temper and ſubmiſſion; how much more pardonable may this caſe appear, where the relation of duty and ſuggeſtions of honour are of ſo vaſt an extent beyond what can be ſaid in either of the other? And if ſuch an act as this might have been thought excuſable a month after the murder of the King, it will not be fit to give ſubjects cauſe to believe that ſuch noble ſenſe of duty and allegiance is to be ſuppreſſed and ſubdued after a year's feeling the weight of that inſupportable loſs. And if the wiſdom and ſtrictneſs of the law in this kingdom, hath provided no favourable ſhelter and conſtruction upon ſuch an extraordinary accident, it may be hoped that it ſhall be conſidered as *caſus omiſſus*, becauſe no provocation upon ſuch a tranſcendent wickedneſs could be foreſeen, and fit to be ſupplied by ſome favour in as extraordinary a way; there being this aggravation in the caſe of theſe Gentlemen, that they are at preſent robbed and ſpoiled of conſiderable eſtates in the kingdom of England, as well by the importunity and ſolicitation of this man, as by the publick tyranny, for their loyalty to the King, and their conſtant profeſſion of the catholick religion, which, whatever ſpecious pretence they make, they reſolve to extirpate out of all the dominions ſubject to them. Nor did they look upon this man as having the leaſt privilege or protection from his Catholick Majeſty, for whom they have ſpent ſome, and will gladly venture the remainder of their blood, but as a man who had the preſumption to come into this kingdom, to ſcatter that poiſon which hath ſo corrupted and diſhonoured the other.

No perſons can be ſo fit and proper judges of the large ſpeculation that this argument adminiſters, and of the compaſſion that at this time may be due to theſe unfortunate Gentlemen, as they who are moſt poſſeſſed with the honourable and noble nature and ſpirit of Spain, which upon ſuch a prodigious and ſtupendous provocation (which God Almighty avert!) would not only take vengeance upon ſuch enemies in any place where they ſhould accidentally find any of them, but would ſeek them out in any part of the inhabited world, till they were convinced, that they were not on-

*A.D.1650.* ly ſo univerſally odious, but ſo univerſally inſecure, that they could not live and breathe but in that air which their wickedneſs hath rendered ſo noiſome and peſtilential to all other men, and which can be no otherwiſe purged than by the entire confuſion and extirpation of that pernicious party. And the immenſe wiſdom and native honour of Spain will improve theſe ſhort conſiderations:

1. How unreaſonable a thing it is, that they who have not only actually diſſolved all the known laws, and long and happily eſtabliſhed government of their own country, and thereby poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſavage power to rob and deſpoil their King, the nobility and gentry of the land, of all that by that law is due to them; but profeſs that no perſons ought to be circumſcribed by the ſettled laws and government of any kingdom, but only to obey the dictates of nature, and free themſelves from the other as ſoon as they can; that they who have murdered their late King, and declared it lawful and neceſſary to murder the preſent King (for they have proclaimed it lawful to kill him), ſhould expect aſſiſtance, countenance, or ſupport from the well ordered laws and government of another kingdom, and have the benefit of that kind of law and government to which they profeſs themſelves irreconcileable and implacable enemies.

2. How incongruous it may appear in the large diſquiſition of juſtice, that ſubjects to a foreign Prince ſhould be proceeded againſt with ſeverity and rigour in another kingdom for ſuch an act committed upon the perſon of a fellow-ſubject, which had been juſtifiable to have been done by them upon him in their own country, to the obedience of the laws whereof, they are all equally ſubject; and it can be no doubt but it is lawful for any ſubject in England to kill any of thoſe who murdered the late King, or endeavour to murder this; until their preſent power be ſo broken and ſubdued that they may be brought to trial in a regular and formal way of juſtice.

3. What ill interpretation may be made by others, and what ill uſe the rebels of England might make to the prejudice of his Majeſty, and of the joint concernment of all Princes, if a faithful ſubject of a murdered Prince ſhall ſuffer an exemplar puniſhment by the ſtrict execution of law in another monarchy, for killing a fellow-ſubject, who contributed to the murder of his natural Sovereign, and againſt whom for that wickedneſs no judicial proceeding could have been in this kingdom if it had been demanded. For ſince the ſimple killing a man is not judged to deſerve a capital puniſhment by the laws in any kingdom, there being many caſes in which the killing a man may be juſtified and lawful, and is only puniſhed where the provocation and ground is judged not to be ſufficient; it may be preſumed that judgment is therefore inflicted upon theſe Gentlemen, becauſe their paſſion is not thought excuſable enough; and it cannot be juſt that they ſhould think themſelves competent judges of any crime, who will not think themſelves competent judges of the precedent circumſtances and provocations. And of what moment this conſideration was with the States of the United Provinces, when Doriſlaus (who was likewiſe one of the murderers of his late Majeſty, and known publickly to bring letters of credence from that bloody power) was killed at the Hague, may be eaſily concluded by their making no enquiry after thoſe reſolute perſons, who (though not apprehended) were well enough known, and walked freely in thoſe ſtreets, notwithſtanding that a principal perſon of that country, by his caſually being preſent at the encounter, received a very dangerous wound and maim, and the party killed was a ſubject of the ſame State.

4. The ill conſequence that may follow a rigorous proſecution in this caſe, by reſtraining and contracting the largeſt conſiderations of duty in ſubjects, in jealouſy and behalf of their Princes, in a time when treaſon and rebellion is ſo much in practice, and the reverence due to the ſacred function of Princes ſo much profaned, and when all pains ſhould be taken to inflame the hearts of ſubjects to revenge and prevent thoſe breaches, and to teach rebels in how narrow a compaſs their ſecurity conſiſts, and to how many dangers they are expoſed in the courage and reſolution of every honeſt man.

These and the like conſiderations may poſſibly be thought of moment and import enough to weigh down any other that can flow from the preſent greatneſs and power of thoſe, whoſe pride and brutiſhneſs is ſuch, that no ordinary compliance will be conſidered

conſidered by them, nor indeed leſs than an union and concurrence with them in all their wickedneſs; and who at the ſame time they ſeem to court the friendſhip of this Crown, make as ſpecious overtures to France and Portugal, thereby hoping to keep all the world in ſuſpence, till they can by degrees kindle domeſtick troubles and diſtractions in the ſeveral dominions. At leaſt, it may be thought but juſt to allow theſe Gentlemen all the privilege and protection the law or cuſtom in the mildeſt interpretation grants in the like caſes, and not to uſe extraordinary rigour towards thoſe, who upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion are become tranſgreſſors. And ſince the privilege of ſanctuary was originally founded upon a merciful and pious conſideration, that ſome offences might be committed with ſuch circumſtances of time, of human paſſions, weakneſs and infirmity, which might be worthy of protection and ſhelter from the ſeverity of the common juſtice, which for the iniquity of the age, and the malice of the nature of man, is always founded upon and guided by the moſt ſevere rules and proviſions; what offence was ever more worthy of, or had a better title to, the diſpenſation of that favour? And with what juſtice ſhall the raſhneſs, or unadviſedneſs, or misfortune of any man be hereafter protected by it, if it ſhall be violently taken from theſe Gentlemen, who were in poſſeſſion of it, and if they ſhall be now raviſhed from the horns of the altar? Nor will it appear leſs a reaſon of State, than any other that can occur in this argument, that at leaſt, for want of ſuch aſſiſtance and advice as ſtrangers both to the laws and language of the kingdom muſt naturally ſtand in need of, no ſuch ſudden reſolution may be taken, that may draw with it ſuch conſequences as the great wiſdom of the State would not admit, and can only prevent by wiſe deliberation. *A. D.* 1650.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK

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